

Hamari Manzil

(Our Destination)

Syed Hashim Raza

Dedicated

To the memory
of millions of freedom fighters of
Sub-continent
who had made tremendous sacrifices of valuable
lives and possessions in the course
of struggle for creating a
separate Muslim State —
the Islamic Republic of Pakistan —
harbinger of
Islamic renaissance in
contemporary world history.

CONTENTS

	Foreword	vii
	Preface	xi
	Editor's Note	xv
	Pakistani Expressions	xix
1.	My Career As I.C.S.	1
2.	Assistant Collector, Karachi,	34
3.	Pakistan Movement - Gathers Momentum	64
4.	The Memorable 1947	78
5.	Stress And Strain of Karachi - Administration (1947-51)	98
6.	Last Glimpse Of The Liberator	142
7.	London's Picturesque Country-side	165
8.	Visit to Karbala And Najaf	188
9.	Nails In The Coffin of Democracy	206
10.	Freedom of Press	239
11.	Dissolution Of The Constituent Assembly	269
12.	Urdu Poetry Is Our Hyde Park	282
13.	The Job That Gave Me The Greatest Satisfaction	291
14.	Walking With History In Sind	321
15	The Jinnah-Mountbatten Controversy	370
16.	The Visit of Sir Walter Nash	376
17.	The City That Quaid Loved	384
18.	Pakistan Step By Step	412
19.	Pundit Nehru On Kashmir	432
20.	Lahore: The Cultural Capital of Pakistan	446
21.	East Bengal - The Land Of Fine Arts	456
22.	How General Azam Won The Hearts Of Bengalis?	469
23.	My Top-Most Appointment	483
24.	Back To The Ministry Of Information	489

25.	The Constitution That Never Worked	503
26.	Ministry Of Information & Health	516
27.	World Labour Parliament	545
28.	Pak Settlers In United Kingdom	585
29.	Two Tides In My Affairs	600
30.	17 Finest Days	608
31.	The Questionnaire	620
32.	Hamari Manzil (Our Destination)	636
	Epilogue.	641
	Index	644

FOREWORD

— Biography is the only true history.
Carlyle.

CARLYLE'S OBSERVATION IS ALL the more true about autobiographies of great men - philosophers, men of letters, reformers, statesmen, politicians, prominent administrators and public servants who have played vital role in shaping human destiny in contemporary affairs as they observe and perceive the great events of their own age. Besides, these autobiographies are written with the overpowering urge of the writers to leave behind for the posterity their experiences, personal observations and truthful account of social, economic and political events. Thus in the context of the historical evolution of the writing of autobiographies, the autobiography of Syed Hashim Raza entitled "Hamari Manzil" (Our Destination) is on the one hand a perceptive self-examination and self-revelation in the classical tradition of the great Confessions of St. Augustine, Rousseau, and Imam Al-Ghazzali, and on the other, conveys a message to the succeeding generations of Pakistanis urging them to rededicate themselves to the basic tenets of the national ideology and exhorts and stimulates them to reaffirm their resolve to build a successful, stable and strong Pakistan. Syed Hashim Raza, the author, himself aptly describes the purpose of writing his autobiography in the preface: "In the end, it suffices to say that Hamari Manzil, my autobiography truly reflects my philosophy of life and my deep commitment to the ideology of Pakistan"

Born on the 16th February at Neutani in the District Unau in the northern province of U.P., India, Mr. Syed Hashim Raza was brought up in a family of judges, lawyers, and civil servants with care and affection in the rich literary and cultural environment of Lucknow - the capital city of U.P. which had also been the seat of Oudh rulers in the past. With an excellent academic record throughout his educational career, he graduated from an elitist university of Lucknow with first class in M.A. Political Science. Mr. Raza appeared in the competitive examination of the ICS, and came out with flying colours and was recruited as a member of the ICS, the most coveted echelon of colonial

bureaucracy in British India. After successfully completing his training, in England at Oxford University, he returned to India and was posted in the province of Bombay. In 1937 after the separation of Sindh from Bombay, Mr. Raza opted for the newly created predominantly Muslim province of Sindh where he worked in numerous responsible positions until division and partition of India on August 14, 1947. Since independence, the most constructive and fruitful phaze of his career began and extended upto 1966 when he retired from service at the age of 56.

As it is evident from the very title of the Book, it is not merely a narrative account of life-story of a celebrated civil servant, in fact the author takes the reader along through the maze of the corss-currents of the modern history of South Asia during the past three quarters of a century. Therefore, Mr. Raza's autobiography presents to the reader a rich account of all facets of Muslim Renaissance in India after 1857 and the part played by a galaxy of Muslim reformers, and leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Aga Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

It is a sad commnentary on our national literature that there are only a few autobiographies left behind by our political leaders and public servants. Many of our greatest leaders like Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah; Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan and others died in harness, and had little time to write down record of their life-stories. There were others like Raja Saheb Mehmoodabad, Fazlul Haque, H.S. Suharwardy, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sir Abdul Qayum, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, Muhammad Ayub Khuro, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Sir Hidayatullah, Qazi Issa, Feroz Khan Noon, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and many eminent public servants who were living history of their times but they have not left behind their memoirs for the historians and political scientists to examine, analyse and reconstruct political events for the knowledge of the posterity. Indeed dearth of authentic biographies and memoirs of contemporary men and women of eminence is a great loss, as the biographies are source of material for historians and inspiration for our young generations. In advanced societies of the West, there has been a rich tradition of writing biographies. The eminent politicians, statesmen and public servants have recorded their own contribution to politics and administration in the form of biographies and memoirs.

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, Mr. Syed Hashim Raza was appointed the administrator of Karachi, then the federal capital of Pakistan. The foremost challenging task that he faced in Karachi was to rehabilitate millions of homeless refugees from India. He tackled the problem with utmost ability, compassion and understanding.

After serving four years in this capacity, Mr. Raza was transferred to the Ministry of Information as the Joint Secretary Incharge. Here he was faced with the problems of different nature in dealing with the press and editors who are highly sensitive and mindful of their rights. The task was all the more difficult in view of the stringent government rules which were to be enforced by him and in case of deviation from these rules harsh action was to be taken.

Mr. Raza was successful in cultivating friendly relations with the editors and journalists of Pakistani newspapers. During his incumbency, the press-government equation was most congenial and conducive to promote freedom of the press within the limits of state security and public morality. Besides, he has given fascinating character sketches of the well known editors of that time, e.g. Altaf Hussain of Dawn, Fakhre Matri of Hurriyet and Suleri of Evening News, highlighing their contribution in setting highest standard of journalism in Pakistan.

Another milestone in his career was his posting as the Divisional Commissioner of Bahawalpur. Here he was deeply impressed by the personality of the Nawab who was a symbol of nobility and traditional culture and values. His relations with the Nawab were personal and intimate. He had also cultivated friendly relations with the people of Bahawalpur. He has given a detailed account of its beautiful palaces, mousoleum, courts and libraries.

After his assignment at Bahawalpur, Mr. Raza was transferred and deputed as Chief Secretary in East Pakistan. He was very happy to go there. This provided him a first hand opportunity to appraise himself of the problems of East Pakistan. General Azam Khan had been appointed Governor and in a very short time he had succeeded in winning the confidence of the people of East Pakistan by showing sympahty for and understanding of their problems. He met Maulana Bhashani, and after talking to him, was convinced that he was a bonafide patriot and released him. He exhorted his officers to sympathetically understand the problems of the people. This was the beginning of his relationship with East Pakistan. But Mr. Hashim Raza soon realised that the language question was the real barrier between the two wings of Pakistan. By erecting the Shaheed Minar, the Bengalis had immortalised the language issue as a perennial source of hate against the people of West Pakistan. It had ultimately led to the dismemberment of Pakistan. It was the language question that spearheaded the movement of hate, which resulted in the separation of the two wings.

It was here in East Pakistan that Mr. Raza, as he himself says, had reached the pinnacle of his career. He was appointed Governor of East Pakistan when General Azam Khan had proceeded on leave. On his return he continued as Chief Secretary for a while, but was soon recalled to Karachi to assume re-

sponsibility as the Secretary of his own Ministry of Information and Braodcasting.

Mr. Hashim Raza has also shed light on the mystery of Syed Hussain–Vijayalakshmi's love affair. Mr. Raza has set the record straight and dispelled the popular rumours about the affair. In so doing Mr. Raza was deeply impressed by reading the Memoirs of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit entitled "Scope of Happiness" and wrote a personal letter to Mrs. Pundit. She wrote back a charming letter in reply. The correspondence exchanged between him and Mrs. Pundit has set the affair in the proper context as it was necessary in view of its historical and political connotations.

While working in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Mr. Raza represented Pakistan as delegate to the I.L.O. several times and was later on chosen as its President. He found this work interesting and helped the Pakistani immigrants in the U.K. by recommending their cases for sympathetic consideration. It was during this period that Mr. Raza was retired at the age of 56 but according to the service rules he could have served for another four years. However, Mr. Hashim Raza, considered it below his self-dignity and self-respect to seek any extension from President Ayub Khan, and was glad to be relieved of his responsibility.

Mr. Syed Hashim Raza talks fondly of his happy family life as we glean through the pages of this book. Now he has all the time to enjoy life with his many interests. He devotes himself to composing verses and he has a busy social life in different cultural, literary and political forums of Karachi. He is very much in demand for presiding over meetings and social gatherings and Mashairas and even at this age he keeps himself heavily preoccupied with day-to-day business schedules.

At the end it suffices to say that it is a fascinating life story of a bureaucrat, litterateur, poet and a man of nobility and character. I believe that this book, Hamari Manzil is in fact a documentary account of the cultural history of the Muslims of the United India and will be a source of inspiration and enlightenment for the young generation and his personality, life and career profile should be an ideal example for the public servants worthy of emulation.

I sincerely wish Mr. Syed Hashim Raza many more years of peace, happiness and tranquility.

I pray to Allah Almighty that He may bestow upon him strength and wisdom so that he may continue to promote cultural and social activities in the country under his benign patronage and inspire the Pakistani youth with the noble spirit of patriotism, nationalism and liberal understanding of Islam.

Manzoorruddin Ahmed

DR. MANZOORUDDIN AHMED

PREFACE

— "Some Books", "are to be tasted, others to be swallowed and some to be chewed and digested." Bacon

MY BOOK DOES NOT FALL under any of the above categories. A reader may well ask "What then is the justification for adding another biography to the millions of biographies already available?" In response, I may state that the writing and publication of this book owes itself to the force of circumstances impelling me to write and Mr. Husain Nasser undertaking the responsibility of its publication. On receiving an invitation from the Director of Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom to contribute my reminiscences of the last years of the British rule in India as an I.C.S. Officer deputed in the Districts, I felt strongly motivated to recollect and write down my experiences. I reproduce extracts from this letter:

> I am writing to you to seek your help in a new project which for a number of reasons both we and some former members of the Indian Civil Service, both British and Indian, regard as of great interest and importance.
>
> The I.C.S. has a long tradition of historical and auto-biographical writing, a tradition maintained in recent years by Philip Mason and Lord Trevelyan. There is however a large gap in recent work on India which must be filled soon, or not at all. I refer to the experiences in India of the group of I.C.S. Officers who served there in the Districts during the last ten or fifteen years of the British Raj.
>
> I am sure you will agree that the circumstances differed considerably from those which affected earlier generations of the I.C.S. Officers. The main factors concerned were the impact of constitutional reform, particularly after the implementation of the Government of India Act 1935, the recruitment of more Indians into the I.C.S., the influence of the Indian National Congress, and latterly the cataclysmic effects of the Second World War, and the consultation leading to the transfer of power and Partition. It would seem well worth while recording such experiences, in the first place for de-

> posit, say, in the India Office Library as a source for research in the future. It is also hoped that there may be an opportunity to publish a selection of them. Publication would of course depend on a number of factors, for instance, response to the appeal, current interest in the subject, and the economic situation at the time. The project has however already been explained to a number of publishers who have expressed initial interest in such a publication. I do hope then that you will feel able to write an account of your own experiences either for publication or at least for permanent preservation.....
>
> The India Office Records holds the official archives of the India Office and copies of Government of India Proceedings, while the Library holds a large collection of private papers relating to India to which it is all the time adding correspondence, diaries and other relevant papers. The collection of memoirs (whether published or not) would be added to the Library's European manuscripts, for this would ensure that your memoirs would be preserved permanently and would be available for consultation by future generations of scholars.

A word about the Indian Civil Service popularly known as the steel frame of Indian administration may not be out of place here. A system of competitive examination was introduced in London under the Charter Act of 1853 and these examinations were held in London. It was in 1864 that the first Indian was appointed to the I.C.S. Thanks to the able advocacy of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the Imperial Legislative Council that decision was taken in 1922 to hold I.C.S. examinations simultaneously in Delhi as well. Arguing against the holding of examination in London alone, the Quaid said:

> You expect people to go to London all the way, taking all these risks and then, at the end, find themselves, if failures, with nothing to do. On the other hand, if you had simultaneous examinations in this country, you would find better men, better talents will have an opportunity of competing and you will get better men. I venture to say, better men will get in, if you had examinations here in India as well as in London. Therefore, Sir, I strongly object to the present system of recruiting for the Civil Service, and I say that it is obvious to any thinking man that, while theoretically the Civil Service examination is open to the sons of India, practically every possible difficulty is put in their way and the result of that is that you find (I believe that I am right) that out of 1300 Civilians holding various posts in this country today, there are no more than 60 to 70 Indians. Well, that is the state of things that, although in theory it is open to His Majesty's subjects in India to compete for the Civil Service, to

all practical purposes, the door is really closed.

Now, we say: Open that door properly and let there be honest, equal competition. Let the best talent of India compete for it. Put any test you like and then whoever is the fittest should get into that service.

On realizing the scarcity of opportunity for suitable Indians to join the I.C.S. and reflecting on its colonial character, Maulana Muhammad Ali observed in Comrade, "The Indian Civil Service is neither Indian nor Civil nor Service". It may be stated here that in 1909, only 60 were Indians out of a total cadre of 1142 Civil Servants. However, the introduction of holding I.C.S. examinations in Delhi enabled more Indians to join the I.C.S.

At the time of partition in August, 1947, there were only 108 Muslim Civil servants in contrast with 550 Englishmen and 386 Hindus.

In an article contributed by Humayon Kabir, Secretary to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education, who later on became Minister of Education in Government of India to the compilation entitled "The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935-47", edited by C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Weinwright - 1947", he observed,"It has sometimes been said that the Muslim members of the I.C.S. did more to strengthen the League than any politician except Jinnah."

How far is this acknowledgement of the contribution of the Muslim Civil Servants to the Pakistan Movement is a true statement of facts? It is a moot point.

I have very pleasant memories of my British colleagues in the I.C.S. They loved their work and were genuinely interested in serving the people entrusted to their charge.

To resume my story, I responded to the invitation of the Director of Foreign and Commonwealth Office and recorded my experiences as Assistant Collector and District Magistrate from 1934 to 1947 under the title "My Apprenticeship to Service in Pakistan".The Scholar Press, London, published "The District Officer in India - 1930-47" in August, 1980. It was compiled by two members of the I.C.S., Hunt and Harrison. The book contains extracts from the writings of 63 British, 6 Hindu and 4 Muslim members of the I.C.S.

After my retirement, Mr. M.A. Zuberi, the Editor of Business Recorder, Karachi egged me on to continue my story from 1947 upto 1966. My articles were published every week in the Literary Supplement of Business Recorder. When the material was rearranged in the book form, the period was further stretched upto 1988.

I had no plans to compile a book, but for the persuasion of Mr. Husain Nasser, Chief Executive, Mustafain & Murtazain (Pvt) Limited, whose resolute will and ceaseless efforts made it possible to see the light of the day. In the

preparation of the book, Mr. Husain Nasser was able to organise a team of intellecutals, scholars, editors and technicians who have taken great pains to thoroughly read, revise and update the contents and also taken good care of the formal aspects of editing, englishing, composition and the production of the book in its entirety. It is through their ceaseless efforts day in and day out that the book has taken its final shape. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to all of them individually and severally. However, I must mention in particular, the names of Professor Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmed, the Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Karachi University an internationally reknowned scholar and formerly the distinguished Quaid-e-Azam Professor of Pakistan Studies at Columbia University, New York, U.S.A. and Prof. Hasan Askari Fatmi who generously offered their constructive suggestions to improve upon the quality and formal production aspects of the book. I am also thankful to Prof. S.G. Abbas for rendering Urdu verses cited in the book into English with finesse and skill. It may not be out of place to mention the name of my friend, Mr. Raghib Moradabadi, an eminent poet who took the responsibility of supervising references of Urdu verses in the text of the book.

In the end, it suffices to say that Hamari Manzil, my autobiography truly reflects my philosophy of life and my deep commitment to the ideology of Pakistan.

I do hope that my book will be a source of inspiration to the lovers of biographies and will provide interesting and useful material both to the scholars as well as the general readers.

S. Hashim Raza

May 11, 1990

SYED HASHIM RAZA

EDITOR'S NOTE

IN INTRODUCING THE PRESENT volume entitled; "HAMARI MANZIL" an autobiography of an eminent civil servant, Mr. Syed Hashim Raza, I would like to take this opportunity of explaining to the readers my deep interest in the ideology of Pakistan, and the background of its creation after great sacrifices of the millions of Muslims of South Asia.

Perhaps, many of the readers may be intrigued to know that I am by profession a Mechanical Engineer and am involved in Heavy Construction Equipment job application projects in remote parts of the country. After completing my early schooling and further professional education at Lahore, and higher education in Engineering in the USA, I returned to settle down in Karachi and started my professional career.

My professional concerns with many different Engineering projects in all the five provinces of Pakistan had provided me frequent opportunities of extensively travelling and visiting all important cities of Pakistan and remotest places and meeting different people from different walks of life. In East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) my involvement with the Engineering projects of Karnaphully Hydro-Electric Project (KAPTAI) in Chittagong Hill tracks, and other such projects took me to Chittagong, Narain Ganj, Bogra, Jaipurhat, Chalna Anchorage, and Cox Bazaar etc., and had occasions to spend some time in Dhaka which was my regional Headquarter in former East Pakistan. In the province of Sindh, I have visited remote parts of the interior from Jhimpir, Kotri to Mirpurkhas, Rohri, Sukkur, Larkana, Nawabshah, Dokri and Shikarpur and at a later stage in the company of the celebrated intellectual, lawyer, constitutionalist, and statesman, late A.K. Brohi, I had the privilege of meeting eminent men of the Sindh Province. In Baluchistan, my professional commitments in conducting surveys, and organising Mineral Exploratory Drilling projects took me to far off places such as sore-ranges coal mines Daudkhel Coal Mines, chromite mines in Hindubagh (now Muslim bagh) and at the job site of Saindak copper Deposit projects as well as many other projects in which my Principal Engineering Associates were engaged under the finances of the US AID and the United Nations for determining the estimated quantity of Mineral deposits in various parts of Baluchistan and the same also included

Sharigh Colleries and Chichachali Iron deposit projects near Kalabagh. This provided me an opportunity to meet people of all walks of life in Baluchistan.

In the Punjab province of my domicile, I have witnessed Development Water and Power Projects, the establishment of WAPDA, and had the privilege of being associated directly and indirectly almost with all projects like Mangla Dam, Balloki-Link-Canal, Chashma and later on with Tarbela Dam, and in the same context, I effectively participated in Irrigation development projects, and in collaboration with expertise manufacturers and professional engineer, I organised Dragline-Excavator Operation at remote parts of Sialkot, Okara, Rahim-yar-Khan and Bhawalpur and also at Darya Ganj.

During all these thirty years, I developed a keen interest in observing national integration of dirverse elements of its population and consequent crises of political development, I thoroughly enjoyed meeting all types of people from all walks of life, and the ever changing panorama of Pakistani life — the problems of all four provinces and almost everywhere, I was fortunate to cultivate most friendly relations with many respectable people. I still treasure and fondly cherish the memories of all these friends.

Believe me, the common factor that binds more than ninety five percent population is the spirit of patriotism and commitment to the national ideology. Irrespective of the fact that they belong to Sindh, or Punjab or NWFP or Baluchistan or Kashmir, they are all staunch muslims, simple and honest and proud patriotic Pakistani. However, only a small segment of the youthful intellengentsia has been misguided by enemies of Pakistan and kept ignorant of the details of national struggle of Indian Muslims in achieving freedom and independence.

In this contexct, many years back I made up my mind to develop a Publication House with the sole object of printing and publishing fully documented books which may help our young generation to comprehend and appreciate the ideology of Pakistan and stimulate and motivate them to rededicate themselves to the great task of rebuilding a strong and prosperous Pakistan.

The great tragedy of East Pakistan debacle in 1971 leading (now Bangladesh) to the dismemberment of Pakistan came as a rude shock to me, since I always believed that all Bangali Muslims were true partriots like others in Pakistan. This tragedy reinforced my earnest desire to accelerate my efforts for the publication of a series of books on the background and ideology of Pakistan.

I have been one of the fortunate persons who have been friendly with most of the outstanding scholars and politicians but many of them, inspite of their eminence, were not willing to spare time for such a noble cause, as almost all

of them were so deeply involved in their day-to-day political or career routine.

I have been constantly on the look out for such a wise man who could narrate the story of the Pakistan Movement, and explain to the younger generation the ideology of Pakistan, and recount the sacrifices of the millions of the Muslims in the creation of Pakistan. My primary objective of producing such a volume has been to make available to the citizens of Pakistan in general and the younger generation in particular all facts of history before them, and exhort and stimulate them to rededicate themselves to the great task of building a prosperous, stable and strong Pakistan in the years to come. This would also provide materials to the future historians and social scientists of Pakistan.

After a long span of time, after all I discovered in Syed Hashim Raza a person of my vision. I have always admired Syed Sahib as a great patriot with impeccable character, integrity and honesty. His devotion to the cause of Pakistan is sufficiently evidenced throughout his entire career as a senior civil servant before and after independence. It may not be wrong to say that Syed Hashim Raza is one of the founding fathers of Pakistan.

On the eve of independence, he was given the most formidable task of refugee rehabilitation, and was the first administrator of Karachi as the Federal Capital. Later, he had served in so many other important positions in the Government of Pakistan. He has inimitable memory, and has vast knowledge of all the details of the history of Freedom Movement of the Indian Muslims, and had personally witnessed the sacrifices made by millions of Muslims in the course of achieving independence.

Thus, I decided to persuade Syed Sahib to write down his memoirs. In deference to my earnest desire, Syed Sahib kindly acceded to my request to recollect details of his life-story, and record them into logical thematic and choronological sequence in the form of an autobiography. All his papers, articles, interviews and letter and other documents were collected, and these were edited into a book form by a team of scholars, translators, editors and other technicians under his constant guidance.

The volume of seven hundred pages divided into 32 chapters took almost two years to take a final shape.

In this connection, I must acknowledge the timely expert advice extended to me in thoroughly revising, editing and englishing the text of the book by Prof. Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmed, ex-Vice Chancellor of Karachi University and an internationally recognised scholar and writer. His contribution has greatly helped in giving finishing touches to the book.

I should also record here my appreciation for a young man, Mr. Syed Waseem Hussain who has done the most painstaking work of typing, correcting thoroughly the minutest details of editorial work, and finally

feeding the entire manuscript into our computer and undertook the difficult task of proof reading for the press.

I have carefully chosen the title of the book "HAMARI MANZIL", Our Destination with the sole object of highlighting the ideology of Pakistan, and its corollary concept of Two-Nations based on the Islamic ideals and values as the foundation of the state of Pakistan which came into being on the 14th August, 1947. This central theme of the book would go a long way in enlightening the future generations, and scholars and researchers within the country and abroad who are anxiously trying to comprehend the origins and development of Pakistan as a state based on Islamic ideals of equality, brotherhood, and social justice.

Therefore, we may be justified to assert that "HAMARI MANZIL" will be found of great value for all times to come.

Husain Nasser

HUSAIN NASSER

PAKISTANI EXPRESSIONS

Abba, *Father.*
Achchha, *Yes.*
Al-Quran, *Holy book of Muslims which is the last and final message of God.*
Allah's Arsh, *The Abode of God.*
Allah, *The Arabic word Allah means God.*
Allah-o-Akbar, *Is a slogan and a war-cry in Islam which means - Allah is Great.*
Amanat, *Trust.*
Andha, Blind.
Aqeeq-e-Yamani, *A kind of precious stone.*
Avatar, *Reincarnation of god.*
Aya, *Nanny.*
Bastis, *Settlements.*
Begum Sahiba, *Polite expression for wife of a dignitary.*
Bhajans, *Hymns.*
Butshikan, *Idol breaker, iconoclast.*
Chatai, *Mat.*
Chota, *Small.*
Dewan, *The Chief Officer of a native state in India before independence.*
Dopatta, *A flowing scarf.*
Durwaish, *A saint / ascetic.*
Eisa, Jesus.
Firdaus, *Means Heaven.*
Gharara Suit, *A formal traditional dress for Muslim women.*
Haj, *Holy pilgrimage.*
Hakims, *Practitioner of oriental system of medicine popularly known as Unani (Greek) system.*
Harijans, *Low caste Hindus.*
Hilal, *Means the crescent and rising moon.*
Himaqat, *Follies,*
Houri, *Beautiful lady like a fairy..*

I.C.S., *Indian Civil Service, British trained administrators for government services.*
Imam, *Means leader, here it refers to Imam Ali and his eleven descendants.*
Iran-e-Saghir, *Smaller Iran.*
Islam, *Islam is not only a religion but a way of life.*
Jaedad, *Property.*
Jagir, *Estate.*
Jalal, *Refers to the state of mystical ecstasy which tends to create a sense of Awe.*
Jamal, *Refers to mystical expereince in which enchanting beauty brings spritual solace.*
Jannat-ul-Baqi, *The graveyard in Medinah where Muslim companions and others are buried.*
Jehad, *Holy war.*
Jhuggis, *Huts.*
Kafees, *Quatrains and other metrical compositions.*
Kalima, *In the Arabic language, the word ' Kalima' means vow. The actual Kalima is "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger".*
Karbala, *A place where Imam Husain martyred.*
Khadim, *Servant.*
Khak-e-Shifa, *Healing dust of Karbala which is believed to bring relief to ailing patients.*
Kharif, *Autumn.*
Khayanat, *betrayal of trust.*
Kutte-jo-Qabar, *Dog's tomb.*
Lassi, *Yoghurt liquid - a beverage which is commonly used in many parts of the Sub-continent.*
Maharajas, *The great kings.*
Matabs, *Clinics.*
Maulvi, *Muslim Priest.*
Mehndi, *Coloured red by pasting powdered liquid made of leaves of Mehndi shrubs.*
Mehrab, *Arch.*
Mela, *Fair.*
Mirza Ghalib Bunder Road Par, *'Mirza Ghalib on Bunder Road'. - A play in which late Mirza Ghalib is visualized to revisit Bunder Road in Karachi.*
Muazzin, *One who gives clarion call for five times congregational prayers everyday.*
Mubahila, *Form of a debate in which exponents argue with each other pros and cons of a theme.*

Mukka, *Fist.*
Mundhani, *Bowl.*
Murids, *Followers.*
Mussala-e-Muhammad, *place of prayer*
Naqsha, *Map.*
Nawabs, *A title usually given to the head of a estate.*
Nikah, *Wedding contract between husband and wife.*
Palla, *A kind of fish*
Patras Key Mazameen, *Articles written by a prominent Urdu satirist, late Ahmed Shah Bokhari Patras.*
Patras key Khutoot, *Letters of Patras.*
Pesh Imam, *Leader of the Congregation.*
PRODA, *Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act.*
Prophet, *The Prophet of Islam is Hazrat Muhammad (p.b.u.h.)*
Pundit, *A title given to Barhman as, for instance Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.*
Purana Qila, *Old Castle.*
Qasre-Naz, *Literally means a Palace. Now it is the name of State Guest House in Karachi.*
Qaum, *Nation.*
Qissa, *Story.*
Rabi, *Spring.*
Rasai, *Free supply of provisions , the cost of which was met out of a fund subscribed by local zamindars.*
Roza, *Mausoleum.*
Roznamcha, *Daily dairy.*
Ruet-e-Hilal Committee, *Committee for moon-sighting - according to the Muslim lunar calendar.*
Sachcha, *Truthful.*
Salaam, *Traditional gesture of greeting.*
Savan, *Rainy season.*
Scheduled Caste, *Term used by British Government for Harijans.*
Shamianas, *Tents.*
Sherwani, *Pakistani National dress for men.*
Shikargah, *Hunting place.*
Taleem-e-Balighan, *Adult literacy, the title of a play written by late Khawaja Moinuddin, a prominent Urdu play-writer.*
Taluqdar, *Wealthy Landowner.*
Tamasha, *Plaything.*
Tasaruf, *Poetic juxtaposition in the verses of Ghalib and Iqbal.*
Tauheed, *Means that God is one and indivisible.*

Toshakhana, *A place from where food is supplied.*
Vaids, *Practitioner of indigenous Indian system of medicine known as Ayurvedic system.*
Yusuf-e-Gum Ghashta, *Biblical name Joseph, the Lost.*
Zamindars, *landowners.*
Ziarat, *Pilgrimage to Holy places of Muslims.*
Ziqad, *Zilhij, Names of months according to Islamic lunar calendar.*

1

MY CAREER AS I.C.S

— The Steel frame of Indian Administration
— "Indian Civil Service".

IT WAS MY FAMILY background and my academic career which prompted me to compete for the Indian Civil Service at the Delhi Examination of January, 1932.

My father, Mr. Justice Syed Muhammad Raza, was among the first five judges of the Oudh Chief Court when it was established in 1926. Upto 1926, Oudh had a bench of three Judicial Commissioners of whom two were members of the I.C.S. and the third was Syed Wazir Hasan.The initial bench of the Chief Court comprised Chief Justice Sir Louis Stuart (I.C.S.), Mr. Justice Allsop (I.C.S.), Mr. Justice Syed Wazir Hasan, Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra, then a Member of the U.P. Legislative Assembly, and my father.

My father was the District and Session Judge of Hardoi (U.P.) before he was raised to the bench. In a province where the population of Muslims was less than 14 percent, his elevation to the Bench, which already had a Muslim Judge, was as much a tribute to the fair-mindedness of his selectors as to his own merits.

My elder brother, Syed Kazim Raza, was appointed to the Indian Imperial Police Service in 1921. Since my father had to deal with law and my brother with order, I aspired to get into a service in which I could deal with law as well as order.

Another example that inspired me to compete for the I.C.S. was the career of my maternal grand-father, Syed Mehdi Hasan, M.A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law, Indian Service Order. He took his degree from Downing College, Cambridge, where he studied from 1889 to 1892. He was called to the Bar in 1892 from the Inner Temple. He was Deputy Commissioner of Several Districts of C.P. upto 1917.

On his retirement, he was appointed Dewan of Bastar State and died in

harness in 1918. At a public meeting held at Nagpur to condole his death and to appreciate his services, the Chief Commissioner of C.P. sent the following message which was read by his Secretary, "Mehdi Hasan was the first Indian who made me respect Indians."

I passed my Matriculation Examination from the Government High School, Hardoi (U.P.) in 1926 and was placed in the first division. In 1928, I was awarded special prize and won the Lucknow University scholarship for B.A. I obtained my B.A. degree from Canning College, Lucknow, in 1930. My subjects were English, Political Science and Persian. I was lucky to stand first in the B.A. Examination of Lucknow University, got a gold medal and was awarded the University scholarship for M.A. I took my M.A. degree in Political Science in 1932 and got a first class in that examination too.

Two of my teachers who inspired me to compete for the I.C.S. were Dr. V. Shiva Ram and Professor V.K.N. Menon. Dr. V. Shiva Ram, M.A., Ph.D., was Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Head of the Department of Political Science, Lucknow University, who had been a research exhibitioner at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Carnegie Fellow in International Law. Professor V.K.N. Menon, B.A. (Oxon), was Reader, Department of Political Science, Lucknow University. I still treasure their memories and seek the indulgence of the reader to quote what they wrote about me in 1930. This is what Prof. V.S. Ram recorded on December 24, 1930:

> Hashim Raza is one of the best students in the University. He has taken a first class first in his B.A. examination last April and is expected to top the list again in his M.A. examination as well. He is very well read in Political Science and allied subjects and has specialized in public administration. He is not only a very intelligent student, but has great application of mind. He is very popular both with his fellow students and members of the staff, due to his charming manners and sterling qualities. In fact, I have rarely come across a more serious, abler and hard-working student in my ten years of teaching experience in the U.P. than Hashim Raza.
>
> Raza has also shown considerable powers of leadership both in and outside the classroom. I am sure he would make a mark in whatever profession he may choose to enter. I am confident he can pass the competitive examination successfully. I am sure, he would be a great asset to the public services, by virtue of his ability, coupled with scholarship and character - V. Shiva Ram.

Prof. V.K.N. Menon wrote the following note on 28th December, 1930:

Hashim Raza B.A., has been a student of mine now for over two years; and during this period I have come to know him very well both in the class room and outside.

I consider him one of the three or four ablest students that have passed through this Department, and throughout his own time he has easily been the best student. His record has been a first class one throughout, and I expect him to pass in the first-class in his M.A. as well.

Exceptionally intelligent, Hashim has throughout worked very hard, and read extremely widely. And I have always noticed with pleasure that he assimilates what he reads, and expresses what he thinks. I must here add a word about his unusually good hand-writing, which it is a pleasure to read.

Hashim is a young man also of the highest and strongest character, and his manners too are very pleasant.

He comes of a rich and high family, it has been therefore a special pleasure to observe his capacity for hard work, and his fine character.

I have not the least doubt that Hashim will go far in life, and I wish him all success. - V.K. Nandan Menon.

Dr. Ram was the author of several standard books. Prof. Menon rose to be the Vice-Chancellor of Patna University.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW:

And now a word about the Lucknow University which has been my alma mater. Established in 1932, it was not as old as the universities of Allahabad and Calcutta, it soon attained a distinction in the field of higher learning and knowledge. As a result of it, scholars of great repute and men of sound learning felt attracted towards it. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Lucknow University was established within the shortest possible duration, largely through the donations of 272 Taluqdars of Oudh, the biggest donors being the Raja of Mehmudabad and Raja of Jahangirabad. Within a couple of years, a sum of Rs. 30 lakh was collected which put the University finances on an even keel. Judging by standards of the present times, this amount may not look impressive; but in those days, it was undoubtedly a huge amount of money.

Among the professors whose classes I attended and who attained an All-India fame were:

Dr. Ram and Professor Menon, Political Science.

Professor N.K. Sidhdhanta. (He became afterwards Educational Adviser to the Government of India), English language and literature.

Professor Sareshta, M.A. (Oxon), English language and literature.

Dr. Muhammad Bazlur Rahman, M.A. Ph.D. (Cantab) and Professor Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi, M.A., Persian and Urdu.

Dr. Wali Muhammad, (Every-day Science was among the compulsory subjects of the ICS Examination), Science.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji, Economics,
Dr. Radha Kamud Mukerji, History. } .... Both were real brothers.

THE I.C.S. EXAMINATION

— "Open that door properly and let there be honest, equal competition. Let the best talent of India compete for it. Put any test you like and then whatever is the fittest, should get into that service". — M.A. Jinnah - 1921.

IF I HAD NOT been successful in the competitive examination, the alternatives could have been a literary career, a political career or journalism.

Although a literary career had very often fascinated me, yet I was not prepared to face its consequences. I knew that among the writers and poets of Lucknow, some were starving and others were living from hand to mouth. Poetry and poverty are close neighbours.

As for the political career, the more I read of politics, the more I felt that I was not temperamentally suited for it. Although political service is one of the best forms of voluntary service in the community, the community usually looks upon the politicians with misgivings and mistrust.

Lord Baden Powell, the pioneer of Scouting Movement all over the world, had no regard for politicians. His dislike of politicians is well known. "From what I know of them", he wrote "I would not trust an ordinary politician with my grandmother's toothbrush". When Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first lexicographer and an eminent man of letters of England, was told by his devotee, Boswell, that a certain politician was much worried on account of the affairs of the state, he exclaimed, "That is can't, Sir. Public affairs vex no man." Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, summed up his experience of political life in these words 'Politics is neither a science nor an art but a dodge'. A political commentator described politician as a man who will find an excuse to get out of everything except out of office. George Bernard Shaw concluded "politics is a smug's game."

Journalism had been a great attraction for me ever since my school days. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Hasrat Mohani were my ideal during that period

of life. Maulana Muhammad Ali (1878-1931) was a versatile poet, a veteran journalist, a seasoned politician, a fiery orator and had an equal command over Urdu and English. His Urdu verses under the nom de plume 'Jauhar' earned him the encomium of eminent men of letters. Lovet Fraster, Editor of the 'Times of India', wrote on his death:

> He had a marvellous command over the English language. No Indian and perhaps very few Englishmen could write better than he did.

Maulana Jauhar was the only Indian leader who was elected as President of the foremost political parties of India, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

After standing first in the B.A. examination of Aligarh University, he proceeded to Lincoln College, Oxford, from where he took his Honours degree in Modern History. In his autobiographical notes, he wrote:

> After four years I returned to India after taking my degree, though not as a member of the much coveted Indian Civil Service, thanks to an English spring and a young man's more or less foolish fancy.

Jauhar was in fact lucky not to have qualified for the I.C.S. for instead of the anonymity of government service, he made a name to conjure with his paper 'Comrade', which was read with great interest by the Viceroy down the humblest civil servant. His Urdu paper 'Hamdard' set a high standard as a literary-cum-news journal like the 'New Statesman' of England. How could Maulana Muhammad Ali as a civil servant earn the tribute which H.G. Wells paid to him on his death in London on January 4, 1931?

> Muhammad Ali!" said H.G. Wells, "had Napoleon's heart, Burke's tongue and Macaulay's pen.

Like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951) was a product of Aligarh. Their political careers ran on the same wave length. Soon after graduating in 1903, he edited a literary magazine named 'Urdu-e-Moalla'. In 1908, an anonymous article was published in that magazine highly critical of the British occupation of Egypt. He was prosecuted for publishing it. The court asked him to divulge the name of the author but he refused to do so. He was sentenced for two years' imprisonment which he did not mind. What he minded was the confiscation of his press and, in lieu of the

fine which he refused to pay, the auction of his books for a paltry sum of Rs. 60/-. His library contained some valuable manuscripts.

Professor J.H. Hardy, the celebrated Cambridge mathematician, was of the view that "the poet Houseman would have refused to be Lord Simon or Lord Beaverbrooke. He would have rejected their careers because he would have scorned to be a man to be forgotten in 20 years." Poet Hasrat too would have reacted in the same manner as poet Houseman.

The I.C.S. examination was reputed to be one of the most difficult tests in the world. A candidate could avail himself of three chances in London (between the age 21-24) and two in Delhi (between the age 21-23). To revert to the Delhi examination of 1932, it was held in the Metcalf House, Old Delhi, throughout the month of January. The final result was published in June and my position among 230 candidates was 11th. I could tell my friends that I was included in the first eleven of India, even though I was a goal-keeper! When I was asked my preferences for provinces, I listed U.P., Punjab and C.P. in this order.

I was called to Naini Tal, the summer headquarters of the U.P. Government for an interview with the Governor, Sir Malcolm Haily, a most distinguished member of the I.C.S. When he asked me why I wanted to serve in the U.P., I mentioned my affiliations, my father and brother and other relations serving the U.P. Government. He remarked:

> Precisely for these reasons you should not serve in the U.P. There are bound to be pressures on you from your relatives and their friends and it is best to serve in a province where you know nobody.

Although I did not get any of the provinces of my choice, I succeeded in getting the university of my choice. As in those days, I.C.S. qualified candidates were trained in England, I had listed Oxford, Cambridge and London School of Oriental Studies in the order of preference and I got Oxford.

I sailed from Bombay to Marseilles in s.s. "Comorin" on the 3rd September, 1932. Since I had passed the examination of proficiency in French held in February, 1930, by the University of Lucknow, I thought I would try my French on Frenchmen in Marseilles and Paris on my way to London. In that attempt, I was sorely disappointed. The Frenchmen to whom I spoke, could seldom follow what I was saying and vice versa. They talked so rapidly that I had to rely more on their gestures than on their words. The scenes of Paris, however, held my mind in thrill. After my difficulty with the French language in Paris, it was a big relief to be able to talk to people in London. I felt much more at home in London.

When I reported my arrival to Smith, Secretary, Services and General Department, India Office, I was told that I would have to serve in Bombay Presidency.

This was a bit of a disappointment as I did not get any province of my choice and when I told Smith that I had not asked for Bombay, he remarked that people seldom got the province they asked for. He added that N.N. Wanchoo who had topped the list of successful candidates of 1932 had asked for Punjab, U.P. or C.P., but was assigned to Bihar and Orissa. When he protested, he was told that he got Bihar and Orissa because he stood first in the examination! It transpired that on a recent protest from the Governor of Bihar and Orissa that none of the qualified candidates who had topped the list in the Delhi Examination was ever assigned to Bihar and Orissa, the Viceroy had directed that whosoever stood first in the next examination should go to Bihar and Orissa. After that revelation, I thought I had no case.

Looking back in the past, I am glad that I was assigned to Bombay, since the cadre of the I.C.S. for Bombay and Sind remained joint even after the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency on 1st April, 1936.

It was on this account that I could ask, in 1938, for being transferred to Sind - a shift which enabled me to greet the dawn of Pakistan in Karachi on the 14th August, 1947, but more of that later.

After the events of 1857 which the British regarded as a Mutiny and the Indians as their first War of Independence, the responsibility for governing India was taken over directly by the Crown from the East India Company. The Indian Civil Service Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1862, although a competitive examination for service in India had commenced in 1853. For the first time, four Indians qualified for entry into the Indian Civil Service in 1864. The pace of Indianisation, however, remained at a snail's pace.

Before the duration of a voyage from England to India was reduced to half by the opening of the Suez Canal, the Englishman whose wife and children seldom accompanied them to India, used to mix with Indians socially. After it was made possible for the wives to join their husbands in India, the English society became a close society and the doors of the top most clubs were barred to the Indians. It may sound odd, but till 1947, the Sind Club did not admit Indians to its membership. In certain Cantonments, the roads were closed to Indians, during the evening hours, the only exception being the maids to enable the Mem Sahibs and their children to stroll in the streets. There is a story of a Madrasi Wrangler who went to pay a courtesy call to a Cantab I.C.S., who had been very friendly with him in Cambridge and who had been appointed Collector and District Magistrate of his District. As he was about to enter his

office, the peon asked him to take off his shoes! In his book, "The Indian Chaos" (1932), F.W. Wilson summed up the regime of the Englishmen in India in the following words:

> Efficiency combined with the most amazing indifference and incompetence, sympathy existing side by side with the most offensive form of social intolerance, devotion to duty combined with a complete lack of imagination.

Arthur Wellesley, Lord Wellington (1769 - 1852), who spent the early part of his military service in South India, wrote about India to his brother Henry Wellesley, who became Governor-General of India:

> I know but one recipe for good health in this country and that is to live moderately, to drink little or no wine, to use exercise, to keep the mind employed, and if possible, to keep in good humour with the world. The last is the most difficult, for, as you have often observed, there is hardly a good-tempered man in India.

Taking a retrospective view of his experiences in India, Wellington wrote much later, "Taking the natives and the climate together, India was a miserable country to live in, and I now begin to think that a man well deserves some of the wealth which is sometimes brought home for having spent his life there." In the words of Rudyard Kipling, the Anglo-India and the Indian-India were two separate entities and the twain shall never meet.

In 1909, out of a total cadre of 1,142 only 60 were Indians, Since there was no competitive examination for the I.C.S. in India, many a bright candidate was precluded from competing for it owing to insufficient means to proceed to London and appear for this examination. Political leaders in India demanded that there should be another competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service in India. Maulana Jauhar was so much disgusted with the I.C.S. system that he declared: "The Indian Civil Service was neither Indian, nor Civil, nor Service." The foremost among these leaders was Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In his speech at the Imperial Legislative Council - 21st September, 1917 - on the resolution regarding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India and England, he made the following points, which are worth reproducing in detail:

> Now, Sir, I do not wish in any way to convey any idea of criticising the Civil Service unnecessarily. The position is this. The people of India say 'you lay down any test you like, but give us equal opportunities.' Why should the people of India not have equal

opportunities? Now, it has been said that the competitive test is the best possible test that we can think of and I propose with the permission of the Council, to quote the words of Balfour which I had the honour of putting forward before the Public Service Commission. This is what Balfour says:

'There can be no doubt, for example, that a man who can succeed in a severe competition, must have great powers of work, great powers of concentration, great powers of maturing a subject and great powers of reproducing his knowledge. The existence of these mental powers is shown to demonstration by success and they are, all of them, of the utmost use in every walk of life and not the least perhaps in that of the Indian Civilian'.

Now, the first difficulty which the Honourable Member puts forward is that it would certainly not maintain the preponderance of the British element. Now, Sir, may I know why is it necessary to have a preponderance of the British element? Why? If, as we are contemplating, we are not going to have, I hope, for a very long time — a bureaucracy that will be the servants of the people, and that is what we are aiming at, and if our hopes are realised in the reconstruction of the Government, we hope that the bureaucracy which, under the present constitution, are the masters and the rulers, will be the servants responsible to the people and under the control of the people. If that is to be realised, may I, Sir, know why there should be a substantial element of the British? We want a service, we want men who will serve us, who will discharge their duties efficiently and faithfully to the Government."...."What we want, Sir, is this, we want an efficient service. Let it be open to competition to any one, to Europeans, Hindus and Muhammadans, Parsis, etc. and the fittest get in; the survival of the fittest should be the rules for recruiting the highest service.

Then I have given you what my objections are at the present moment to the Civil Service examination being held in London only. Sir, we know perfectly well, and let me tell you this that the Indian element which you now get by this door, which is a door which really more obstructs the Indians from getting in because you put so many difficulties in the way, a man has got to go to London, a man who has to get money, a man who has to take the chance and the risk of working for years and at the end of 5 or 6 years, if he fails in the Civil Service, he is good for nothing."

(The Hon. Sir William Vincent: "I always understood he went to the Bar.")

No, the Hon. Member is very much mistaken. If he cannot get into the Civil Service, he will be much less able to get on at the Bar.

> However, that is beside the point. Therefore, you expect people to go to London all the way taking all the risks and then at the end find themselves, if failures, with nothing to do. On the other hand, if you had simultaneous examinations in this country, you would find better men, better talents will have an opportunity of competing and you will get better men, I venture to say better men will get in, if you had examinations here in India as well as in London. Therefore, Sir, I strongly object to the present system of recruiting for the Civil Service, and I say that it is obvious to any thinking man that, while theoretically the Civil Service examination is open to the sons of India, practically every possible difficulty is put in their way and the result of that is that you find (I believe that I am right) that out of 1300 Civilians holding various posts in this country to-day there are no more than 60 or 70 Indians. Well, that is the state of things that, although in theory it is open to his majesty's subjects in India to compete for the Civil Services, to all practical purposes, the door is really closed.

Speaking on 24th September, 1917, in the same Assembly on the resolution regarding proportion of Indian recruits in the Indian Civil Service, Jinnah observed:

> Well, the only objections that have been raised against this alternative are the same objections. viz., that if 50 per cent of Indians get into the Indian Civil Service, it would imperil the British character of the administration. Well, Sir, I want to know what is meant by the 'British character of the administration'. Is the meaning of this phrase, European element? Is the meaning of this phrase, colour? Or is the meaning of this phrase those great qualities which have distinguished the European administration of this country? If the phrase 'British character of the administrators' means those great qualities, viz. uprightness, honesty, integrity, high sense of duty, — and I have no hesitation in acknowledging that many members of the Civil Service have displayed them in this country — I can understand it. If an Indian also has those qualities and if such Indians are the preponderating element in the Civil Service, does that mean British character of administration or not? Or must it mean that we must have so many of a particular race or colour? If latter is the meaning, Sir, I strongly object to such a rule or standard. No race, no question of religion or creed has to be considered in recruiting our highest service. Efficiency is the only test and those qualities which I have mentioned above.

The tributes which Muhammad Ali Jinnah paid so generously to the

members of the Indian Civil Service were, no doubt, well deserved. The Service was known as the 'Steel frame of the Indian Administration'. Those who were not in it, called it 'Heaven Born'.

N.B. Bonarjee, I.C.S., who was a contemporary of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in Oxford - the latter became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan - writes in his memoirs entitled "Under Two Masters, 1970" and I quote him:

> Sir Narcot Warren was willing to take me in the Imperial Bank of India but advised me to compete for the I.C.S. saying 'There is no service in the world to equal the I.C.S.'

At long last, in 1920, the Secretary of State for India decided to have a competitive examination for the I.C.S. in India. In 1931, the Service had 1,299 Members of whom 759 were British and 540 were Indians. The parity between the British and Indian members of the ICS was arrived at as a result of the falling off of the British candidates during the Second World War (1939-45). On the 5th March 1947, Sir Stafford Cripps told the British Parliament that Britain was no longer in a position to discharge its responsibilities in India. It had no power to rule. "Our withdrawal is out of sheer necessity."

PROBATIONARY PERIOD IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

— My two years at oxford turned out to be the happiest of my eudcational career.

THE PROBATIONARY PERIOD FOR those who qualified from India, was two years: for those who qualified from England, it was one year.

According to the seniority rules, among the successful probationers who joined in the same year became senior to those who qualified from Delhi with the result that the candidate who stood last in the London Examination became senior to the candidate who had topped the list in Delhi a year earlier.

I quote an instance of a candidate, M.G. Monani, who appeared with me in Delhi in January, 1932, was placed 34th in the list and failed to qualify from India. He sailed for England shortly afterwards and appeared for the competitive examination in London in June which he cleared. He joined the Service in India in October, 1933, and became senior to all the candidates who qualified from Delhi in the year 1931.

One of my colleagues, T. Ramabhadran, (later Justice Ramabhadran of Allahabad High Court) circulated a draft memorandum for the consideration

of the Secretary of State for India proposing that the period of probation should be uniform for those who qualified from London or Delhi. I did not support the proposal on the ground that an extra year in Oxford compensated amply for the loss of seniority of some places in India.

My two years at Oxford turned out to be the happiest of my educational career. Every College in Oxford owes its academic excellence to the hard work of men of calibre and stature over the past so many centuries. The past and the present mingled together seem to have given it a unique form.

My College - Jesus College - was founded in 1517 by Queen Elizabeth I. I was invited to its 400th Anniversary of the foundation which was celebrated on 27th June, 1971. It was not lack of enthusiasm but lack of funds which prevented me from joining the celebrations.

Jesus was reputed to be a Welshmen's College. Every other student was either Evans or Jones!

I moved into College rooms during my first year. On my first evening, I was feeling homesick and was thinking of the near and dear ones I had left in Lucknow when someone knocked at the door. It was H.M. Jones who had a room on the same staircase. He said he wanted to keep company. I welcomed him and told him how lonely I was feeling, separated from my home 7,000 miles away. He said he sailed in the same boat. I told him that his home - Wales - was close to Oxford. He said, "But we Welshmen are so different from Englishmen! We do not feel at home in these surroundings." This was the first time that I learnt that the United Kingdom was not that much united as it appeared to us from a distance. He was good enough to enliven my evening by singing a Welsh song which related to the pangs of separation from one's beloved.

We were taught Indian History, Indian Social Systems, Constitutional Law, Criminal Law, Indian Penal Code, Cr.P.C., Indian Evidence Act, Indian languages and Phonetics at the Indian Institute which was located next to the Sheldonian Theatre.

Our teachers included some distinguished retired members of the I.C.S., like Sir Richard Burns, Ex-Chief Secretary (U.P.) Justice Benjamin Lindsey, former Judge of the Allahabad High Court, C.N. Seddon of the Bombay Cadre, Ex-Dewan of Baroda State and R.P. Dewhurst, a retired District and Session Judge of U.P., Rev. Thompson, a missionary, who had spent considerable time in Bengal, used to teach Bengali. He, alongwith Garret, was the author of the "British Rule in India".

Much emphasis was laid on learning the language of the Province to which a probationer was posted. Dewhurst used to teach Urdu as well as Hindi. His knowledge of Urdu was very good. He told me that he had appealed to the

Advocates who appeared in his Court at Lucknow to carry on the proceedings in Urdu. Lucknow was the cradle of Urdu language and Muslim culture after the decline of the Mughal metropolis, Delhi. One young Indian Barrister asked him the reason for his appeal. Dewhurst's reply must have shocked him. "English is my mother tongue", said Dewhurst, "and I have acquired the knowledge of Urdu. Urdu is your mother tongue and you have acquired the knowledge of English. I know that my pronunciation of Urdu must be jarring to your ears. Your pronunciation of English is equally jarring to my ears. Let us both speak in our own mother-tongues". Dewhurst composed two poems in Urdu and read them at our annual functions.

Professor Firth of the London University used to visit the Indian Institute once in a fortnight to give us lessons in Phonetics. In 1935, when Lord Brabourne was the Governor of Bombay, Prof. Firth and I were staying at the Government House, Ganesh Khand, Poona. I was attending the I.C.S. week which used to be celebrated with much enthusiasm in those days. When I asked Professor Firth what brought him to Bombay Presidency, he told me that he had come to study how a particular letter of the Marathi alphabet was pronounced in the Central and Southern Divisions of the Bombay Presidency. I complimented him at his zeal although I wondered whether he had spent his own money on that labour of love or some literary society had financed his trip to India. I once asked him whether he came across any Indian who could speak English like English-men. His reply was 'Only one Indian - Professor Ahmed Shah Bokhari.' A.S. Bokhari had a distinguished career which ended up as Assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

THE OXFORD UNION

— I was a member of the Oxford Union which elected D.F. Karaka as its President in 1933, the first Indian to attain this much coveted distinction.

SINCE I WAS ASSIGNED to Bombay Presidency, I had to learn Marathi during the year 1932. Bombay Presidency had four Divisions,Sind, Gujrat, Central Division and South Division.

Those, who were allotted to Bombay Presidency, were required to learn only one language, Marathi, during their probationary period. They had to pass an examination of proficiency in the regional languages as and when their services were transferred from one Division to the other. There were instances when a Bombay Civilian had to pass as many as three language examinations after joining his Service in India. Marathi was taught to the probationers by

C.N. Seddon. After completing a distinguished career in the I.C.S., he wrote a book on Marathi Grammar.

I did not know a word of Marathi before leaving India. Seddon was a very good teacher and would have made the name for himself as a Don in Oxford if he had not joined the I.C.S. Inspite of his criticism of the I.C.S. in general, Maulana Muhammad Ali paid a rich tribute to Mr. Seddon. I quote from his editorial in the 'Comrade' under the caption "Gaekwad Baiting":

> Mr. Cobb, the Baroda Resident, whose knowledge of Baroda is meagre in the extreme, and whose past record does not show much evidence of a sympathetic handling of affairs, is evidently acting on the belief that Baroda is honeycombed with sedition. We cannot conceive that this was also the opinion of C.N. Seddon. I.C.S., who had suddenly been withdrawn from the post of Minister at Baroda by the Government of Bombay in the exercise of some powers not ordinarily exercised if not in violation of rules laid down for the deputation of Government servants to Protected States.
>
> Mr. Seddon had been for some years an Assistant Resident at Baroda, and his straightforwardness and breadth of outlook, combined with the fame of a most sympathetic administrator at Jamnanagar, must have commended him to the Maharajah who obtained a loan of his services and appointed him, first as a Settlement Commissioner, then as Revenue Minister, and, finally, since the sad death of Mr. R.C. Dutt, as the Dewan of the State. But although sympathetic and tolerant, Mr. Seddon was by no means a weak man, and when he felt it his duty to differ from his colleagues or his master, he did so in no uncertain terms. It seems that Mr. Seddon could not say ditto to all the whims and fancies of Mr. Cobb, and he had to go. But his tenure of such responsible posts in Baroda during the last eight years is a clear proof that Baroda has not been the hotbed of treason which recent action even more than the impudent accusations against its Ruler makes it out to be.

Our guardian in Oxford was Mr. Truslore who used to report our progress from time to time to the Secretary of State for India. He used to conduct the annual examinations in which a probationer rarely came down. There was one test, however, which was feared and that was the Riding Test at Woolich which, in our days, was a very stiff one. Those who failed to qualify according to the high military standard at Woolich were not detained but were not allowed an increment till they had satisfied their Collector in India that they were good riders. In the year 1934, we had a colleague from Madras, Seto Rao, who weighed 90 lbs. only with a height of five feet two inches. The tall and

bulky Sergeant Major who was examining us, assigned a fierce-looking horse to Seto Rao. We were not allowed to select our horses.

The test lasted a couple of hours in which we had to show our proficiency on horse-back. The last item was a hurdle race. Seto Rao was riding horse No. 3. The examiner called out No. 1 and the rider started clearing the hurdles but Seto Rao's horse ran away with him.The examiner shouted at the top of his voice "No. 3 get back to the starting line, who the hell asked you to run?" But the horse could not stop till it had cleared all the hurdles. The same process was repeated when the examiner shouted at the top of his voice "No. 3, move." Seto Rao's horse ran simultaneously, the examiner fuming, fretting and cursing! But when the examiner called out No. 3 to move, Seto Rao's horse would not move because there was no horse to compete with! The result was disastrous, although Seto Rao had successfully cleared the hurdles not once but twice.

During my two years in Oxford, 1932-34, I enjoyed the best literary society. I was a Member of the Oxford Union which elected D.F. Karaka as its President in 1933, the First Indian to attain this much coveted distinction. He sat for the I.C.S. examination in June 1934 just to please his father, an officer of the Indian Customs Service, who was very keen that his son should join the I.C.S. He scored 300 out of 300 marks in the Viva Voce but since he did not set his heart at passing the examination, he did not qualify for the Service. He never regretted the result of the examination, became a distinguished journalist and author of readable books like 'I go West', 'Oh you English', 'Nehru, the Lotus Eater' and 'Then Came Hazrat Ali'. I joined the 'Oxford Lotus Club' which comprised 50 per cent English and 50 per cent Indian students and where the East and West mingled socially. I was elected Secretary and Treasurer of the Oxford Majlis (a debating society), Presidents of the Muslim Society, the Hindustani Sabha and the I.C.S. Society. The I.C.S. Society held monthly meetings to which we invited serving members of the I.C.S. who were on home leave and who spoke on the art or science of administration.

The Oxford Majlis was a lively body and several distinguished Indian leaders addressed us, the most prominent being M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League who was residing in London those days and was practising at the Privy Council. His towering personality, his exquisite delivery and incisive mind made a great impression on us all. Among the guest speakers of the Muslim Society, in my days, was Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, a very distinguished member of the I.C.S., whose translation of the Al-Quran is a monumental work.

The guest speaker of the Hindustani Sabha included Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir T.V. Raghavachariar. Sir Tej was a former Law Minister of the Government of India and a leading figure of the Liberal Party of India. He

addressed us in chaste Urdu and while describing his reminiscences, recited Persian and Urdu couplets with an enviable ease. His favourite poet was Ghalib. Sir T.V. as he was popularly called, was a charming man. He was the father of my colleague, Ramabhadran. He had two sons in the I.C.S.; Ramabhadran's elder brother was unfortunately killed in a riding accident in the very early years of his service. Deploring Ramabhadran's shyness, he advised us to be bold like him. He was the Dewan of a state in South India. He related the story of a newly-married couple on their honeymoon who had been his travelling companions in a Railway compartment for a couple of hours. He said that the girl had been attracted first by his headgear which was a crimson-coloured turban. She asked what he was and he replied 'A Dewan'. She inquired what that meant and he said 'Don't bother to know the meaning of Dewan. Call me the 'dear one'. For two hours, the girl bombarded him with questions about India while her husband did not utter a single word. She was so impressed by Sir T.V.'s sparkling conversation that at the end of the journey she turned to her husband and said 'What a pity! I did not meet this wise man from the East earlier. If I had met him, I assure you, I would have married him and not you!'

In 'Who's Who' Sir T.V.'s hobbies were listed as 'Talking and Walking'. Sir T.V. became the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research of which the Viceroy of India was the Chairman.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

— My College-Jesus College was founded in 1517 by Queen Elizebeth I.

IN 1934, WE INVITED Professor Harold Laski as our Chief Guest for the Annual I.C.S. Dinner. It was a dinner jacket affair but Professor Laski turned up in grey rags. Replying to the toast of the I.C.S. which I proposed, Professor Laski said that he could not come in a dinner jacket because he did not possess one.

He remarked that a Professor should never be a well-dressed man at any rate. He related what had happened when the President of the United States invited a coloured guest for the first time to the White House. The other guests were curious to know who he was and what his profession was, but the President did not satisfy their curiosity. So throughout the dinner, everybody decided to call the coloured guest 'Mr. Professor'.

I played hockey for my college; and the only occasion, on which my

presence was felt by my fellow students, was the moment when I scored the winning goal against Wadham College First Eleven in a tournament.

Though a long time has elapsed, my sense of affiliation with Jesus College has remained unchanged. Even at this stage, I cannot resist the temptation of stating that my connection with that College brought much happiness to me in June, 1965, when I had the honour of being elected President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. The ILO is one of the most well-known and useful International organisations of the world. The annual conference which is held in June is popularly described as the World Parliament of Labour. The ILO is a tripartite organisation comprising representatives of government, employers and workers. In 1965, the number of States which participated in the Conference was 114. The heads of delegations were invariably the Labour Ministers of the respective States.

The UK delegation to the 49th Session of the ILO was headed by Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, who was both able and affable. He told me how a journalist returning from 10 Downing Street told him of his portfolio. 'You are in Labour', he said, to which Ray Gunter replied, 'Yes, and on a bed of thorns!' In a letter dated 24th June, 1965, which I wrote to the then Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, a most distinguished old boy of Jesus College, Oxford, and the youngest Don of his time, I felicitated him on the Honorary Doctorate recently conferred on him by the Oxford University and commended the contribution made by Ray Gunter to our deliberation, I reproduce his reply:

10 Downing Street,
Whitehall,
July 1, 1965

Dear Mr. Raza,

Many thanks for your letter of June 24 about my honorary degree at Oxford.

I am touched that you should have taken the trouble to write and glad to know that you had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Gunter in Geneva.

Yours sincerely,
Harold Wilson.

Harold Wilson relinquished voluntarily his great office recently after remaining Prime Minister twice for 8 years. He is now Sir Harold Wilson and Jesus men will everywhere continue to regard him as one of them.

That Jesus men take interest in each other's career is evident from a very welcome letter which I received from Mr. Elfan Rees, a copy of which I

reproduce:

COMMISSION OF THE
CHURCHES ON
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
of
The World Council of Churches
GENEVA OFFICE

9th June, 1965

President,
International Labour Conference,
Palais des Nations,
Geneva.

Dear Saiyid Hashim Raza,

I am sure that all Jesus men everywhere will be very proud of the great honour that has been conferred upon you by your election as President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. As I happen to be one of those on the spot, I thought I would send you this little note of congratulation and good wishes for a successful term of office.

Yours very sincerely,
Elfan Rees.

I felt honoured when I received the following letter from the Principal of my old college:

From

The Principal
JESUS COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
17th June, 1965.

Dr. S.H. Raza,
President,
International Labour Conference,
Palais des Nations,
Geneva.

Dear Dr. Raza,

I hope you will allow me to take the opportunity of sending you the good wishes and congratulations of the college on your election as President of the present Session of the International Labour Conference.

I feel sure that such a distinction is a tribute not only to your ability, but to your integrity.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
Christie

The Principal was generous enough to add Doctor before my name. But I am neither Ph.D nor LL.D. I wish I could take my Doctorate from Oxford. I could have tried for it if I had stayed another year at Oxford. But as all good things must come to an end, so did my probationary period in June, 1934.

On 5th October, 1934, I received a letter from the India Office, Whitehall, informing me that the Civil Service Commissioners had reported to the Secretary of State for India that I had been successful in the Final examination and asking me to proceed to enter into a Covenant. I signed my Covenant on 9th October. In legal parlance, it was called an Indenture. It recited the terms on which one entered into the service which comprised general fidelity, obeying orders of the Secretary of State, keeping of regular accounts of public money, not to divulge secrets, not to accept presents or make corrupt bargains and not to trade contrary to law or regulations. If one observed the terms of the Covenant, one was assured of service for 35 years or upto the age of 60, whichever was earlier.

RETURN TO INDIA

ON 24TH OCTOBER, 1934, I sailed from Tilbury Docks aboard s.s. "Viceroy of India", a very fine and spacious ship, and reached Bombay on 12th November. The voyage was very pleasant as the ship was full of my colleagues, both Indians and English, the latter arriving in India for the first time. We had a good time and did not feel the rigours of the journey at all. Immediately after landing, I reported my arrival to the Resident Deputy Secretary of the Government of Bombay at Bombay Castle as it was called in those days. He informed me that I had been posted to Ahmednagar.

Since I had been away from my people in Lucknow for over two years, I was keen to see them before joining at Ahmednagar. I asked for ten days leave which was readily granted and I proceeded to Lucknow. It was a treat to be in the midst of my mother, my four brothers and my only sister. The one person whom I missed very much was my father. He had retired from the Bench in January, 1934, and was nominated by the Viceroy of India to be a member of the Council of State. He died in February, within a month of his retirement. The hard work which he had put in as a Judge told upon his health. Alas! he could not enjoy the fruits of his labour but such is the case with many unfortunate

people. Their solace is the satisfaction which they get in doing their job well.

The political situation in India was not as disturbed in 1934 as it had been in 1932 in the aftermath of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The spirit of conciliation shown by Lord Irwin during his Viceroyalty was being reciprocated, although somewhat belatedly. It was in 1934 that Mr. M.K. Gandhi had called off the Civil Disobedience Movement. The general feeling was that the next instalment of constitutional reforms would lead to provincial autonomy.

I felt that the time was propitious for my entry into the administrative ranks. These thoughts crossed my mind as I travelled in train from Lucknow to Ahmednagar. I took with me a bearer from Lucknow. His name was Ahmed Ali. He had served, at one time, Sir Edward Blunt. I.C.S. Finance Member, U.P., author of an admirable treatise entitled "I.C.S." Ahmed Ali had never set foot outside U.P. After a twenty-four hour journey, through Rajputana, C.P. Bhopal and Indore State, when we arrived at our destination and Ahmed Ali heard people speaking Marathi of which he could not make head or tail, he felt very nostalgic and remarked, "Sahib, this place could not be in Hindustan. You have brought me out of Hindustan!"

I spent my training period in Ahmednagar where I began at the lowest rung of the I.C.S. ladder as a Supernumerary Assistant Collector and Magistrate. My senior colleague, V.T. Dehejia, initiated me into the art of administration. I had to pass three examinations before I could be trusted with the charge of a Sub-Division. Two tests were of Marathi language: Lower Departmental and Higher Departmental. Thanks to Seddon's teaching which was supplemented by lessons given by a Maratha Brahmin language teacher of Ahmednagar, I cleared the language examination with ease. Marathi is written in two scripts - an ordinary script and an extraordinary script known as 'Modi'. In the Modi script, the writer does not write each word separately. All words are written conjointly in one line without any break. It is only by practice that one can read Modi. But it was necessary for me to learn it as all petitions were written in the Modi script. The Lower Departmental was a tame affair but the Higher Departmental was a stiff test comprising several papers on Revenue, Law, Excise, Forest, Local Self-government, Land Acquisition, Settlement, Arms Act, Audit and Accounts. I had to work hard to get through that examination. A six-week course at the Agricultural College, Poona, was part of our training. It was a welcome interlude. Poona was the summer capital of Bombay Government. It was a pleasant station and one of the biggest cantonments in South India. It had equable climate and a very fine race course. The Poona Club was not so full of 'KOI HAIS' in 1935 as in the days of Rudyard Kipling, but it was full of Englishmen, both civil and military.

After I had completed my training at the Agriculture College which

covered survey and settlement, field measurement, classification of soil and crop pattern in Deccan, I spent a most pleasant week in Poona in September, 1933, designated as the I.C.S. Week. This used to be an excellent get-together of the members, their wives and children and was particularly welcomed by the junior members of the Service who got an opportunity to meet their seniors in a relaxed atmosphere.

I was agreeably surprised to get an invitation to stay at the Government House during the week. I learnt later that privilege was conferred on me because I was the junior-most member of the Service of that year! All the I.C.S. Officers had a couple of sessions under the presidentship of the senior-most member of the I.C.S., to consider service matter. Subsequently, we participated in golf, tennis, billiard and bridge tournaments. We tried our luck at the famous Poona races. The highlight of our celebrations was a cricket match between the Governor's Eleven and the I.C.S. Eleven, which was followed by a Banquet and Ball at the Government House. The Governor of Bombay at that time was Lord Brabourne. He and Lady Brabourne made a most charming pair. He was handsome and considerate. Lord Brabourne captained his team and his performance both as batsman and bowler was commendable. In fact, he was largely responsible for the victory of his team over the I.C.S. Eleven. After a successful term as Governor of Bombay, he was appointed Governor of another Presidency, Bengal. In 1938, he acted as Viceroy, when Lord Linlithgow went on leave. His sudden death in Calcutta after an operation for a cancerous growth cut short a very promising career. Everyone who knew him, felt great sympathy for Lady Brabourne.

The week was rounded up by a Seven Course dinner at the Poona Club. By convention, there were going to be only two speeches, one by the senior-most member and the other by the junior-most member. I could not enjoy the sumptuous dinner, feeling nervous all the time at the prospect of addressing my seniors. When my turn came, I related the story of a Christian in Rome who was thrown in a courtyard to be devoured by a lion. The lion pounced upon him but after a few moments, walked away, leaving him all alone. The crowd was astounded and when the Christian was asked how that miracle had happened, he said "I told the lion that he was welcome to eat me up but he will have to deliver an after-dinner speech!" at which the animal decided that the game was not worth the candle!

I made two suggestions for the consideration of those present there. I said that when a civilian got his senior scale in the 6th or 7th year, he started at Rs. 1,000 per month and, in the ordinary course, the increments took him upto Rs. 2,250. Should this scale not be reversed in the interest of accelerated enthusiasm for service! Should he not start at Rs. 2,250 and end up at Rs. 1,000? The

urge to have the good things of life was utmost when one was young and it dwindled down as one grew older. My second suggestion was that the junior members of the Service whose annual confidential reports were written by their seniors should also be afforded the opportunity of writing confidential notes on their seniors, to be submitted to the next higher official. Since my remarks caused much amusement, I ended up by saying that I had prepared two sets of drafts for thanking my fellow members - a short one and a long one, and since my seniors seemed to be in a tolerant mood, I would take the liberty of using both. The short draft is "Thank you". The long draft is "Thank you very much".

MY FIRST APPOINTMENT

BACK TO AHMEDNAGAR WHERE my contact with the people and the district administration began in right earnest. A publication which I found very useful in familiarising myself with my duties and responsibilities was "Assistant Collector's Manual", originally written by Sir Frederic S.P. Lely I.C.S. in 1905, which was subsequently revised by Sir Henry F. Knight I.C.S. This was a Government publication. I quote from its foreword:

> The Government of Bombay wish particularly to impress on all officers serving in the Province the paramount importance of showing patience and courtesy towards all members of the public in all official matters. A lack of courtesy - even a temporary lack - harms not only an officer's own repute and lessens his efficiency for carrying out his duties, but also sets an example which his subordinates may follow to the detriment of public policy and of the good name of Government.

The purpose of the handbook was to aid the Assistant Collector in his revenue work by giving in a practical form the principles and rules according to which he had to perform some of his more important duties. Apart from notes on Revenue and Magesterial work, there was a chapter on official calls, social calls, social matters and presents. The social calls were termed as obligatory and not a matter of personal inclination. The joining of the local club or gymkhana was termed as another obligation of official life. I quote again:

> Even though you may be shy of thrusting yourself among comparative strangers, make a practice of going to the Club regularly; it will probably rub off some unsuspected corners of your

> personality, to your lasting benefit. Even if you should find the society at the Club uninteresting, you have in virtue of your position to fill a place in the social life of the station and to do your part to amuse and entertain the other residents who may not have your resources of culture and interests. Golf, tennis, and bridge are valuable aids to getting to know your fellows.

The Assistant Collector was advised not to accept 'dalis' i.e., baskets of fruits. I quote from the instructions:

> If you accept such a Dali, from a well-to-do merchant or landlord to whom the cost is of no consequence, you can hardly, without giving offence, refuse to accept them from others, including from those who cannot afford to make such presents, but who feel that they are socially bound to give them or that it would help their social or business prospects if they did. The rule never to accept any Dali is simple, and, when known to your friends, will be appreciated and observed.

The city of Ahmednagar was the chief town of the district of the same name. Ahmednagar was founded in 1494 A.D. by Ahmed Nizam Shah. The Kingdom of Ahmednagar was one of the five Muslim kingdoms of Deccan, the remaining four being Bijapur, Bedar, Berar and Golcunda. Its fame shot up on account of Chandbibi, a lady of heroic spirit, widow of Ali Adil Shah (King of Bijapur) and sister of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar who, in 1595, defended in person the fort of Ahmednagar when it was besieged by Prince Murad, son of Emperor Akbar, and forced him to abandon the siege. It was the same fort in which Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were detained in 1942 in the wake of the "Quit India" campaign. In 1759, Ahmednagar was occupied by the Peshwa and, on the fall of his power in 1817, the state was formed into a British district.

It redounds to the Catholicism and toleration of the Muslim kings of Ahmednagar State that in spite of their 265-year rule, the number of Muslims in Ahmednagar District was less than 10 per cent of the Hindus. There was, in fact, greater animosity between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins and between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste people than between Hindus and Muslims.

Ahmednagar contained numerous specimens of Muslim architecture. It pained me to note that several of the mosques had been converted into Government offices or were used as dwelling houses by European residents. The Collector's Office was located in a mosque built in the 16th Century. The

buildings used as jail and civil hospital were formerly mosques. I drew the attention of my Collector to this improper use of mosques in a note which he forwarded to the Government; but till I left, no action had been taken to rectify this wrong. The economic condition of the Muslims was poor. The only minority which was prosperous comprised Parsis.

I was also disappointed to note that in a state where Muslims had ruled for centuries, their economic and social position was poor. Except for the Qazis of Ahmednagar, there were no prominent Muslims in the city. The small Parsi community did flourishing business. Khan Bahadur Nagarwala and Khan Bahadur Irani were ever-ready and anxious to please the officials.

In the rural areas, poverty, illiteracy and disease were the severest problems facing us and our greatest handicap was the apathy of the people. While we were keen to get their cooperation in our efforts to improve their lot, we did not want them to become political agitators and non-cooperators. We wanted to arouse them but we had to make sure that in this process we did not antagonise them.

A supernumerary Assistant Collector was invested with Third Class powers to start with, which meant power to award sentences upto a month. Within six months, I got Second Class Magesterial powers which meant awarding sentences upto six months and in a year's time I was invested with 1st Class powers which enabled me to sentence accused persons upto 2 years imprisonment.

One of my early cases gave me an insight into the social order of the Hindu community. The complainant was a High Caste Hindu, the accused a Scheduled Caste man. The former was the creditor, the latter the debtor. There was an argument between the two on the rate of interest and the schedule of payment, which turned into an altercation and deteriorated soon after into a volley of abuses on both sides in a public place. The complainant's main point was how a Scheduled Caste man could dare abuse a High Caste Hindu! I acquitted the accused on the ground that it was a case of tit for tat and also because the law did not take notice of trivial matters.

As I toured the villages of my district, I often wondered why the Scheduled Caste people considered themselves within the fold of the Hindu community. They were the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. They could not live within the premises of the main village. They could not draw water from the village well. They had to dig up separate wells. There was no question of their inter-marriage and inter-dining with the High Caste Hindus. The caste system separated them from each other as the colour separates the citizens of South Africa in modern times.

It is of interest to note that the Sanskrit word for Caste is 'Verna' which

means colour. The leader of Scheduled Caste, Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, often threatened that in case the discrimination continued, they would get converted to some other religion, possibly Buddhism, but the threat was never executed into action largely because of the influence of the great Hindu leader, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, who went to the extent of fasting unto death to prevent separate electorates for the Scheduled Caste. The belief in the transmigration of soul alone could explain the placid attitude of a Scheduled Caste individual to put up with his plight in current life in the hope that he would be reborn as a High Caste Hindu in his next life.

Since I have not visited India after 1953, I am not aware of the present state of the members of the Scheduled Castes in that country. It appears from the Indian Press that the present Government of India is trying to give representation to the Scheduled Caste people in government service.

The British Government, during their 200 years rule of India, did a lot for the under-dog but could not upgrade the Scheduled Caste people on account of their anxiety not to interfere with the social order prevailing at that time.

It was Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, who undertook the first act of a social reform by legislation. In 1929, he issued Regulation XVII by which the inhuman custom of 'Sati' (burning of Hindu widow in the funeral pyre of her husband) was declared illegal.

Reverting to my magesterial experiences, the cases that came up before me were of two categories, those in which direct complaints were filed (non-cognizable cases) and those which were challaned by the Police (cognizable cases). The direct complaints related to offences like abuse, assault and simple injury: the cases challaned by the police involved theft, house-breaking and grievous hurt. There was a third category of cases known as committal proceedings; these related to serious offences like murder and culpable homicide not amounting to murder. In the committal proceedings, a magistrate had to record evidence and pass the case on to the Sessions Court. The magistrate was authorised to discharge the accused if no prima facie case could be established.

A case in my court which attracted much attention was a complaint against a class teacher of the Government High School, Ahmednagar, by the father of a pupil. The teacher, Vishnu Dave, had, in his annual report, described his pupil, Ram Gopal, as a bad character. The father of the pupil filed a complaint of defamation against the teacher alleging that the teacher, Vishnu Dave, was a homosexual and gave good reports to those boys only who succumbed to his overtures and since Ram Gopal had refused to comply with his evil wishes, he got a bad report.

Vishnu Dave engaged a very expensive advocate, Dr. Ambedkar, to

defend him. Dr. Ambedkar used to practise in the Bombay High Court and his appearance in the Court of a Mofussil Magistrate drew large crowds. The evidence which I recorded, showed that Vishnu Dave had a reputation of being a homosexual. I held that his report on Ram Gopal's performance was mala-fide. I sentenced him till the rising of the court and fined him Rs. 100 and sent a copy of my judgment to the Headmaster with the remark that it was for his superiors to decide whether to retain him as a teacher or not. But if he was retained, he should be transferred to some clerical job so that he did not come in direct contact with the boys.

There was an appeal against my judgment which was upheld by the Sessions Judge on the ground that the reputation of Vishnu Dave was not the point at issue. The point of issue was the conduct of Ram Gopal and Vishnu Dave was the best judge of his pupils' conduct. Although my decision was upset by a higher court, yet I had the satisfaction of learning from the Headmaster that Vishnu Dave had been transferred to a clerical post.

Ahmednagar District comprised two sub-divisions, called Prants in Marathi, the northern sub-division and the southern sub-division. I was given the charge of the Southern Prant in October, 1935. I took over from E.H. Holt (of 1931 batch) who had a passion for exercise and physical fitness. Soon after I took charge, I received applications from half a dozen Talatis i.e. stipendiary village accountants, who begged that the unexpired periods of their leave should be cancelled and they might be allowed to resume their duties forthwith. When I asked my head clerk to put up their original leave applications, I found that the reason for applying for leave in all the cases was the same viz. asthma. I was intrigued by the coincidence and, on further enquiries, learnt that Holt used to do village and crop inspections by running from field to field and village to village, instead of using a horse for this purpose. The young Talatis could rough it out, but those above 40 could not cope with him and complained that they had developed asthma. Since the news reached them that I possessed a horse and used it, they thought it was high time they returned to their work.The village inspection involved examination of half a dozen registers and afforded an opportunity to come into contact with the people, to settle petty disputes on-the-spot and to listen to their grievances against all branches of administration. We had to tour for 210 days in the year. Our diaries used to be scrutinised by the Collector of the District and the Commissioners of the Division to ensure that outlying villages were not neglected. We had to state whether we stayed in an inspection bungalow or tents and were encouraged to camp in tents. When visiting a village, we had to examine the state of water supply and sanitation, to enquire whether improved varieties of seeds and ploughs were being used, whether trees were being planted and whether there

was adequate fodder for the cattle. We had to inspect the local school and encourage people to have a library in every village. We had to find out the rates of interest which the money-lenders charged and reduced them, if found excessive. We had also to encourage poultry farming, rope-making, weaving, soap-making and allied village industries.

The two key village officers were the Talati, a paid Government servant and the Patel, a hereditary and honorary non-official whose appointment was governed by the Watan Act. The office of Patel enjoyed local prestige and served as a liaison between the officials and the village folk. In case a Patel behaved outrageously, there were provisions in the Watan Act for his removal and replacement by a more reliable member of his family. A good Patel was an asset to the Administration.

I used to have an early morning ride to a village where my arrival was usually notified a week in advance to enable the aggrieved persons to present their grievances. On my way to the village, I did crop inspection in the company of the Talati and the Patel. I used to improve my Marathi by talking to the villagers whom I found placid and peaceful on the whole. They had a sense of humour and amusement. I usually returned to my camp by mid-day.

W.W. Smart, Commissioner, Poona Division, was very keen on village uplift and called for periodical reports to ensure that steps were being taken to improve the lot of villagers who comprised 80 per cent of the population. The main point which he made in his circulars was that to improve the economic condition of villagers was a vital necessity and that a contented peasantry was a bulwark against political agitation. My experience showed that life at the grassroots had, till then, been unaffected by the Congress campaigns of non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

Talking to the villagers I was struck by the fact that Muslims always spoke to me in good Urdu, although there were no Urdu schools in the villages, only Marathi schools. Their distinctive culture was evident from their language.

When I joined the Ahmednagar Club, I found that I was the only Indian member, although the membership was fairly large on account of the Army Officers stationed in Ahmednagar Cantonment and those officers who came to attend the Signal Courses held in Ahmednagar from time to time. The Brigadier was the President of the Club and the Collector was the Vice-President.

My Collector, M.D. Bhansali, I.C.S., introduced me to the Members of the Managing Committee. When he introduced me to D. Wilson, local Agent of the Imperial Bank of India, he remarked, "Meet a very important man. He will sanction your overdrafts!" The first overdraft which he sanctioned was for Rs. 1,500, the price of the 2-seater Chevrolet car which I bought from him when

he proceeded on home leave. I thought it was a bargain. Bankers, they say, lose interest in everything except interest, but Wilson was a man of wide interests and had a keen sense of humour.

A fascinating character I came across in the club was Major Philips. Tall, broad, with piercing eyes and well-kept moustaches, he resembled Lord Kitchner in appearance. Unlike Lord Kitchner, he was interested in arts; he used to paint and was an ornithologist.

Once when I walked into his house, which adjoined mine, I found him painting a multi-coloured bird. The bird had obliged him by sitting longer than usual. As I sat by his side while he painted, I found that he was a chain smoker, I asked him what his daily ration of cigarettes was. He replied, 'a tin a day of 555', i.e. 50 cigarettes, I asked him why he smoked so much. He repeated the remark of Oscar Wilde "What else is a gentleman to do?" I asked him whether he gave up smoking at any time. He said "Yes, only once." Out of curiosity, I asked him why he did not stick to his decision. He said it was a sad story. As a young Subaltern, he was posted in Faizabad (U.P.) and went to Calcutta to spend Christmas with his fiancee who was a General's daughter. Calcutta in the twenties of the 20th century was regarded as the second city in the Empire and Christmas used to be celebrated with great gusto in that city. Till 1911, it was the capital of India.

The Viceroy, the C-in-C, the Executive Councillors, all moved to Calcutta to have a good get-together. On the night between the 31st December and 1st January, 1925, as the clock struck 12, Major Philips resolved not to smoke and gave away his tin of 555, which was half full, to a bearer at the Firpos. He did not smoke for 24 hours. Next night as he danced with his fiancee, she noticed that he was not smoking at all. She inquired whether he had a headache and he boasted, 'I am perfectly fit. I have resolved not to smoke and no power on earth can make me smoke again.'. His fiancee took up the challenge and from her gold-tipped 999 tin, took out a cigarette, put it in his mouth and lighted it. He reverted to his chain smoking. I asked him what happened to his engagement? He said 'I broke the engagement." I asked him why. He replied 'How could I marry a girl who could control my mind to the extent my fiancee had done.'

I spent three pleasant years in Nagar, as Ahmednagar was popularly called, from 24th November 1934 to 26th February 1938, first as a Supernumerary Assistant Collector, then as Assistant Collector, Southern Prant and subsequently as Assistant Collector, Northern Prant. The days were so good that I could afford to employ a butler, a cook, a syce and a chauffeur. I could maintain a horse as well as a car at a salary of Rs. 600 per month.

MARRIAGE WITH SALMA

— Salma and I had known each other since our childhood. On the 25th December, 1936, we got married at Lucknow and to quote an observation of Sir Winston Churchill "lived happily thereafter".

AFTER I HAD SETUP my household, I thought it was time for some one to take good care of it. I did not have to look for or wait long to satisfy my craving for a life partner. I proposed to my cousin, Salma, daughter of my maternal uncle, Syed Masudul Hasan, a well-known sportsman of Aligarh fame who served as a Deputy Commissioner in the U.P. and retired as Revenue Minister of Rampur State.

Salma and I had known each other since our childhood. On the 25th December, 1936, we got married at Lucknow and to quote an observation of Sir Winston Churchill "lived happily thereafter".

I consider myself luckier than King Edward VIII who, a fortnight before we got married, had to sacrifice his throne to marry the woman he loved.

The fate of the charming Prince of Wales who became Edward VIII proved the truth of the aphorism "Uneasy lies the head that wears a Crown." The abdication crisis in November-December, 1936, brought out the awful majesty of people's will when it clashed with the wishes of a King. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin voiced the sentiments of the British public as well as the people of the Commonwealth in seeking the abdication of King Edward VIII in case he insisted upon marrying Mrs. Simpson.

On December 11, 1936, the reign of King Edward VIII came to a sudden end. The King's farewell broadcast on the eve of his departure from England to the Continent was very touching, particularly when he spoke of the "One matchless blessing, enjoyed by so many of you and not bestowed on me a happy home with his wife and children."

We have a saying in Urdu, "Jo mery so Raja ke nehein",i.e., "What is bestowed on me, the Sovereign is denied." The truth of this saying dawned on me on the 25th December, 1936.

We spent our honeymoon in an Inspection Bungalow at Bhandardara in the Western Ghats situated in idyllic surroundings perched at a hill-top, overlooking a lake and undulating land all round. The scenery reminded me of Devonshire and Switzerland.

I took four months leave in March, 1938, spent two months with our people

in Lucknow, a couple of months at Mussoorie, a pretty hill station in U.P., 7000 ft. above sea level. It shared the title of the Queen of hill stations with Darjeeling in Bengal and Ootacamand in Madras. It wore a festive look in summer and was the popular resort of the rulers of states, the Taluqdars of Oudh and the rich business community of Northern India.

The majority of the rulers of states and Taluqdars of Oudh, with few honourable exceptions were known as a bunch of nitwits, lost in vice. The antics of some of them are well-described in the "Twilight of Indian Maharajas" by Sir Samuel Fitze, former Secretary of the Indian Political Department, and Rosita Forbes in her book "India of the Princes". Rosita Forbes visited several Indian States. She calculated that an 18-year-old Maharani was wearing in gold more than her own weight. In one State Guest House, she found 100 servants to wait on a solitary guest and 28 policemen to guard him. In another state, she counted her host's car and found that they totalled 270 including an entirely chromium-plated Rolls Royce with nine dark windows for the Maharani's use. In the Palace of Jaipur, 3000 women were employed; and in the stables there were 200 horses, each with its name printed over the door of a box as large as a room. In the roof of each was an electric fan and shower bath.

During our stay in Mussoorie, we witnessed the display of opulence of these dignitaries when they passed by us in gold-plated rickshaws, with liveried rickshaw-pullers bearing their emblems, their Ranis and Begums wearing jewels and pearls in plenty. An old resident of Mussoorie was Dr. Butcher who was the Medical Consultant of several Rajas and Taluqdars whose stomachs went frequently out of order because they would eat a lot but would not take any exercise.

One morning when I was awaiting my turn in Dr. Butcher's consulting room - he was treating me for migraine - I overheard amusing remark of his about the ailment of a Raja. The Raja was a mountain of flesh. As he lay on the consulting table, Dr. Butcher shook his stomach several times and finally declared 'Raja Sahib, your stomach has the lachak (vibration) of a half filled mashak (water casket of leather). The rhyming of 'stomach', 'lachak' and 'mashak' tickled the Raja who roared into laughter and thanked Dr. Butcher for his diagnosis!

On return from leave, I was posted to the neighbouring District of Nasik, as Assistant Collector in-charge of Malegaon Sub-division, where I served from 11th July to 11th December, 1938.

Among Hindus, Nasik is regarded as a holy city and is known as the Benaras of the South. The city is situated on both sides of River Godavri and abounds in temples and shrines. A large number of pilgrims visit its temples

as Rama and Sita are supposed to have found an asylum as rested there during their Banbas (forced wanderings).

The station, Nasik Road, is 6 miles away from the city. Deolali Cantonment adjoins the city. Nasik is greener than Nagar. The average annual rainfall is 30 inches. It has a fine Residential Club and an excellent golf course.

The population of Muslims in Nasik District was only 6 per cent of the total population and their economic condition was as poor as in Ahmednagar District except in the town of Malegaon where there was parity between Hindus and Muslims and where the Muslims enjoyed prestige and prosperity. Malegaon had once been in the occupation of the Arab sailors. It was an old municipality and a cantonment. Prominent Muslims of Malegaon, like Khán Bahadur Ghulam Mian Wasif and Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim Babu Halim, traced their descent from the Arab sailors.

Babu is usually part of a Hindu name; although in Anglo-Indian vocabulary, this word meant a petty Government servant. In the U.P., I never heard a Muslim name prefixed with 'Babu' but, in Nagar as well as Nasik, I came across several such names. My syce who was a Muslim, bore the name Babu Lal; other such mixed names of Muslims were Ram Rasul, Syed Mennoo Lal, Ratan Khan, Sheikh Chand, Kankar Mahmud. The town of Malegaon had a number of big and beautiful mosques along with temples of good architecture. The city of Malegaon used to be the scene of communal riots during Hindu as well as Muslim festivals and my Collector, A.P. LeMesurier, told me that according to his information, serious trouble was apprehended at the time of Diwali festival in November, 1938. This festival is observed at the commencement of the winter. The Hindu houses are well-lit as they believe that Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, visits their abodes that night. All the doors and windows are kept open all the night and lucre is worshipped with great devotion.

During Diwali, the Hindus used to take out a big procession at dusk which used to pass by the gate of the main mosque at the time of the evening prayers. Music before a mosque was resisted by the Muslims but the Hindus were not prepared to stop music at prayer time, hence it posed the problem for the administrators. In the past, some Muslim youths used to force their entry into the procession and silence the 'sankh' (bugle) at the time of the evening prayer which used to result in a free-for-all fight.

The political situation, in 1938, had its repercussions on the communal situation. In eight provinces of India out of 11, Congress Governments were functioning with full provincial autonomy and with an understanding that the Governors would not use the power entrusted to them to discharge their special responsibility towards the minorities. The offer of the Muslim League to form Coalition Governments in all provinces had been rejected by the Congress in

view of its success in the 1937 general elections.

The Muslims were rallying round the Muslim League and had ceased to look up to the Governors to safeguard their interests. The Muslims of Malegaon were determined to stop music at the time of the evening prayers, come what may. The Hindus were equally determined not to stop it at any time throughout the route of the procession. I proceeded to Malegaon a week before Diwali and held several consultations with local Hindu and Muslim leaders. As the route of the procession had been fixed for decades, it was not possible to change it so as to avoid its passing in front of a mosque at prayer time.

The only alternative was to suggest a change in the timing so that the procession which lasted for two hours, should not be moving in the vicinity of a mosque at the time of the evening prayers which usually took 10 minutes. It was on these lines that I made my proposal to the Hindu leaders. I knew that unless I offered them some concession as a quid pro quo, they would not accede to my suggestion. I told them that if they could take out their procession 10 minutes after the evening prayers, instead of, half an hour before it, as was the practice, then I could extend the route of the procession a mile further and allow them an extra hour. The Hindu leaders asked for time to consider my offer. They consulted the Congress leaders of Nasik and accepted my proposal. Diwali passed off in Malegaon without a mouse stirring.

Throughout the preceding week, I cogitated on the communal problem of India. It was on account of the failure of the Indian politicians at the Round Table Conferences to come to any agreement on this issue that Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald had to announce his Award as an arbitrator. It was this problem which defied solution and eventually resulted in the partition of India in 1947.

The wide gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims was brought home to me one night during Ramazan. I was asleep in my Nasik residence when somebody knocked at my door. Simultaneously I heard some one reciting loudly from Al-Quran. The time was 2:00 a.m. For some moments, I thought I was dreaming but as the voices grew louder, I was roused from my slumber and came out. There were two Maratha policemen who had brought a person from Nasik Road in handcuffs. He had a flowing beard and was reciting verses from the Al-Quran. There was a note from the Railway Police to the effect that the accused had made a nuisance of himself in an inter class compartment, that he was shouting most of the time and would not let the passengers go to sleep. He had a ticket for Bombay but had been detrained at Nasik Road for being proceeded against under the Indian Lunacy Act. He ignored me to start with when I questioned him. He kept his eyes shut and went on reciting verses from the Holy Book. But when I warned him in Urdu of the seriousness of the

situation, he beamed up and related his tale of woe. He said his name was Habibullah. He was travelling from Bombay to Delhi to attend a wedding in his family. I reproduce here the rest of the story in his own words:

> After I offered my Maghrib prayers on my seat, I started reciting from the Holy Book. I am a Hafiz. This annoyed my fellow-passengers who asked me to desist from recitation. I ignored their protests and raised my voice. This infuriated them and a couple of them struck me in the face but I did not give up my recitation. As soon as the train stopped at Nasik Road, they called the guard and complained that I had behaved in a disorderly manner resulting in a riot. I was taken to the Railway Police where I explained my position but no one paid any heed to my pleadings. Since I spoke Urdu and they spoke Marathi, I knew that I was doomed and decided to resign to my fate. I thought that like those who had refused to listen to my pleadings earlier, you too were a Maratha officer but when you spoke to me in Urdu, I thanked God that there was some one who would be able to follow my words and appreciate my point of view.

After recording Hafiz Habibullah's statement, I wrote an order of discharge and instructed the policemen to leave him at the Nasik Road Station so that he could resume his journey to Bombay. When Hafiz Habibullah thanked me, I told him that he should thank his stars that there was an Urdu-speaking Sub-Divisional Magistrate in Nasik who understood his language.

The gulf of language, religion and culture which separated Hindus and Muslims of India was pinpointed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in the following words:

> We are a nation of a hundred millions, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value or proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.

2

ASSISTANT COLLECTOR, KARACHI.

— "We make no distinction between English and Indian Officers of the Political Service but Indian Maharajas and Nawabs do not welcome the appointment of Indians as Political Officer" - Sir Bertrand Glancy - Secretary Political Department.

MR. J.W. SMYTH proposed my name for the Indian Political Service which was drawn 70 per cent from the Army and 30 per cent from the I.C.S. I was called to Simla to be interviewed by the top officials of the Political Service. My final interview was with Sir Bertrand Glancy, who was then Secretary, Political Department, and later on became the Governor of the Punjab. When Sir Bertrand asked me the reasons of my interest in the Indian Political Service, I replied that I wanted to study the administration of the Indian States. To his further query why I was interested in the working of the Indian States, I replied that I had written a thesis on that topic for my M.A. Degree in Political Science and I was keen to see how theory differed from practice. His reply was very frank. "Young man," he said, "You may have no opportunity to serve in an Indian State even if you join the Indian Political Service." I joined issue with him and asked as to why there was a discrimination between Englishmen and Indians in that respect. He replied, "We make no distinction between English and Indian officers of the Political Service but the Indian Maharajas and Nawabs do not welcome the appointment of Indians as Political Officers." I told Sir Bertrand that if the Indian Maharajas and Nawabs do not care for their own countrymen, I had no desire either to impose myself on them. On this note, I withdrew from the field.

When J.W. Smyth visited Nasik in the second week of November, 1938, he asked me why I had gone all the way to Simla to withdraw my name from the Indian Political Service.

He said that Sir Bertrand had written a D.O. letter to him and remarked that before he could determine my suitability for the Indian Political Service, I had

rejected the Indian Political Service. I recapitulated my conversation with Sir Bertrand and submitted that I had grown wiser at my own expense since no T.A. was allowed by the Political Department for such journeys and interviews.

Mr. Smyth then asked me how I liked Nasik. I told him that I liked the land and climate of Nasik but I did not relish the company of the people of Nasik. 'Why so', he asked 'Because' I said, 'they are orthodox Hindus and I feel that my presence is not really welcomed by them in their homes. They worship Shivaji who is certainly not my hero.' I requested him for my transfer to Sind. He asked me if I knew Sind. I told him that I knew the history and geography of Sind but had never visited any part of it. He said, 'I know Sind very well. I served in that region for a number of years and I tell you it is as hot as hell.'

Mr. Smyth had served in Sind before the Lloyd Barrage was constructed at Sukkur. His remark afforded an opportunity to me to press my point. I submitted, 'If you had regarded Sind as heaven, Sir, you could have asked me what good deeds had I performed to deserve a place in heaven. But since you have compared conditions in Sind with those in hell and I am keen to go to hell, I can entreat you to send me there.'

He smiled and said that if I had set my heart on going to Sind, he would not stand in my way. He then asked me what I thought of the political situation in India. I told him that sooner or later the British Government would have to honour their pledge to confer Dominion Status on India.

Smyth remarked that India would take 50 years to attain dominion Status and the Muslim League would take 100 years to wrest a homeland for the Muslims of India. I submitted that both the events might take place much sooner than he thought and added, 'I hope both these developments will take place in your life-time; I am confident that they will take place in my life time.'

He laughed and said, 'I am already 57, how do you expect me to live till the end of the century?' The first thing which I did on the 14th August, 1947, was to write a letter to him saying that I have been able to write to him from sovereign, independent Pakistan. I reproduced the gist of my discussion with him from my Diary and sent the letter c/o the High Commissioner for India in the UK. I did not get any reply from which I could only conclude that either he did not get my letter or that he did not live to see the transfer of power to Pakistan and India on the 14th and 15th of August, 1947, respectively.

J.W. Smyth was good enough to move the Government of Bombay to post me to Sind and, a month later, I got orders to join as Assistant Collector, Karachi.

I handed over charge on 11th December, 1938, exactly six months after I had assumed charge in Nasik. The Christmas holidays in those days lasted

from 25th December to 1st January. The joining time allowed to me according to the rules was to expire on the 23rd December. Only one day intervened between my joining time and the Christmas holidays -24th December. Since I wanted to spend the joining time with my people in Lucknow, I thought it would be a great pity if I could not prefix my joining time with the Christmas holidays.

I studied all the circulars on 'Joining Time' and, to my great delight, came across a note which stated that if one was stationed at a place where there was no Railway Station and the nearest Railway Station was beyond 5 miles, an extra day was to be added to the joining time. Nasik Road Station was situated at a distance of 6 miles from Nasik city. The problem of the 24th December was thus solved.

I arrived in Karachi on the morning of the 1st January, 1939, greatly refreshed after my stay in Lucknow. A pleasant breeze was blowing as I proceeded from the Cantonment Railway Station to the Central Hotel.

Karachi turned out to be a pleasant surprise. A Mayors' Conference held in Karachi in the late thirties had adjudged it to be the cleanest city in India. It had already outshone Hyderabad which was the capital of the Talpur Rulers of Sind and Thatta where at one time, the Viceroy of the Mughal Emperor, used to reside.

AGITATION FOR A SEPARATE PROVINCE OF SIND

— "You will be the glory of the East. Would that I come again to Karachi to see you in your grandeur!". — Sir Charles Napier

THE TALPUR MIRS WERE the first to recognize the value of a harbour for commerce and acquired Karachi from the Khan of Kalat in 1792. The district passed to the British in 1834 and grew rapidly as the principal port of North Western India.

On the eve of his departure for England, Sir Charles Napier who was very fond of Karachi, made a prophetic statement: "You will be the glory of the East. Would that I come again to Karachi to see you in your grandeur!" The phenomenal growth of Karachi during the last 75 years, as the under-mentioned population figures would bear out the forecast of Sir Charles Napier:

1901	1,00,000
1941	3,59,000

1951	10,00,000
1961	20,00,000
1971	34,00,000
1981	51,10,000
1988	Estimated to be 80,00,000

Few cities of the world could compete with Karachi in its rate of growth.

The rule of the Talpurs was benevolent. They were liked by their Muslim and Hindu subjects alike.

Dr. James Burnes, Assistant Surgeon at Bhoj, who was invited to treat Mr. Murad Ali as the best Sindhi Hakims failed to give any relief to the ailing Mir, has written an account of his trip to Sind in which he noted that an air of cleanliness and simple elegance pervaded the Durbar of the Mirs. "There was no gaudy show of tinsel or scarlet", says Burnes, "none of that mixture of gorgeousness and dirt to be seen at the courts of most Hindu princes, but, on the contrary, a degree of simple and becoming elegance, far surpassing anything of the kind it had ever been my fortune to behold". As the rowdier elements were strictly kept out, on the great ceremonial occasions, and none but the highest nobility and their retainers admitted, there was no noise or tumult in the hall, but a sense of general order and decorum, highly gratifying to the spectator."

There were as many as 10 Mirs ruling in different parts of the country. Burnes, the Surgeon, in his diary, assigns many fine qualities of character to the Talpur Chieftains. He gives them the virtues of temperance, love, piety and industry. He believed that the Mirs of Hyderabad were a loving and united family, its members much attached to each other in parental and filial love.

Brotherly love was, perhaps, the most remarkable trait in the character of the Talpurs, ever since their first appearance in history.

A second quality which distinguished the rulers was their remarkable temperance, bordering at times, on a puritanic austerity.

The Mirs were very strict in the performance of their religious duties. Their programme of work was so planned as to allow them to say their prayers five times a day, as enjoined in the Quran. They observed with scrupulous care all the ceremonies connected with birth, circumcision, marriage and death. They often performed Ziarats or visits of grace, to holy shrines in Sind, to Meshed, Herat and Kerbala.

Sir Charles Napier was not obviously proud of his Conquest of Sind as the Latin word in which he chose to convey to the Governor-General the news of

the annexation of Sind was 'Peccavi' which means 'I have sinned'. General Outram who was his No. 2 was more specific. He refused his reward of 3000 pound for the Conquest of Sind and told Sir Charles Napier, "I am sick of policy. I will not say yours is the best but it is undoubtedly the shortest - that of the sword. Oh! how I wish, you had drawn it for a better cause."

It was unfortunate that Sind was linked with Bombay Presidency for purposes of administration. There was nothing in common between the people of Sind and those of Bombay Presidency - Gujratis, Marathis and Konkanis. The population of Bombay Presidency was overwhelmingly Hindu while three-fourth of the people of Sind were Muslims. Sindhi language had nothing in common with Gujrati, Marathi or Kanaris.

If Sind had been made a separate province from the beginning of the British Conquest, it could have progressed far more than it actually did during the British rule. The Muslims of Sind had to agitate for the formation of a separate Province of Sind in the late twenties. Separation of Sind from Bombay was included in the 14 Points drawn up by Mr. M.A. Jinnah to crystallize the demands of the Muslims at the time when the Parliamentary Commission headed by Sir John Simon was investigating the political progress of Indians in 1928-29.

The desire of the 75 per cent of the inhabitants of Sind to have a separate province of Sind was opposed by the 25 per cent Hindus of Sind. The Sind Mohammedan Association of which Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was the President and Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro Vice-President, mobilized public opinion for separation of Sind from Bombay. Those who took prominent part in that campaign included Muhammad Hashim Gazdar who, later on, played a prominent part in the Pakistan Movement; Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, journalist and politician who became a Central Minister in the post-partition period; Hatim A. Alavi who, later on, became the Mayor of Karachi; Syed Miran Muhammad Shah who became the Speaker of the Sind Assembly. The Sindhi daily 'Al-Wahid' was most vocal on the separation of Sind from Bombay.

The case for separation of Sind was ably advocated in London before the Joint Parliamentary Commission by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, then a very senior Minister of Bombay Government who was appointed the first Governor of Sind in post-Independence period, and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, then a Minister of Bombay Government. The opposition to the separation of Sind was led before the Joint Parliamentary Commission by Rai Bahadur Hiranand and Professor Chablani.

It was on account of the efforts of the Muslim leaders of Sind fully backed by the late Aga Khan and Mr. M.A. Jinnah at the Round Table Conference that

Sind was eventually separated from Bombay on 1st April, 1936.

I was assigned the charge of Shahbunder Sub-Division comprising the Talukas of Sujawal, Jati, Shahbunder and Mirpur Bathoro. The tomb of nobles of Thatta on the Makli Hill and the mosque built by Shahjehan in Thatta were pieces of grand architecture. I had to travel 65 miles by road to get to my Sub-Division. We used to cross the mighty Indus in a ferry at a point between Thatta and Sujawal. When the river was in spate, it took us a couple of hours to get to the other bank. Since I had joined during the touring season (October-April), I left for my Sub-Division straightaway.

Shahbunder Division was a sleepy hollow with a poor peasantry and with no industry of any kind. Since the entire cultivation depended upon inundated canals, it was a gamble in 'Abkalani'. Abkalani literally means 'great water'. When the level of water in Indus rose high, the canals flowed; otherwise the crop withered away for want of water.

The staple food of people was rice and fish. There were many low-lying areas which were turned into 'dhands', i.e, lakes, after the Abkalani in May and June. These lakes were the haunts of ducks and attracted many a hunter from surrounding areas and Karachi. There were several places where partridges could be shot. Hunting was the pastime of many Zamindars. The delta of the Indus in the Taluka of Shahbunder was a scene of great beauty, with rivulets falling gracefully into the Arabian Sea.

The lowest Revenue Official - Tapedar - wielded the highest authority in field inspection. Since land revenue was paid only for cultivated fields, he could show cultivated land as uncultivated, in collusion with the Zamindar who greased his palm. I had to spend half the day in the fields doing crop inspection and detected some cases of fraud in which I had to proceed against some influential Zamindars and the erring Tapedars.

We had to be very careful in recommending remission of land revenue on account of general failure of crops. A Mukhtiarkar recommended remission of land revenue in a particular tract on the ground that the inundated canal did not work in the preceding season.

When I asked the Engineer in charge of the canal concerned, he reported that the canal carried more water in that season than its average supply, quoting facts and figures. When I pulled up the Mukhtiarkar and called for his explanation, he apologised for giving an incorrect reason for failure of the crops due to pressure of work! The damage, he reported, was caused by the rats. I could not rely on his cock and bull story and did not suggest any remission.

THE GREATEST BOON ON THE SIND PEASANTRY

— The "Pros and Cons" of Sukkur Barrage (formerly Sir George Lloyd Barrage) were debated for several years. It had in fact changed the face of a large part of Sind. The area of Sind is 50,397 square miles. The population before independence was 46 lakh. It was to be the first Barrage on the mighty river Indus called "Abasin" by the Pathans which means "Father of Rivers", and "Darya Shah" by the Sindhis which means "King".

WHEN I VISITED SUJAWAL subjail, I saw a young man undergoing the last day of his fortnight's sentence awarded by a 2nd Class Magistrate for outraging the modesty of a woman. He had been taking his ailing sister to a local Lady Doctor and while the sister recovered, he lost his heart to the lady doctor and wrote her a letter which became the cause of his misfortune. He was prosecuted under section 509 of the Indian Penal Code "for uttering any word or making any gesture intended to insult the modesty of a woman." How a little knowledge of English turned out to be a dangerous thing, will be evident from the contents of his letter which I reproduce.

> Dear Miss Kamlabai,
>
> On 1st June, 1938, I met you in Sujawal and had been very glad to view the charm of your beauty. From that auspicious occasion, I am in need of having intimacy with such enchanting beauty but I did not know that how it will be.
>
> Dear Miss, I am the only man who has tied my mind to jump out of my body. Hoping same condition will be yours, therefore kindly let me know that if I am right, then answer me fully well and give me appropriate date so that I may come to talk with you.
>
> Yours
> Ratanchand.

I wonder if Miss Kamlabai was more outraged than amused and flattered!

I returned to my headquarters in the second week of June, took up a flat and started preparing for my Sindhi Higher Standard examination. I engaged Munshi Hiralal Hingorani, who coached a number of I.C.S. for this examination. He taught me a couple of hours daily. While he taught well, I never felt at ease in his company since he was an addict and strongly smelt of 'charas'.

He was always in debt and asked for his weekly fees in advance.

I did not have much difficulty in learning Sindhi. The Sindhi script is very much akin to Arabic script with which Muslims all over the world are familiar.

The Sindhi language, like my mother tongue Urdu, abounds in Arabic and Persian words. Many poets of Sind wrote Persian verses, foremost among them being Abdul Wahab 'Sachal Sarmast' (1739-1826). His nom de plume in Persian was 'Ashkara', and in Sindhi 'Sachal'. He also composed verses in Urdu.

The Sindhi alphabet has the largest number of letters - 52. English has 26, Hindi 26, Arabic 28, Persian 32 and Urdu 35. Whenever I had some difficulty in finding a Sindhi word, I changed the Urdu 'a' into 'o' and invariably got the correct word, e.g.

URDU	SINDHI
Abba (Father)	Abbo
Moosa (Moses)	Mooso
Eisa (Jesus)	Eiso
Andha (Blind)	Andho
Naqsha (Map)	Naqsho
Qissa (Story)	Qisso
Sachcha (Truthful)	Sachcho

I passed Sindhi Higher Standard Examination in October, 1939, after a study of only four months. I cannot think of any other examination which I passed with such ease. A year later, I was appointed an examiner in Sindhi. This was no tribute to my knowledge of or command over the Sindhi language. The Departmental Language Examinations were conducted by two examiners - one who was considered an expert and the other who had picked up the language, to act as a sort of moderator.

In October 1939, I was transferred to Nawabshah and was put in charge of Naushahro Sub-division comprising the Talukas of Naushahro Feroz, Moro and Kandiaro. Since Shah Bunder was a non-Barrage Sub-division, my knowledge of Sind would have remained incomplete until I held charge of a Barrage Sub-division. The contrast between the conditions of the peasantry in the two Sub-divisions was a marked one.

While the general impression one got in the Talukas of Shahbunder Division was of poverty, the overall picture in Naushahro Sub-Division was one of prosperity. The Lloyd Barrage had, in fact, changed the face of a large part of Sind. The area of Sind is 50,397 square miles. The population in pre-Independence days was 46 lakh.

The Barrage was formally opened by Lord Wellington, Viceroy of India, in 1932. It was the greatest boon conferred on the peasantry of Sind during the British rule. The idea of a barrage at Sukkur was mooted as long ago as 1847, three years after the East India Company had acquired sovereignty over Sind.

The pros and cons of the scheme was debated for years since it was to be the first barrage. It was proposed on the mighty River Indus called 'Abasin' by the Pathans which means 'Father of Rivers', and 'Darya Shah' by the Sindhis; Shah, which means 'King' is added to the names of persons who claim descent from the Holy Prophet (S.W.). The length of Indus is 2,000 miles. The scheme of barrage at Sukkur was finally approved by the Government of Bombay in 1923.

The barrage was named after Sir George Lloyd (later on Lord Lloyd) who was the Governor of Bombay in 1923. It took nine years to complete. The original estimate of 30 crore was exceeded by Rs. 10 crore when it was completed.

The Government of Bombay took a loan from the Government of India and had to pay interest on the loan. When an address was presented to Lord Wellington on behalf of the Zamindars of Sind who expressed deep appreciation for completion of the Barrage, a point was made that since the Barrage was completed at a cost of Rs. 40 crore, it was apprehended that the Zamindars would have to foot the bill in the shape of a large increase in the revenue and irrigation dues. The Viceroy was requested to ensure that the Barrage did not become a millstone round the neck of the Zamindars. The Viceroy's comment on this apprehension was forthright.

"Gentlemen", replied Lord Wellington, "I am surprised that you should not be able to distinguish between a millstone and a gold mine." The Sind Government was able to clear the entire debt by 1945.

The Indus at Sukkur has been transformed into a lake by the great steel curtain thrown across it downstream. The dam is one mile long and holds up the waters of Indus which can now be diverted as needed into seven canals, three on the west bank and four on the east bank. These canals irrigate six million acres of former unproductive land.

This massive structure has stood the test of time and floods. It was designed to hold nine and a half million cusecs of water at the maximum. It held 11.70 million cusecs of water in the floods of 1973 and 12 million cusecs of water in the floods of August, 1976.

The Lloyd Barrage, subsequently named Sukkur Barrage, paved the way for the construction of five other barrages in the post-independence period - Jinnah Barrage below Kalabagh, Chashma Barrage, Kotri Barrage (opened in

1955) Taunsa Barrage (1958) and Guddu Barrage (1962).

Reverting to Shahbunder and Naushahro Sub-divisions, while agriculture was a precarious business in Shahbunder Sub-division; with assured water supply in Naushahro Sub-division, the farmers planted Rabi (spring) as well as Kharif (autumn) crops and produced cotton, rice, maize, millets, sugar cane, wheat, barley and oil seeds. I saw many orchards of citrus, mangoes, peaches and plums. The area under irrigation had increased by nearly 40 per cent within seven years of the construction of the Barrage. It was possible to grow in the post-barrage period three times as much cotton and five times as much wheat as was produced in the pre-barrage days.

HEAT, DUST AND INTRIGUE

MY PREDECESSOR, B.B. PAYMASTER, (later on Justice Paymaster of the Bombay High Court) in his handing over note had stated: "This division is well known for its dust, heat and intrigue." While I found Naushahro Sub-division hotter than Shahbunder Sub-division and more dusty, I did not come across any intrigues worth noting.

I can recollect some amusing moments at this distance of time. I quote from two applications which I received from aggrieved persons. A small land-holder ventilated his grievance thus:

> I am an old man and am living in this world but one Shafie s/o Babu has given information to the Tapedar that I am dead and has thus gained possession of my land. If I am dead, then at least my son Shahmir Khan is alive and he should be put in possession of my land.

An irate husband complained against his wife's lover in these words: "I have seen this man standing on the illicit toe with my wife."

Since English and Sindhi both were court languages, I advised the applicants to send these applications in Sindhi rather than in English!

The applications of illiterate persons were drafted by petition writers but a school teacher who knew English, wrote his application in his own hand which read as follows:

> I am a young man of 28 years with height exactly 6 feet, chest 48 inches and weight 2-1/2 maunds. Since my early days I was aspiring to be a hunter in order TO ENJOY LIFE BY SHOOTING OTHERS.

I decided that it was too dangerous to let him handle a gun.

Two persons in Nawabshah District acted as Grievance Bureaus, Shah Nawaz Pirzada, an advocate, for Muslims and Jaisal Faqir, who lived on his wits, for Hindus. Jaisal Faqir approached the Collector and District Magistrate of Nawabshah R.G. Davies, with a long list of habitual thieves alongwith the names of witnesses against them.

Davies ordered the Police to take action under section 110 which prescribes binding down for good behaviour with sureties for a specified period and, in default, imprisonment. This large-scale action created a sensation and Shah Nawaz Pirzada published a pamphlet in which he pointed out that the accused were all Muslims and the witnesses against them were all Hindus. He wrote that Jaisal Faqir had hoodwinked the District Magistrate whose action had caused resentment among the entire Muslim community of Nawabshah District.

Davies forfeited the pamphlet and ordered prosecution of Shah Nawaz under the Defence of India rules for causing disaffection against the administration. The case against Shah Nawaz Pirzada was tried by P.M. Cargill, (I.C.S. Officer), Assistant Collector and Sub-Divisional Magistrate, (later Vice-President World Bank).

In his statement to the Court, Shah Nawaz asked Cargill to prevail upon R.G. Davies to get married. This is what he told the Court:

> Sir, I am not against Davies. He seems to be the victim of circumstances. The trouble with him is that he is a bachelor. He cannot stand the heat of Nawabshah, without the help of a spouse. May I request you to prevail upon him to get married? If he gets married and has a pretty wife like Mrs. Cargill, I am sure that he will see through the game of Jaisal Faqir.

Cargill decided that the pamphlet was actionable - Jaisal Faqir's list of witnesses did contain some Muslim names. Cargill found Shah Nawaz guilty of spreading disaffection against the established order. When he announced that Shah Nawaz should be committed to prison for a couple of months, the accused made an unusual request. He submitted:

> I will be happy to be His Majesty's guest for a couple of months. But please do not send me to Hyderabad prison hand-cuffed and under a police escort. As a gentleman, I assure you that I will report to the Superintendent of Hyderabad Prison without delay.

Cargill granted this request and gave him the detention warrant. When

Shah Nawaz left for Hyderabad by the next train, he got a grand send off at Nawabshah junction. He was garlanded profusely while a hired band played outside the railway station. The scene depicted a wedding party, with Shah Nawaz Pirzada dressed and garlanded like a bridegroom. When he arrived at the Hyderabad Prison and sought admission, the Superintendent of Jail advised him to go to the nearest hotel!

He then showed him the detention warrant with the signature and seal of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Nawabshah. Shah Nawaz must have provided considerable amusement to the inmates of Hyderabad Prison. He was a good conversationalist and was the author of a number of books. Years later, he was elected as a member of the Provincial Assembly. He never acted on the very advice which he gave to Davies, to get married. He died a bachelor.

I made many good friends in my Sub-division, prominent among them being Rais Khan Bahadur Haji Ghulam Rasul Jatoi, then President of Nawabshah District Local Board. He once sought my advice where he should educate his grand-son, young Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. I advised him to send him to Grammar School, Karachi, where my four children - two daughters, Nasreen and Tanvir, and two sons, Salim and Ali - were educated. The Karachi Grammar School continues to be a reputable institution. Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, I am happy to state, became the Chief Minister of Sind and did his job with admirable success.

Touring in Naushahro Division was by car and camel. It was a pleasant affair. The inspection bungalows were situated every ten miles, at the banks of canals. The accommodation was adequate, the furniture was decent, with well-kept gardens where flowers bloomed for most part of the year. I was particularly struck by the size and freshness of roses. Some bungalows had a good stock of books left by visitors.

We had to carry our cutlery, crockery and kitchen utensils. Milk, meat and vegetables of good quality could be purchased locally. We had been warned by a circular of the Revenue Commissioner of Sind against Rasai - i.e., free supply of provisions the cost of which was met out of a fund subscribed by local Zamindars. We had been exhorted to ensure that the bills presented to us by the village officers were not deflated. We were enjoined upon to pay the correct price of every article we bought on tour.

Nawabshah town in 1939 had a population of nearly 15,000. The courts and officers' bungalows had been newly constructed, the most attractive building being that of the Graham Hospital named after the first Governor of Sind, Sir Lancelot Graham. Since it was completed and furnished only a day before the Governor's arrival in Nawabshah, for the opening ceremony, everything was in order except that there were no patients. So, at the last hour,

some persons were made to occupy the vacant beds. One of them was asked by Sir Lancelot what the trouble was with him and to the consternation of the Civil Surgeon, he replied,

"Thanks Sir, I am perfectly all right."

JUSTICE KAYANI'S REGARD FOR TRUTH

— Rose to be the Chief Justice of the West Pakistan High Court.
— "I was not specially selected for the Judicial Wing of the I.C.S. but truthfully shunted on to it." - Justice Kayani.

MY STAY IN NAWABSHAH District lasted exactly six months from 16th October 1939 to 15th May 1940. I had by that time put in 5-1/2 years of service and it was normally in the sixth year of a civilian's service when the Government decided whether he should be retained in the Executive Branch, which included service in the Secretariat, or be transferred to the judicial wing of the I.C.S.

Although some of those who were transferred to the Judicial Wing rose to be Judges of the High Court and Supreme Court, yet young Civilians preferred to be retained in the Executive Branch. My colleague of 1934 batch, D.R.C. Halford, Deputy Commissioner, Jacobabad, was transferred to the Judicial Wing according to a Gazette Notification, but he represented against that transfer and was retained in the Executive Branch.

A very distinguished member of the I.C.S., Justice M.R. Kayani who served on the Punjab Cadre, was transferred to the Judicial Wing in the 6th year of his service. He rose to be the Chief Justice of the West Pakistan High Court. When he was appointed Chief Justice, the Advocate-General on behalf of the West Pakistan Bar, presented him with an address of welcome in which he observed that the qualities of head and heart which Justice Kayani possessed, were discovered in the early years of his service and that he had been specially selected for the Judicial Wing of the I.C.S. where he rose to occupy the highest rung of the ladder.

Justice Kayani, whose regard for truth was proverbial, thanked the Advocate-General for his kind words but put the record straight by saying that he had not been "specially selected" for the Judicial Wing of the I.C.S. but was "shunted on" to it.

In his inimitable and humourous style, he proceeded to relate how he had protested to the Governor of the Punjab against his transfer to the Judicial

Wing, how the Governor had called him to lunch and showed him his confidential report written by his Deputy Commissioner. Kayani read the two sentences of the report before a crowded assembly of lawyers, gathered to felicitate him on his elevation as Chief Justice. The report was brief. "Rustam Kayani is a strange fellow. He tries to be funny." Justice Kayani remarked that while he did not mind the first sentence of the report as he held similar opinion about his Deputy Commissioner, he felt unhappy at the second sentence "as if I did not succeed even in being funny."

I was neither "specially selected" nor "shunted on" to the Judicial Branch of the Service. I was retained in the Executive Branch and got my senior scale as Deputy Secretary to Government, Home and General Departments, with effect from 16th May, 1940.

The General Department comprised Education, Industries, Health and Local Self-Government. Shortly after I took over, Thadani, Deputy Director of Industries, called on me and represented that his designation was anomalous as there was no Director of Industries in Sind.

Before Sind was separated from Bombay, the Heads of Departments were stationed in Bombay and their Deputies in Karachi. After April, 1936, the Deputies in Sind became the Heads of their respective departments but their designations were not changed, presumably because that would have meant an increase in their salaries. After Thadani assured me that he would not ask for any increase in his salary, I suggested that his designation should be changed to that of Director of Industries. His objection to his designation was understandable. "Whose Deputy am I?" He asked me. Since this was a policy matter, it came up before the Cabinet. The Finance Department opposed any change in designation. I argued that since my proposal did not involve any expenditure, the Finance Department could not veto my proposal. However, Thadani's designation was changed to that of Director of Industries.

My Minister for Education was Mr. G.M. Syed, the stormy petrel of Sind politics, once a prominent member of the All-India Muslim League and an ardent supporter of Pakistan, now an opponent of integrated Pakistan and the founder of "Jiye Sind Movement" which, for practical purposes, means Independent Sind.

One day he sent down a minute in which he prescribed a uniform for primary school teachers. I resubmitted the file suggesting that before a uniform was prescribed, we should consult the Primary Teachers' Association and the Minister agreed. The Primary Teachers' Association strongly opposed the proposal on the ground that a primary teacher does not boast of his profession but 'confesses' it, on account of its meagre salary and low status. If a uniform was prescribed, he would be dragged to the level of a postman or a watchman.

The Minister dropped the proposal.

While the Government had established High Schools at every district headquarters, I was most disappointed to note the apathy of Muslims in setting up public educational institutions. The Sind Madarssah at Karachi, the Nur Muhammad High School at Hyderabad and a Muslim Hostel at Tando Bago in Hyderabad District were the only institutions set up and run by Muslim philanthropists. The Hindus had, on the other hand, established their own educational institutions in every district of Sind. In the "Sahati" tract of Naushahro Sub-Division, the public-spirited Hindus had established 5 High Schools within a radius of 10 miles - all run by public subscriptions. All higher educational institutions in Sind were affiliated to Bombay University. The proposal to establish a University for Sind was still under discussion. It took seven years to take a practical shape.

My assignment in the Home Department entitled me to survey the political and law and order situation in Sind. The Second World War which commenced on the 3rd September, 1939, was in its eighth month when I joined the Home Department. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, had declared that India was at war without consulting the major political parties of India - the Congress and the Muslim League. This was a tactical mistake for if he had consulted the Heads or the Working Committees of these two organisations they would have fallen in line with his policy. As a protest against this unilateral declaration of War, the Congress decided to bbycott the war effort and called upon the Congress Ministries functioning in 8 out of the 11 provinces of India to resign offices and launch upon a course of non-cooperation.

The Muslim League decided on a less militant course. It did not want to hamper the war effort but it resolved not to participate in the war effort till it was invited to participate in the governance of the country.

It was in pursuance of this policy that the President of the Muslim League, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, called upon Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Chief Minister of the Punjab and Fazlul Haq, Chief Minister of Bengal, to resign from the Defence Council which the Viceroy had set up to galvanise the war effort of India. The Muslims of Punjab and Sikhs formed a very substantial part of the Indian Army. Since both Sir Sikander Hayat and Fazlul Haq were members of the Muslim League, they were bound by the discipline of the party. Sir Sikander resigned from the Defence Council but Fazlul Haq declined to do so. He was expelled from the Muslim League Party.

THE GARDEN OF SIND

— "Huje navo ta diso Larkano" which means that one should visit Larkana only if one has a pocket full of money.

IN VIEW OF THE Congress hostility towards the War effort, Lord Linlithgow initiated a movement called the National War Front. The objective of the movement was to explain the War aims to the man in the street and to describe the plight of those free nations in Europe which had been crushed by Hitler.

The Chief Minister of the Province was nominated as the provincial leader with a committee of prominent citizens of the province to assist him. I was appointed Provincial Organiser of the War Front in addition to my own duties. This assignment necessitated extensive touring and a lot of talking.

Sir Percival Griffiths, a member of the Central Assembly, was the Central Organiser of the National War Front and used to provide us with talking points. We were authorised to tell the people that if the Allies won the war against Hitler, India would be free to shape its destiny. If they lost, India would become a colony of Japan. When I relinquished charge as Provincial Organiser in June, 1943, I received the following letter from Sir Percival Griffiths:

> My dear Raza,
>
> I am writing to thank you most sincerely for all the hard work you have put in as the Provincial Organiser. You had to work under very difficult circumstances and I am grateful to you for all that you have done. I am sorry you are going but feel sure that from the point of view of your own future, you are wise in going to a district now.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> Sd/- P.J. Griffiths.

After I had put in three years in the Sind Secretariat, I was transferred as Collector and District Magistrate of Larkana. I took charge of that office on 9th June, 1943. It was midsummer and we found Larkana unbearably hot after Karachi. This was my first district charge and required all my mental and physical resources. I was now "the man on-the-spot" and had to justify the confidence reposed in me by the Government.

The District was thickly populated and had rich alluvial soil, well-culti-

vated. It had two Sub-divisions, the Kambar Sub-division which comprised the Talukas of Kambar, Shahdadkot, Ratodero and Miro Khan; the Dokri Sub-division which comprised the Talukas of Larkana, Dokri and Warah. Three main canals irrigated this District: Rice Canal, Dadu Canal and Warah Canal. It was colonized by Chandios, Jamalis, Abros and Jats. The Chandios predominated and it is from them that this District obtained the name of Chanduka or Chandko.

There is a popular saying about Larkana City which has spacious thoroughfare and well laid-out gardens. "Huje navo ta diso Larkano" which means that one should visit Larkana only if one has a pocket full of money. It is because of its productive soil that the District of Larkana came to be known as the Garden of Sind. Three principal crops are raised during the year, viz., Peshvas, Kharif and Rabi. The Peshvas crop include cotton, sugar cane and vegetables; the Kharif - jowar, millet, oilseed, rice, pulses and hemp - the Rabi - wheat, barley, oil seeds, grams, peas and tobacco. Larkana is one of the most important grain markets of Sind and is famous for its 'sugdasi rice' which is exported and earns substantial foreign exchange for Pakistan. Mangoes, plantains and dates grow in abundance.

The District is subject to floods on account of its large number of embankments. It suffered considerably during the 1973 floods and equally during the floods of 1976.

When I was leaving Karachi, I was told that Larkana is one of the most difficult districts to run as almost half the Provincial Cabinet came from Larkana. In 1943, in a Cabinet of six, two Ministers belonged to Larkana District, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Revenue Minister, Rai Sahib Gokaldas Mewaldas, Minister for PWD and Local Self-Government. Pir Ilahi Baksh, an Advocate who was a resident of Dadu District, had practised in Larkana before he became a Minister and had his political affiliations in the District. Out of the four members of the Central Assembly elected from Sind, two belonged to Larkana viz. Sardar Nabi Baksh Bhutto and Mr. Lalchand Navalrai.

I was told that Collectors of Larkana were transferred frequently and that their average tenure was less than a year. I am glad to be able to say that I had an undisturbed tenure of nearly 2-1/2 years. The premier Jagirdar of Larkana as also of Sind, was Nawab Sir Ghaibi Khan of Ghaibi Dero. He was the head of the Chandios of Sind, a commanding figure with hawk-like looks. He contributed very liberally to the War Funds and when I made out a case for the grant of a Knighthood to him, I stated that his presence was worth six police stations. Whenever my police was unable to trace an absconder and reported that he had moved to the Ghaibidero Jagir, all that I had to do was to write a

letter to the Nawab and the absconder was handed over to us within 48 hours. A Knighthood was conferred on him but it is a pity that old age prevented him from going to the Buckingham Palace. He was 70. Had he attended the Investiture at Buckingham Palace, he would have become the cynosure of all eyes on account of his milk white Balochi robes and his impressive figure. He was a very hospitable person and used to invite the Governor, the Revenue Commissioner and the Collector to deer-shooting.

He once invited the Governor to dinner at Ghaibidero. I have never seen so much cooked food served on one table as on that night. Nayak, I.C.S., was a vegetarian. He took neither soup, nor quails nor partridges. The Nawab felt uneasy as a host and asked Nayak whether he was indisposed. Nayak replied 'No Nawab Sahib, I am a vegetarian'. The Nawab laughed and remarked 'But Mr. Nayak, quails and partridges are our vegetables'.

I heard a story concerning Nawab Ghaibi Khan and the Viceroy which, I hope is not apocryphal. The lakes in Larkana District, particularly the large Drigh Lake and the star-shaped 'Lung Lake' attracted a large number of dignitaries for duck-shooting, including Governors and Viceroys.

There were several good hunting grounds for partridge-shooting. When Lord Linlithgow shot Drigh Lake in 1942, a special siding was constructed at Larkana station for the Vicerègal train. The Viceroy granted interviews to half a dozen prominent Zamindars of the district in his Saloon. The first visitor on the list was, of course, Nawab Ghaibi Khan. He was taken ill suddenly that day and sent his private secretary to the Collector to express his deep regrets and disappointment at not being able to pay his respects to the Viceroy.

The Collector, Roger Pearce, I.C.S., dashed off to the station where he found a young agitated A.D.C. pacing up and down and wondering why Nawab Ghaibi Khan had not turned up on time. As soon as Roger Pearce set foot on the platform the A.D.C. enquired 'Are you Nawab Ghaibi Khan?' The A.D.C. who came from a British Regiment was new to his job and was till then not familiar with Indian names. He somehow thought that like the Raja of Saravack, the Nawab of Ghabidero was an Englishman.

Roger Pearce smiled and said 'I am not Nawab Ghaibi Khan. I am the Collector of Larkana.' 'Then you must be Khan Bahadur Muhammad Baksh', said the A.D.C. The A.D.C. had noted in the Tour Programme booklet the name of the Collector of Larkana as Khan Bahadur Muhammad Baksh who had been replaced by Roger Pearce but through a slip, the change had not been notified to the Military Secretary. The moral of the story is that Civil Servants should remain eternally vigilant.

'ROBINHOOD' OF SIND

— "Limo Kosh" - When I visited the scene of encounter and saw his dead body, he was a very handsome man, over six feet tall with an athletic bearing. Had he joined Army, he would have made an impressive soldier.

'THE BHUTTOS' AND 'THE KHUHROS' were the major political groups in Larkana District during my days. Minor politicians were their satellites. Although Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro had worked together for separation of Sind, they fell out after the separation of Sind.

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was a distinguished Minister of Bombay Government, who on separation of Sind, was appointed an Adviser to the Governor. In the elections of 1937, Khan Bahadur Khuhro and his political companion Kazi Fazlullah - both of whom became Chief Ministers of Sind in the post-independence period - worked against Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and for Sheikh Abdul Majid Lilaram, who was not even a resident of Larkana District but who had a distinguished political record as a 'Khilafat' leader. Sheikh Abdul Majid won the election and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto left the political scene to become a member of the Bombay-Sind Public Service Commission. Subsequently, he was appointed Naib Dewan and Dewan of Junagarh State.

After the departure of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto to Bombay, the mantle of the leadership of the Bhuttos fell on Sardar Nabi Baksh Bhutto, Member of the Central Assembly, a quiet and mild person who avoided publicity.

Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro was the opposite of Sardar Nabi Baksh Bhutto in temperament and had a rapid rise to power. He was the Revenue Minister of Sind in my days. The Bhuttos and Khuhros did not hit it off. Although their dislike for each other did not amount to the hatred of the Montagues and Capulets of the Romeo and Juliet fame, yet their quarrels frequently disturbed the peace.

M.A. Khuhro was the Defence Minister of Pakistan when Martial Law was promulgated in Pakistan on the 8th of October, 1958. Kazi Fazlullah became the Home Minister of the West Pakistan Government when the four provinces of West Pakistan were integrated into one province. Both met their Waterloo in the general elections of 1970 when Z.A. Bhutto defeated M.A. Khuhro and his cousin Mumtaz Bhutto defeated Kazi Fazlullah in the election to the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Bhutto thus avenged the political defeat of his father, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto. In this respect, he did for his father what Sir Winston Churchill had done for his father, Lord Randolph Churchill.

I considered myself lucky to retain the confidence of both the groups. When I was appointed Administrator of Karachi, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto wrote a nice letter which I reproduce:

Be-Nazir
McNeil Road
Karachi.
14th August, 1948.

My dear Raza Sahib,

I am sorry I have not been able to offer you my congratulations for your achievement on being appointed as the First Administrator of new Province of Karachi as the Capital of the Central Government. In fact, I wanted to offer them personally but as I have been confined to bed with the attack of rheumatic pain, I cannot delay them any further. You must have noticed I am not used to flatter people howsoever great they may be but ever since I have come in contact with you, I have been a silent admirer of your qualities of head and heart. You are so kind and fair while dealing with public and yet perfect Administrator. It is really a great pleasure to your friends for this distinction which you deserve so well unanimously admitted by all classes of people.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Sd/-S.N.Bhutto.

When as Chief Minister of Sind, Khuhro desired that I should relinquish the job of Secretary to the Governor of Sind and take over as Collector of Karachi and Sheikh Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah refused to relieve me, he wrote to the Governor on 11th October, 1947, I reproduce his letter:

After receiving your D.O. letter of today regarding your inability to spare Raza, for appointment as Collector of Karachi, I have consulted all my hon'ble colleagues and all of us have come to the unanimous conclusion that Raza is, in the circumstances, the only suitable person available for appointment as Collector of Karachi. Raza is an officer with 13 years of service in the ICS to his credit and he has successfully held a varied number of posts of the highest responsibility. We need a man of his experience and tact for Karachi which is a very important and difficult charge. Your Excellency is aware that it is now not only the seat of the Provincial

> Government but also the capital of Pakistan. To put a comparatively junior officer as Collector at such a place would be a risk which neither my hon'ble colleagues nor myself are prepared to undertake.
>
> My hon'ble colleagues and myself would therefore request you once again to relieve Raza for appointment forthwith as Collector of Karachi.

The Governor declined to relieve me of his Secretary's post. He wrote to the Chief Minister saying that he considered me to be the only suitable person to be his Secretary! Lest I should become a bone of contention between the Governor and the Chief Minister, I offered to do both the jobs simultaneously and from 13th October 1947 upto 8th May 1948 I held these two jobs at the same time which no one had done previously or afterwards.

The heat of Larkana was oppressive. The summer was long and monotonous, the average maximum and minimum temperatures were 115¤F and 43¤F respectively. Among all places in Sind, only Jacobabad was hotter than Larkana. The average annual rainfall was 3 inches. Dust storms were frequent in March and April. Fierce hot winds named 'luh' blew in May and June, often lasting far into the night. They were fiercest in the 40 days commencing from mid-April and are called the 'chaliho'. Mosquitoes abound throughout the year. One could get respite from them in a mosquito net at night but these nets could not check the entry of sand-flies which kept one awake for a considerable part of the night.

The District lies between Indus on the east and the Kirthar range in the west. Some of the peaks in this range are lofty - one known as Kutte-jo-Qabar (Dogs' tomb) is as high as 6200 feet. The hills are bare and no attempt has been made to turn some of them into hill stations which are badly needed in Sind.

I found the Zamindars of Larkana District more prosperous than those of Naushahro Feroze Sub-Division of Nawabshah District, but the condition of the Haris was similar and needed much improvement.

Part of Larkana District was administered under the Sind Frontier Regulation. This Regulation conferred wide powers on the District Magistrate who gave decisions in murder and dacoity cases on the finding of a Jirga, i.e., Council of Elders. The District Magistrate was not bound to accept a finding which in his opinion was contrary to good conscience or public policy. The District Magistrate could not impose a sentence exceeding 7 years without obtaining the sanction of the Commissioner.

The Regulation was meant to stop blood feuds between Mazaris, Legharis, Khosas and Bazdars. It empowered the District Magistrate to impose collec-

tive fines for harbouring offenders or suppressing evidence of the commission of serious offence. The Regulation was repealed in the post-Independence period.

Cattle theft was rampant in the areas adjoining the river Indus and the stolen cattle was transported across the river into Khairpur State or Nawabshah District. I issued a circular saying that severe and deterrent punishment should be awarded when the offence of cattle theft was proved.

An appeal was filed in my Court against the sentence awarded by the Mukhtiarkar and 2nd Class Magistrate of Kambar in which the accused had been awarded six months rigorous imprisonment for stealing a hen. When I enquired of the Magistrate why he had awarded such a severe sentence, he produced my circular, arguing that 'hen' was cattle. The accused had already undergone a month's imprisonment and observing that one month was enough for one hen, I remitted the remaining sentence.

A dacoit who created terror for a couple of months was Limo Kosh. He was undergoing a long sentence when he escaped from the District Prison. He and his companions had secured illicit arms and were dreaded even by the police. At long last, he was killed in an encounter with the police.

Since he had earned the reputation of being a Robinhood, his death was mourned by many widows and orphans whom he used to help. I visited the scene of the encounter and saw his dead body. He was a very handsome man, over six feet tall with an athletic bearing. If he had joined the army, he would have made an impressive soldier. It was a great pity that he launched upon a career of vice which had to be cut short in public interest.

SIKH SETTLERS IN SIND

— Hindus controlled the business and trade of the Larkana Disctrict. Nawab Lahori was elected President of Larkana Municipality year after year for a decade.

— I left Larkana, when I was transferred as Collector of Tharparkar District in October, 1945, with a heavy heart.

I DID NOT ENCOUNTER any communal trouble in Larkana District. There were a number of Hindu Zamindars, who were very rich.

The Hindus controlled the business and trade of the District. They formed 50 per cent of the population of the city of Larkana. Nawab Lahori was elected President of Larkana Municipality year after year for a decade but had to make way in 1944 for a Hindu President, Tolani.

Nawab Lahori's hobby was to collect titles. He was awarded Khan

Bahadur, Nawab and O.B.E. and he entreated me several times to recommend him for a Knighthood. The craving for titles kept many Zamindars on the right side of the administration. While the Honours List was eagerly awaited, I introduced another list which came to be known as the Dishonour List.

I issued this list every six months. It contained the names of those Zamindars whose licenses for revolver, rifles and guns were cancelled since they persisted in harbouring thieves and bad characters and assisted in cattle theft instead of stopping it.

One such list contained the name of the son of a Minister and the brother of another Minister. There is an appeal to the Home Department against the orders of a District Magistrate in such cases but there was not a single appeal - not even by the close relatives of the Ministers.

Every Collector keeps a book containing his remarks about the prominent personalities of the district, listing their virtues as well as vices.

In Larkana's "Who's Who" I found some very interesting and frank expressions about persons in public life. It was a useful book in many ways as it enabled a new incumbent to benefit by the experience of his predecessors. It also revealed a sense of continuity in the policies adopted by the succeeding Collectors. In one particular instance, this continuity of policy was exhibited with a bang. The first remark was:

"This Zamindar is a scoundrel. He needs to be crushed." The second remark recorded five years later read:

"I have crushed him."

The third remark written five years later contained these inimitable words:

"Found him crushed."

I left Larkana, when I was transferred as Collector of Tharparkar District in October, 1945, with a heavy heart. I had made many friends among the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs who obtained Government's permission to present a gold medal to me with this citation:

> In these abnormal War times complicated with communal clamour, specially in the province of Sind, you have been able to carry on smooth and even administration in our District of Larkana.
>
> Therefore as an expression of our sense of gratification for the same and our gratitude towards your honour and hence in token of our respect for you, a gentleman officer of fair deals, we of the Hindu-Muslim public of Larkana District most respectfully beg to subscribe ourselves towards this memorandum in your honour and

present you with a gold medal.

I assumed charge at Mirpurkhas, the Headquarters of Tharparkar District, on the 18th October, 1945. Mirpurkhas was far more green than Larkana. Several bungalows had lovely rose gardens.

The town is of recent origin. It was built in 1806 by Mir Ali Murad Talpur. It was the capital of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan Talpur whose army was defeated by Sir Charles Napier. One of his descendants, was Nawab Mir Allahdad Talpur, who was respected as a relic of the past. He assisted me in understanding the political affiliations and problems of the District. He was over 90 when he died.

In 1860, this District was called Eastern Sind Frontier and the head of the district was designated Political Superintendent. Umarkot was the Headquarter of the District. The Headquarter was shifted to Mirpurkhas in 1906. In 1911, the designation of the Superintendent was changed to that of Collector.

I recall an amusing remark of Nawab Allahdad Talpur when he met me in Karachi after I had taken over as Secretary to the Governor, Sir Francis Mudie. Since there was no hill station in Sind, it was customary for the Governors to spend three to four weeks at a hill station in Baluchistan named Ziarat.

'Ziarat' is an Arabic word meaning pilgrimage to holy places of Islam. The Nawab requested me to fix up his interview with Sir Francis Mudie. I explained that this was not possible as he had gone to Ziarat. The Nawab exclaimed "Thank God he has become a Muslim and is visiting our holy places!" I explained that I meant the hill station Ziarat and not the holy places. Sir Francis was very much liked by the Muslims some of whom interpreted his initials F.M. as Fazle Muhammad. Like Sir Bartle Frere and General Sir John Jacob after whom the headquarter of the Upper Sind Frontier District is named as Jacobabad, Sir Francis Mudie still enjoys a good reputation in Sind.

The size of Tharparkar district in 1945 was that of Wales. It then included Sanghar which has since been made into a separate district (1953).

It had three Sub-divisions:

- Mirpurkhas Sub-Division comprising Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, and Digri Talukas.
- Nara Valley Sub-Division comprising Samaro and Umarkot Talukas.
- Desert Sub-Division comprising Diplo, Nagarparkar, Mithi and Chachro Talukas.
- Chachro is the biggest Taluka in Sind.

Tharparkar is the biggest District in Sind. It has a long border with India and the dispute between Pakistan and India over the area known as 'Chad Bet'

in 1964 highlighted the need for adequate defence of this district. Fortunately, the Chad Bet dispute was amicably settled.

Several historic sites are situated in this District. The forts at Umarkot and Naokot have been preserved as ancient monuments. It was in the vicinity of Umarkot Fort that the great Emperor Akbar was born in 1540 when his father, Humayun, was fleeing through the desert of Rajputana as an exile. If one surveys the scene from the altitude of the Fort, one can see the desert in the east and the green fields in the west - as a result of the opening of the Nara Canal.

The Talukas of Digri and Jamesabad attracted many peasants and petty zamindars from the Punjab, including a sizeable number of Sikh settlers. They turned out to be efficient cultivators. There was a large farm called SLD - Sind Land Development - owned and managed by Sir Roger Thomas who had retired from the Agriculture Service. He had an able partner in Khan Bahadur Ghulam Husain.

Among other prominent zamindars were Mukhi Govindram, Member, Sind Assembly and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhammad Wassan, a very progressive zamindar, who was a member of the Sind Assembly and later on of the National Assembly of Pakistan.

The irrigated lands of Tharparkar District were very fertile and produced high quality cotton, wheat, sugdasi rice, millet, onion, beans and chilli. There were many gardens which produced mangoes, bananas, chiko and water-melons. There was a model fruit farm at Mirpurkhas run by Government which produced a variety of mangoes one of which was named 'Collector'.

The Desert Sub-Division could only be covered on camel back in my days. I took three weeks to tour four Talukas. We travelled from 5 a.m. to 11 a.m. daily, after which it became unbearably hot. The glare of the desert was a great strain on one's eyes. One of the victims of this glare was a young daughter of a Collector of Tharparkar C.C. Henderson, I.C.S. This girl contracted an eye disease when her parents were touring the farthest Taluka of Nagarparkar. She did not get any treatment for over a fortnight and by the time the Hendersons returned to Mirpurkhas, she was beyond cure. The poor girl turned blind but her noble father initiated a scheme which earns him the gratitude of thousands of similar sufferers year after year. The project is known as 'The Henderson Blind Relief Association'. This Association runs peripatetic eye camps annually which cover all parts of the District.

Eye specialists perform operations and are able to restore sight in many cases. Sir Henry Holland, a doctor who lived in Quetta, used to visit Sind annually to perform eye operations. He earned considerable fame for his philanthropic work.

AMUSING INCIDENTS

— Summer in Mirpurkhas was bearable, Nights in the desert were cool and the wide spaces round one's bed under an open sky had peculiar fascination.

LIFE IN THE DESERT region was hard and precarious. People lived on cattle breeding and raised millet; and whenever it rained, the average annual rainfall in the desert was 1.5 inches. The annual rainfall in the rest of the District averaged 4 to 5 inches but there have been freak years, like 1975, when the rainfall totalled 30.35"

Summer in Mirpurkhas was bearable, the temperature never exceeded 110 degree. Nights in the desert were cool and the wide spaces round one's bed under an open sky had peculiar fascination.

Of my stay in Mirpurkhas, I recall two amusing incidents. When I was inspecting the office of the Treasury Officer, Mirpurkhas, an old pensioner came up to me and complained that his pension for the months of May and June had been held up without any rhyme or reason. He had spent the summer months of May and June in Quetta and had returned to Mirpurkhas in the beginning of July. He had drawn his pension for July but the Treasury Officer had declined to pass his pension bills for May and June and insisted that he should produce live certificates for May and June. The pensioner turned to the Treasury Officer in my presence and said "If I was alive in July how could I be dead in June or May?" I asked the Treasury Officer to explain. He produced a circular of Auditor-General of India which required a Treasury Officer to keep monthly files of the pensioners complete in all respects. There should be a separate live certificate for each month. I told the Treasury Officer that he could write these two certificates himself to complete the record. The Treasury Officer then did so and paid the two months pension to the aggrieved pensioner.

The other incident involved a curious Magistrate named Rughumal. He had a foul tongue and used to abuse the criminals produced in his court to his heart's content. He then started abusing the witnesses whom he suspected to be giving false evidence and later on extended his abuses to the Advocates who defended confirmed criminals. There was a representation from the Bar against Rughumal. He was pulled up by the District Judge and was cautioned to be more careful in future.

After this, Rughumal devised an ingenious way to defend himself. Before

commencing the day's proceedings he showered abuses on himself uttering words like "Rughu you must be mad to work with people like those assembled in your Court" or "Rughu why don't you take poison and get away from these people?". And when the witnesses and the Advocates heard Rughumal addressing himself in such a manner, they did not mind how he addressed them!

Rughumal was very fond of using Latin words in his judgements, like 'abinitio' and 'apropos'. As I was inspecting his diary, I came across the following order which he had passed in a theft case: 'The case is adjourned sine die.' The accused had remained in custody for six months before that order was passed, as he could not furnish any bail. I was perturbed at the prospect of the accused languishing in jail as the order was six months old by the time I had inspected the 'dafter'. When I asked Rughumal why he could not decide the case, he replied. "This, Sir, is a sad story. I have been an ass." The story was that a lame person was fast asleep in the upper storey of his house in Mirpurkhas. His wife and children were away attending a wedding in his village in Digri Taluka. He was awakened at midnight and saw a thief running away with his purse and watch. He got up, pursued him for a furlong and caught him eventually. The complainant's version was that he could not catch him red handed as he had thrown away his purse and watch in the bushes on the way. None of the stolen articles were found. The version of the accused was that he was walking from the Railway Station to a friend's house when suddenly the complainant pounced upon him shouting "Thief, Thief" He took the complainant to be a mad chap but his shouts attracted a large crowd and he was taken to the Police Station. The accused told Rughumal that the complainant's version was 'abinitio' absurd since he was a lame person and could not catch him in a pursuit. He requested the Magistrate to order a practical demonstration to test the veracity of his statement. Rughumal made the complainant lie in his bed and made the accused stand at a distance of a few steps and then shouted "one, two three". By the time the complainant got up from his bed, the accused had rushed downstairs and when the complainant came down, the accused was not to be seen anywhere. Rughumal and his Sarishtedar too ran to trace the accused, who apparently was a fast runner, and was never found. I told Rughumal to decide the case since the veracity of the version of the accused had been proved and to acquit the accused in 'absentia'.

REWARDING LIFE

— It was in my capacity as Secretary to the Governor, that I was present at the Mauripur Airport to receive Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Governor General, Designate of Pakistan, on the 7th August, 1947.

THE LAW AND ORDER situation was under control. There were no political disturbances nor any repercussions of the "Quit India" campaign launched by the Congress during my time in Tharparkar and Larkana Districts.

The Muslims of Sind had decided that their future lay with the Muslim League and not with the Congress. The Pakistan Movement was gaining momentum. Two years before the resolution generally known as the "Pakistan Resolution" was passed in Lahore on 23rd March, 1940, by the All-India Muslim League, the Sind Muslim League had resolved that since the Muslims and Hindus were two different nations, the British must divide India before quitting it.

Although the Congress as well as the Muslim League had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan negotiated by three Cabinet Ministers deputed by Prime Minister Attlee in 1946, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the person next to M.K. Gandhi in the Congress hierarchy, made a public statement to the effect that the Constituent Assembly of India would have the power, as a Sovereign Assembly, to modify the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The Muslim League had accepted the Plan, although it had not conceded Pakistan, in the hope that the provinces grouped as 'A' 'B' 'C' would, in due course, be in a position to determine their constitutional future. The result of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement was that the Muslim League modified its stand and decided to boycott the forthcoming Constituent Assembly Session.

I had been appointed Secretary to the Sind Delegation to the Constituent Assembly which comprised 4 members but the delegation never went to Delhi. H.M.G. eventually conceded the demand of the Muslim League to partition India into Bharat and Pakistan. Two Constituent Assemblies functioned after August 14, 1947, one for Bharat and the other for Pakistan.

In August 1945, I was transferred as Secretary to Government, Department of Education, Health and Local-Self Government. Since I had already worked as Deputy Secretary in this Department, it was smooth sailing for me. I had hardly worked in this job for a month when the Governor, Sir Francis

Mudie, asked me whether I would like to work as his Secretary and I responded to his call with pleasure. He had many qualities of head and heart. He was a wrangler and since his correspondence passed through me, I was able to see a letter which he wrote to a colleague of his, the Governor of Assam, Sir Andrew Clow, saying that when they were attending the Viceroy's Executive Council meeting together a couple of years ago, Sir Andrew had set a mathematical problem which he had promised to solve when he got the time. It was only that morning that he got the time and solved it - Q.E.D.

It was in my capacity as Secretary to Governor that I was present at the Mauripur Airport to receive Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Governor General, designate of Pakistan, on the 7th August, 1947. He was received with unprecedented enthusiasm and acclaim. The formal transfer of power took place in a meeting of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Karachi on the 14th August, 1947, which I witnessed from the Visitors' Gallery.

Lord Mountbatten read the King's message wishing Pakistan a bright future and the Quaid-e-Azam made a reply in his capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. An appreciative Constituent Assembly conferred the title of 'Quaid-e-Azam' on M.A. Jinnah.

The Secretary of State had given the members of All India Services the right to opt out for either of the two Dominions. He had laid down a scale of compensation for those who wanted to retire in August, 1947. The Indian members of the ICS resolved not to ask for any compensation.

Although my home was in the U.P., I opted out for Pakistan. The succeeding service was designated first as the Pakistan Administrative Service and later on as the Civil Service of Pakistan. I was afforded an opportunity to serve as Collector of Karachi in 1947 and as the First Administrator of the First Federal Capital of Pakistan - Karachi, in July, 1948. A brief account of the problems which we faced has been given in an article which I contributed to 'Dawn' Karachi for its special supplement dated 14th August, 1976, under the caption "The Challenge of 1947 and how Pakistan faced it".

After my retirement from the C.S.P. in July 1966, I have contributed some other articles on the problems of Administration in post-Independence period which are listed below:

Advent of Pakistan - published in "Morning News", March 23, 1968.

Address at the Graduation Ceremony of the Fourteenth Advanced Course in Administration and Development of National Institute of Public Administration, Karachi, 26th July, 1969.

The Quaid on the Role of Civil Servants - "Dawn", March 23, 1969.

Politicians Vs Administrators in Pakistan - "Leader", August 13, 1971.

In 1988, at 78, I am not too far from the end of my life and I am filled with

gratitude for the kindness of my people.

I climbed to the top of the greasy pole in July-August 1961 as Governor of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh.

It was my training in the I.C.S. which equipped me to face exacting jobs like the Administrator of the Federal Capital (1948-1951), Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan (1958-1960), Chief Secretary, East Pakistan (1961) and Central Secretary in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare (1962-1966).

I have lived a full and rewarding life and I would not have exchanged it for any other career.

3

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT GATHERS MOMENTUM

— Hindu-Muslim clash was when a dispute arose over a building in Sukkur named "Manzilgah". The Muslims claimed it was a mosque, the Hindus asserted that it was a place of Amusement.
— On March 23, 1940, the all India Muslim League meeting in Lahore passed a resolution demanding formation of a Muslim state of Pakistan.
— The Political and law and order situation in Sind was different from that prevailing in the provinces where the Congress Ministers had ruled. There were no communal disturbacnes in Sind.
— The Talpur rulers had looked after the Hindus so well that they got the upper hand in money matters, trade, commerce and industry.
— The Sind Assembly comprised 60 members 35 Muslims, 22 Hindus and 3 Europeans. 22 Hindu members voted in unison, the muslims were divided in half a dozen groups.

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS of 1937, the Muslim League leaders proposed coalition governments in all the 11 provinces of India but the Congress rejected this proposal and formed exclusively Congress Ministries in 8 provinces. The Muslims publicly voiced their grievances against the Congress Ministries and the Muslim League appointed a Committee of Inquiry headed by the Raja of Pirpur to look into these grievances.

The Pirpur Report depicted an unhappy picture of Muslims in these 8 provinces and pin-pointed the hostility of the Congress Ministries towards the culture and language of the Muslims, e.g. the Muslim students were required to sing a song "Bande Matram" which was an anathema to them. The song was taken from a historical novel of the well-known Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. It was the story of the revolt of the Hindu subjects against their Muslim rulers. The song recounts the prostration of militant young men in front of a goddess declaring that they will destroy the enemy.

The Congress Ministries adopted a hostile attitude towards Urdu. This language was evolved as a result of the intermixture of Muslims and Hindus

during the 700 years of Muslim rule in India. It contained as many words of Hindi as of Arabic and Persian. Its grammar was Hindi though the script was Persian. The Congress Ministries adopted a policy to replace Urdu with Hindi which perturbed the Muslims considerably.

When the Congress Governments submitted their resignation, M.A. Jinnah instructed Muslims all over India to observe a "Day of Deliverance". This was done with great enthusiasm. The gulf between Hindus and Muslims was widening rapidly. Several communal riots took place resulting in blood-shed.

On March 23, 1940, the All India Muslim League meeting in Lahore passed a resolution demanding formation of Muslim States in the North East and North West of India when the British withdrew from India. This resolution is popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution.

The political and law and order situation in Sind was different from that prevailing in the provinces where Congress ministries had ruled. There were no communal disturbances in Sind. The only instance of Hindu-Muslim clash was when a dispute arose over a building in Sukkur named 'Manzilgah'. The Muslims claimed that it was a mosque, the Hindus asserted that it was a place of amusement. The Muslim Deputy Collector incharge of the area supported the stand of Hindus. Muslims and Hindus of Sind lived in amity for centuries. This was due to the preachings of great poets like Shah Abdul Latif and Sachal Sarmast who had catholic taste and a universal outlook on life. The Talpur rulers had looked after the Hindus so well that they got the upper hand in money matters, trade, commerce and industry. The lot of a minority could not have been better than that of Hindus under the rule of the Talpurs.

The Sind Assembly comprised 60 members, 35 Muslims, 22 Hindus and 3 Europeans. Most of the Hindu members belonged to the Congress Party and all the 22 Hindu members voted in unison. The Muslims were divided into half a dozen groups and the leaders of the groups became Ministers. The Chief Minister was Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh, O.B.E., a very astute politician who always received the solid support of the 22 Hindu members of the Sind Assembly, alongwith 8 to 10 members of his own group.

In sympathy with the Congress stand about War effort, Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh declined to serve on the Viceroy's Defence Council. The Speaker of the Sind Assembly, Miran Muhammad Shah, represented Sind on the Viceroy's Defence Council in place of the Chief Minister. When the Congress launched its 'Quit India' campaign, Allah Buksh renounced his titles - K.B. and O.B.E. Thereupon the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, dismissed him stating in a communique that the Chief Minister had forfeited his confidence.

Although Allah Buksh never got to a college, he could express himself in

simple and effective English. Once Sir Hugh Dow minuted on a file sent to him by the Minister-in-charge of forests. "Does the Hon'ble Minister realise the scandalous impropriety of his proposal?" The proposal, if approved, would have entitled the Minister to get more forest land on lease. The Minister protested at the Governor's minute and Allah Buksh supported his protests adding 'His Excellency should not abuse his Ministers', Sir Hugh Dow's reply was that his remarks were not abusive and he regretted that his Ministers did not understand his English. Allah Buksh retorted "His Excellency knows that our knowledge of English is poor. He should use such English as we can easily follow." The Governor withdrew his minute.

The removal of Allah Buksh from the political scene gave a fillip to the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement which gathered momentum rapidly. Eventually in the general elections of 1945-46, the Muslim League captured all the Muslim seats. Sind was the only Province where two Provincial elections were held. The prominent Muslim Leaguers were Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Kazi Fazlullah, Mr. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, Mr. G.M. Syed (till his revolt), Sheikh Abdul Majid Lilaram, Mir Bundeh Ali Talpur, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and Pir Elahi Buksh.

The law and order situation in Sind was under control except when the Hurs revolted against the Government for arresting their Pir. He was the premier Pir of Sind, known as Pir Pagaro. The Hurs were not only willing but eager to lay down their lives to uphold the honour of their Pir. When he was hanged under the orders of the Martial Law Administrator, General Richardson, for waging war against the King Emperor, the Hurs committed several acts of violence and sabotage and it took the Government a long time to bring them under control. The Hurs are a bold and courageous people and gave a very good account of themselves in the unfortunate and unnecessary Wars between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971.

On 1st of September, 1941, I was appointed Provincial Press Adviser for Sind and Special Press Advisor for Karachi city, in addition to my own duties. The system of Press Advisor worked well in Sind throughout the War. The Chief Press Advisor for India was Desmond Young - former Editor of the "Pioneer". He was succeeded by Kichner of the Statesman. The Press Instructions of War issued by the Government of India under the Defence of India Rules were clear and concise. A Press Advisory Committee of five editors was set up which was elected by the editors themselves. Since the number of papers owned and edited by the Hindus far outnumbered the Muslim papers or editors, there was only one Muslim editor on the Advisory Committee, Haji Nazirud-din Babar, editor of an Urdu daily "Hayat".

The Convener of the Advisory Committee and its most vocal member was Punniah, Editor of the "Sind Observer". He was an extremist in many ways but he did not transgress the press instructions for War. We used to meet very frequently and sometimes daily as the news from the War front demanded. There was every effort to appreciate each other's point of view and, on the whole, we got on very well. Since the editors worked on their desks at night, I could never sleep undisturbed as they rang me up whenever they were in doubt about the publication of a particular news item.

My reward was the generous terms in which my services were appreciated in the editorials of the Karachi dailies, dated May 14, 1943, the "Daily Gazette", dated May 29, 1943, the "Sind Herald", dated June 3, 1943, and the "Muslim Voice" dated June 23, 1943. K. Punniah, Editor of "The Sind Observer" which had the largest circulation among the English dailies, communicated to me the resolution passed by the Sind Advisory Committee at its meeting held on the 29th May 1943, which read as follows:

> The Sind Provincial Press Advisory Committee places on record its sense of appreciation of the services rendered to the Newspaper Press of Sind by its Provincial Press Advisor, S.H. Raza, I.C.S., who, by his uniform courtesy, willingness to be of help rather understanding strove to bring about cordial relations between the Government of Sind and the Press of the Province. The Committee, in communicating this Resolution to the Government, ventures to express the hope that the excellent precedents set up by the Retiring Press Advisor will continue to mark the relations between the Press and the Government.

The Sind Journalists' Association gave me a farewell address on May 9, 1943. "The Sind Observer" in its issue of May 30, 1943, reported the proceedings in full as in Appendix I. Here is an extract:

> A largely attended function came off last evening when the Sind Journalists' Association entertained S.H. Raza, the Provincial Home Secretary at the Assembly Restaurant on the occasion of his transfer as Collector of Larkana.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah; Premier Gazdar; the Home Minister, K.B. Khuhro; Revenue Minister, R.S. Gokaldas; P.W.D. Minister, Dr. Hemandas R. Wadhwani; Minister for Health, Jamshed Nusserwanji; Seth Manoobhai Doongersee, R.B. Shivratan Mohatta, Hatim Alavi, Dr. Rochiram Amesur, Hoshang N.E. Dinshaw, J. Salden, Allahbux Ansari, B.R. Patel,

Ishwaran, C.I. Conrad of the United States Office of War Information, Yousuf Haroon, Kazi and Feroze Nana were among those present at the function.

Refreshments over, K. Punniah, President of the Association, felicitating Raza, said:

> I thank you on behalf of the Sind Journalists' Association for giving us the pleasure of your company this evening at this small social function. It is arranged, as you know, to say good-bye to S.H. Raza, our Provincial Press Advisor, on the occasion of his leaving Karachi to take up the Collectorship of Larkana to enjoy what is said to be in service circles a higher job, where he will be cock of his own walk, and is not bothered by discussions in the Press Advisory Committee nor has he to attend on the Ministers and the Chief Secretary day in and day out. Although the heat may be intolerable, the change of scene, let us hope, will be quite welcome to him.
>
> This is the first occasion when the Sind Journalists' Association has thought it fit to honour an Officer of the Government with whom it came in close contact during nearly three years; and I don't think it would have held this function but for the high esteem in which it held Raza, and it would have failed in its duty had it not expressed publicly its sense of appreciation of the services rendered to Government and the Press by the Provincial Press Advisor.

The "Muslim Voice", dated June 12, 1943, published editorial comments reproduced below:

> Mr. Syed Hashim Raza, the popular Press Advisor of Sind, has relinquished his charge. During the last three years that he had been here, his connections with the Fourth Estate had been very cordial. It was not very easy to advise, guide, and, at times, control War-time journalism in a province like Sind, which enjoyed unenviable reputation for the instability of its Governments and uncertainties of its official policies. But Mr. Raza's smiles had accomplished what all the provisions of the Defence of India Act combined would not always have achieved. He believed in appealing to all that was best in the human nature and never for a moment relied on his powers. Rarely, did there arise an occasion when he had to perform the unpleasant task of taking legal action against a paper. But in every case, it was the incorrigibility of the offending journal that forced him to do so and not his own tendency to exert his wide powers. In the other field of his activities, namely the National War Front, also his career was equally glorious. He himself was perhaps the best public speaker that the National War Front in Sind had. The cordiality of his relations with the Press had secured to the War Front a

measure of help from the Press which it would not have been possible for it to get otherwise. It was in Sind, and on his account, that the papers allotted very large space to the propaganda stuff. Even the hostile press could not refuse or resist his persuasions. He has, beyond doubt, established standards which it will not be possible for his successor to reach without some substantial effort. We bid hearty farewell to him and say with the poet:

وداع و وصل جُداگانہ لذّتے دارد
ہزار بار بیا، صد ہزار بار بیا

Different are the tastes of meetings and partings,
Let there be thousand meetings, hundred thousand partings.

The Editor of the paper was Pir Ali Muḥammad Rashdi, an astute politician who rose to be the Revenue Minister of Sind and Central Minister for Information and Broadcasting, and a facile writer who edited the "Sind Observer" in the post-Independence period.

PRECURSOR OF PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

— The refusal on the part of the working committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a communal settlement with the All India Muslim League.

— Congress by means of its powerful press and purse landed a compaign of muslim mass contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim country.

— This resolution bore the stamps of the Quaid who arrived in Karachi on 7th October, 1938, to preside over the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference and to forge solidarity and unity among the Muslim members of the Sind Assembly.

—Those who made every endeavour to make this session successful for passing the Pakistan Resolution, also included Mr. G.M. Syed - an enthusiastic member of the working committee of Muslim League.

— The Pakistan Resolution passed. The Lahore resolution of 1940 did not modify the Karachi Resolution of 1938 in any manner.

— "We are a nation and we believe that we have something to contribute to the civilisation of the world," he paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces and observed that the wave of Muslim freedom originated from them. Addressing the Quaid-e-Azam, he said "I call upon you to test us. Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the great glory of Pakistan". Shaheed Suhrwardy.

— Addressing the Quaid-e-Azam, Chaudhry Khaliquezzaman said "We will laydown our lives for Pakistan, we are awaiting the orders".

— Sir Ghulam HussainHidayatullah, Premier of Sind congratulated the Muslims of minority provinces for joining their muslim brethren in their struggle for Pakistan.
— "What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy not for a theocratic state. Religion is there, and religion is dear to us". Quaid-e-Azam - 23rd March, 1940.

SEVENTEEN AND HALF MONTHS before the Resolution which did not contain the word 'Pakistan', but which is popularly known as 'The Pakistan Resolution', the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference which met at Karachi under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed a Resolution on 8th/9th October, 1938, which deserves to be quoted in this context:

Whereas, the refusal on the part of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a communal settlement with the All-India Muslim League, on the plea that the All-India Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Mussulmans of India, indicates the Congress resolve to perpetually divide and rule the Muslim community, and thus once more mar that prospect of an amicable and peaceful solution of the Indian minorities problem, for which the League has tried in vain for more than 15 years.

Whereas, the Congress has, by means of its powerful press and purse, launched a campaign of Muslim Mass Contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim community with the object of deceiving the world into the belief that it is the sole representative organisation of entire India.

Whereas, it has deliberately established purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries either without Muslim ministers or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Instrument of Instructions.

Whereas, the ministries so formed have established a sort of rule which has for its aim the intimidation and demoralisation of Muslims, the extermination of the healthy and nation-building influences of Muslim culture, the suppression of Muslim religious customs and their religious obligations and elimination of their political rights as a separate community.

Whereas, it has in open defiance of the democratic principles persistently endeavoured to render the power of the Muslim majorities ineffective and impotent in the North-Western Provinces, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind by trying to bring into power or by

supporting coalition ministries not enjoying the confidence of the majority of Muslim members and the Muslim masses of those provinces.

Whereas, Congress has superimposed the authority of its High Command, a sort of fascist dictatorship, over the working of the Congress ministries to prevent the healthy growth of parliamentary conventions and establishment of constitutional traditions, to deprive the Muslims of their due share and have refused to reconstitute ministries in consonance with the constitution, having due regard to the rights and interests of Muslims.

Whereas, the Congress have decided:

(a) to enforce Vidya Mandir Scheme in the teeth of Muslim opposition;
(b) to foist the Bande Matram on Muslims and others as a national anthem in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims who consider the song as not only idolatrous but it is in origin and conception a hymn of hatred to Muslims;
(c) to make Hindi with Devnagiri script as the Lingua Franca of India in total defiance of the protests and wishes of the minorities with a view to inculcate Hindu religious ideas, philosophy and culture and establish dominance of Brahmanic culture in India;
(d) to introduce and enforce joint electorates in local bodies with the strength of their majority and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;
(e) to close Urdu Schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of the Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off;
(f) to suppress freedom of press and freedom of speech and legitimate action under the pretext of preventing incitement to violence and maintenance of law and order;
(g) to interfere with the age-long religious privileges and usages of the Muslim community by force of arm and resort to repressive measures.

Whereas, the majority community of India has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system of theirs which is a negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the

noble ideals that the modern world aspires to and stands for and which system has further super-imposed social and economic inequalities upon a vast body of the people of this country and reduced millions of them to the position of irredeemable helots.

And whereas, the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation, inspired by common aspirations and common ideals, being impossible of realisation on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts.

This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India, which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this Conference, therefore, recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.

Further, this Conference records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement, as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally, and those of the Muslims in particular.

That this Conference further declares that no Constitution by whomsoever framed will be acceptable to the Muslims of India unless it conforms to the principle enunciated above and is prepared in consultation with and accepted by the All-India Muslim League.

This Resolution bore the stamp of the Quaid. He arrived in Karachi on 7th October, 1938, to preside over the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference and to forge solidarity and unity among the Muslim members of the Sind Assembly. He stayed in Karachi from 7th to the 13th October. In his address to the Conference, he pleaded for 'unity and solidarity'. It was through his efforts that a Muslim League Party was formed in the Sind Assembly. Had the then Chief Minister of Sind, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, responded to the Quaid's clarion call for unity, a Muslim League Government could have been installed in 1938 instead of 1942 when Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was dismissed by the Governor of Sind for his pro-Congress stance in the Quit India

Movement.

The passing of the Resolution, which I have quoted above, was, however, of much greater historic importance than the inability of the members of the Sind Assembly to install a Muslim League Ministry in 1938. This Provincial Session was attended by several Muslim Leaguers of All-India importance like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Fazlul Haq, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Malik Barkat Ali. Those who made every endeavour to make this Session a success included Sir Abdullah Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr. M.A. Khuhro, Mr. G.M. Syed, Sheikh Abdul Majeed, Mr. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi.

An analysis of the various paragraphs of the Karachi Resolution of 1938 shows that it put the case of the All-India Muslim League in clear and unequivocal terms. When the Indian National Congress was formed, it claimed to be a national organisation but, with the passage of time, it deteriorated into a communal organisation aiming at a united India in which the Muslim minority would be at the mercy of the Hindu majority. The Hindu Mahasabha was more explicit in its objective. Dr. Moonje and Savarkar declared that the Muslims were like Jews in Germany and should be treated as such, that Congress nationalism was a perverted nationalism and that the Congress should give up its pretence of nationalism. The Congress relied on its majority and money and launched a mass contact movement to wean away Muslims from the Muslim League, an effort which turned out to be an exercise in futility.

In March, 1938, the Muslim League appointed the Pirpur Committee to investigate into the grievances of the Muslims in the eight Provinces governed by the Congress. The Report of that Committee was submitted at the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in December, 1938. That Report exposed the claim of the Congress High Command that the Congress treated Hindus and Muslims, alike. After the Provincial Congress Ministries resigned in 1939, the Quaid appealed to the Muslims to celebrate December 22, 1939, as a 'Day of Deliverance' from oppression.

The manner in which the Indian Muslims observed the Day of Deliverance showed that the claim of the Congress that it also represented the Muslims was a hollow claim. In the course of his presidential address at the 30th Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi on April 24, 1943, the Quaid advised the Congress in the following words:

> I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu nationalism; have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you

> God speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussulman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader, Redman, met Carson, Ulster Leader, and told him 'Look here, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland? Mind you, there is not one millionth part of the difference between the people of Ulster and Ireland.' What was Carson's reply? 'I do not want to be ruled by you.' My reply to Mr. Gandhi is 'I do not want to be ruled by you.'

As for the reference in this Resolution to the scheme of the All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, a couple of years earlier, the Quaid had severely criticised and rejected the Federal part of the Government of India Bill of 1935, while commenting on it in the Indian Central Assembly. When the Law Minister observed that the criticism of the Federal Part of the Bill was based on a misunderstanding and suggested certain conditions for the successful operation of the Scheme, the Quaid told the Law Minister:

> My reply, Sir, is, I have seen your Federal Scheme. I do not want to wait for these conditions. The scheme is thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable. Withdraw it.

The Karachi Resolution of 1938, described the faults of omission and commission on the part of the Congress in specific terms.It expounded the basis of the two-nation theory. It was during the 27th Session of the All-India Muslim League which met at Lahore on March 22-24, 1940, that the Resolution popularly termed "The Pakistan Resolution" was passed. The Lahore Resolution of 1940 did not modify the Karachi Resolution of 1938 in any manner. For facility of reference, I quote the Lahore Resolution:

> While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 17th August, 17th and 18th of September, and 22nd of October, 1939 and 3rd of February, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country, and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.
>
> It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring insofar as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is

based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de nova, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute units which shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the region, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussulmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorise the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

Except for the words 'the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign', the Karachi Resolution and the Lahore Resolution are identical. The demand for Independent States for the Muslims in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India was modified as the Movement for Pakistan progressed and came into full swing. All the speeches of the Quaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants from 1940 to 1946 speak of one State of Pakistan and not of two independent States. The Quaid being a great constitutionalist, he called a Convention of All-India Muslim League Legislations in Delhi on April 7-9, 1946, in order to ascertain the views of the newly elected members of the Central Assembly and of all the provinces of India whether

there should be two independent States as in the Lahore Resolution or only one State as understood by the Muslim voters throughout the Sub-continent. That Convention was a unique gathering in the political history of the Muslims of India. It was Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Premier of undivided Bengal, who moved the Resolution that:

> That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

Mr. Suhrawardy said: "We are a nation and we believe that we have something to contribute to the civilization of the world." He paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces and observed that the wave of Muslim freedom originated from them. Addressing the Quaid-e-Azam, he said: "I call upon you to test us. Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the great glory of Pakistan."

At that Convention, Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman said that the Hindu Press was asking the Muslims of the minority provinces how they would benefit from the Pakistan which they were supporting. He said that Muslims were wise enough to decide what was good for them, and they needed no advice from the Hindu Press.

Addressing the Quaid-e-Azam, Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman said:

> We will lay down our lives for Pakistan. We are awaiting the order.

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, congratulated the Muslims of the minority provinces for joining their Muslim brethren in their struggle for Pakistan. There was no Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan. Even Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib were not against it.

The Sind Premier said that Hindus were not democrats; and had they not been in a majority, they would not have demanded a democratic government. He referred to the intrigues of the Congress in Sind, and said that educated Hindus had accepted the leadership of four Muslims to hoodwink the Muslims. They had accepted such people as their leaders who had not even been to school.

The Sind Premier said that elections had proved that 90 percent Muslims were with the League, and were determined to achieve Pakistan. He said that

Muslims would get Pakistan in spite of strong opposition. He declared:

> We shall not accept anything less than Pakistan. Every man in Sind will resist the imposition of a Government unacceptable to Muslims with all possible means.

In his concluding address, the Quaid-e-Azam remarked:

> What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy - not for a theocratic State. Religion is there, and religion is dear to us. All the worldly goods are nothing to us when we talk of religion; but there are other things which are very vital - our social life, our economic life; but without political power, how can you defend your faith and your economic life?
>
> After deliberations, we have made a resolve - we have made a solemn declaration in this august and historic Convention that while we hope for the best, we are prepared for the worst. In a clear, emphatic and definite declaration, we have expressed our determination to face all dangers. For us there is not other course.

Referring to Muslim minority provinces, Mr. Jinnah said:

> I too belong to a minority province. Muslims in these provinces are the pioneers and first soldiers of Pakistan. But now no question of minority or majority is left on the issue of Pakistan. It is now unanimity, except for a few who are still not with us.

The Muslim members of the Sind Assembly scored another distinction in being the first to resolve the Province of Sind would join the State of Pakistan. Another feather in the cap of the Sind Government was to have offered their capital to be used as the capital of the Federation of Pakistan.

When I reflect upon my service career, I thank God that I was allotted to the Bombay-Sind Cadre of the I.C.S., which enabled me to join the Province of Sind on the 1st of January, 1939. I made a request to the Government of Bombay in 1938 to transfer me to the Province of Sind, a step which showed my faith in the establishment of Pakistan nine years before this God-gifted State came into being.

4

THE MEMORABLE 1947

— "The British did not like Jinnah who often criticised them in sharper language than any used by the Congress".
— "The Muslim Members of I.C.S. did more to strengthen the League than any politician except Jinnah". — Humayun Kabir.

AUGUST 1947 MARKS a water-shed in my administrative career. On the 14th of August, the control of the members of the Indian Civil Service who opted out for Pakistan, was transferred from the Secretary of State for India to the Government of Pakistan.

This was a joyous occasion for myself and my colleagues who till August 1947 were sometimes dubbed as agents of an alien Government. Being Civil Servants, we could not join any political organization or take part in political activities. But 90 per cent of the Muslim members of the I.C.S. supported the Pakistan Movement and used their influence in enlisting the support of the politicians with whom they came in contact for strengthening the Pakistan Movement.

I quote from the observations of two independent witnesses, Maurice Zinkin,I.C.S., and Humayun Kabir, a nationalist Muslim. Maurice Zinkin was serving in the Central Government under two Viceroys, Lord Wavell and Lord Mountbatten. In his contribution to "The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives," edited by C.H. Philip and Mary Doreen Wainright (1970), he has observed:

> The British officials' inoculation into Indian nationalism came mainly from his contemporaries in his own service and service of similar ranks. They were nationalists almost to a man, though profoundly ambivalent about the Congress. They wanted an India which they would run, not a Gandhian India.
>
> Upto 1942, those I.C.S. who were serving in provinces often sympathized with the Congress and nobody was in favour of

Pakistan.

> The Muslim Leaguers and the Congressmen in the Government behaved as two totally separate groups; and under the strain, even the I.C.S. began to split into its component parts.

In his article "Muslim Politics 1942-47", Humayun Kabir, who was Secretary to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and who later became a Central Minister in India, came to the following conclusion about Pakistan Movement towards which he had no sympathy:

> It has sometimes been said that the Muslim members of the I.C.S. did more to strengthen the League than any politician except Jinnah.

Another observation of his is worth reproduction in view of the recent film "Gandhi", produced by Richard Attenborough, who has been most unfair to the Quaid-e-Azam in putting in his mouth words which he never uttered. The impression which Attenborough wanted to give was that Gandhi was a freedom fighter; the Quaid-e-Azam was not so. This is a calumny which deserves condemnation in the strongest possible language. Humayun Kabir's view is opposed to that of Attenborough. I quote from his article:

> The British did not like Jinnah who often criticized them in sharper language than any used by the Congress.

In his contribution to the Partition of India, C.S. Venkatachar, I.C.S., Secretary to the President of India and India's High Commissioner to Canada, has observed:

> Jinnah was cold, arrogant and witheringly rude towards the British in India. On one occasion he accused Linlithgow of double-crossing him. The British, on their part, never suspected that this elegant inordinately vain (sic) lawyer, would confront them claiming to be the leader of 90 million Muslims. Nehru and Congress under-rated him as an opponent; this was their biggest mistake.

The Quaid-e-Azam had criticised the Federation part of the Government of India Act 1935 in much stronger terms than any Congress politician.

To revert to August 1947, in his autobiographical narrative "India Wins Freedom", Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a former President of the Indian National Congress, recorded his impression of the day of freedom in these words:

> The 14th of August was for the Muslims of Pakistan a day of rejoicing. For the Hindus and Sikhs, it was a day of mourning. This was the feeling not only of most people but even of important leaders of Congress. Acharya Kirpalani was the President of the Congress. He is a man of Sind. On 14th August, 1947, he issued a statement that it was a day of sorrow and destruction for India. This feeling was expressed openly by Hindus and Sikhs throughout Pakistan.

Acharya Kirpalani visited Sind soon after partition. He advised his co-religionists as well as the Sikhs - mostly Labana Sikhs - to leave Sind as quickly as possible at a time when the Quaid-e-Azam was advising the minorities of Pakistan to stick to their homes and was assuring them of a peaceful and honourable existence as loyal citizens of Pakistan. In his Presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on the 11th August, 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam made this observation:

> Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Since the province of the Punjab had been the scene of unprecedented communal violence and disturbances after the scheme of Partition was announced on 3rd June, 1947 and since that province had to be partitioned as the Hindus and Sikhs refused to accept the rule of Muslims, one can understand why the Hindus and Sikhs made a bee-line for East Punjab and the Muslims of East Punjab had to migrate to West Punjab.

But no such communal disturbances had taken place in Sind. For centuries, Sind has remained free of communal virus. Hindus had flourished during the rules of Sammas, Sommras, Kalhoras and Talpurs. There was no cause for panic and no justification for the migration of a large number of Hindus and Sikhs from Sind. Why then did the President of the Indian National Congress, a Sindhi, advise them to take the perilous course which they adopted? Not because he genuinely believed that his co-religionists would be massacred in Sind but because he hoped to destroy the economic structure of the Province which had been controlled by the Hindus till 1947.

The two-way trek of refugees in the Punjab has been described by Leonard Mosley in his book, "The Last Days of British Raj", in the following words:

> In the nine months between August 1947 and the spring of the

following year between 14 and 16 million Hindus, Sikh and Muslims were forced to leave their homes and flee to safety from blood crazed mobs. In the same period, over 600,000 of them were killed. India in 1947 was a bumper year for the vultures. They had no need to look for rotting flesh for it was all around them, animal and human. The Sikhs became mad with rage after the announcement of the Boundary Award on 17th August, 1947.

And yet it was this Award which harmed the Muslims most! Sir Cyril (now Lord) Radcliff signed his report on 12th August. It was released to the press in the afternoon of August 16.

QUAID'S SELECTION OF KARACHI AS THE CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN

— The last days of British Raj.
— If Gurdaspur had been allotted to Pakistan, India could not have got a passage to Kashmir.
— Karachi had been selected as Capital of Pakistan because, the Government of Sind was the only Provincial Government that placed its own capital at the disposal of the Government of Pakistan. Neither Dacca nor Lahore were offered by their respective Provincial Governments for this purpose.
— The Central Government had to start from scratch with all sorts of makeshift arrangements. Assistant Secretaries and Superintendents had to work in open verandahs. Thorns were used instead of pins, stools and benches were used instead of chairs and no one complained, such was the joy of working for one's own Government and people.

ON THE BASIS OF population, the people of Gurdaspur in East Punjab were confident of being included in Pakistan. Cheema who was Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur in August 1947 told me that he had replaced the Union Jack with the flag of Pakistan and saluted the Pakistani Flag on the 14th August before a large gathering.

Several Muslim families had moved to Gurdaspur from the neighbouring areas considering it to be a haven of refuge. What was their consternation when they learnt that Gurdaspur had been passed on to India! If Gurdaspur had been allotted to Pakistan, India could not have got a passage to Kashmir and the problem would not have raised its ugly head which has bedevilled the relations of Pakistan and India for over four decades and which has not been resolved in spite of the two Resolutions of the United Nations in 1948 and 1949 to hold a free and impartial plebiscite in the State of Jammu and Kashmir to which India had agreed in the beginning. Inspite of three Wars between India and

Pakistan, the problem of Kashmir still remains unresolved.

Our newspapers protested loudly at the injustice of the Award, our leaders complained bitterly of its inconsistency, but the Quaid-e-Azam poured oil on troubled waters by stating his reactions to the Radcliff Award in the following words:

> It was an unjust, incomprehensible and even a perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a political award but we have agreed to abide by it and it is binding on us. As honourable people we have to abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.

In his speech at the Sibi Darbar on 14th February, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam described the blows in the following words:

> It is just six months since we have achieved our Independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities, the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world. But we have not remained idle.

Apart from the problems of refugees and Kashmir, Pakistan was confronted with colossal financial and administrative problems at its very birth. The provisional Governments of India and Pakistan were formed on 20th July, 1947 and proceeded with the task of partitioning the services and financial assets.

India had the upper hand in all respects. While the provisional Government of India had at its disposal the vast administrative machinery of undivided India at Delhi, the provisional Government of Pakistan had to be content with the services of a few dedicated leaders and civil servants. It was in fact a shadow Government operating from a foreign land.

India did not honour the financial clauses of the partition agreement which included the payment of cash balances amounting to Rs. 550 million. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, stated that it was an attempt to strangulate Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan was forced to obtain a loan from the Government of Sind to pay its day-to-day expenses and salaries of its establishment. Sardar Vallabhai Patel was opposed to the payment of the sum due to Pakistan on the ground that it would be used against India in Kashmir.

The uncrowned King of India, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, did not agree with the strong man of Congress, Patel, on this issue. He announced an indefinite fast

as he had done to stop the killings of Muslims in Delhi, in order to exert his moral pressure to give Pakistan its legitimate share of cash balances.

Much later, Lord Mountbatten took the credit of persuading Gandhiji to pressurize the Government of India through his well known weapon of fasting, since all his attempts to persuade the then Government of India to pay off the share of Pakistan had failed.

Patel finally yielded, the money was transferred and Gandhiji broke his fast. It is an irony of fate that the man who was worshipped as a Mahatma by the Hindus incurred their wrath just because he sought to protect the unarmed Muslims of Delhi and interceded to let Pakistan have its agreed share of the cash balances of the undivided Government of India.

Durgadas, a veteran journalist of India, formerly Chief Editor of the "Hindustan Times", records in his book "India from Curzon to Nehru and After" that shortly before Gandhiji was assassinated, Patel made this remark about the Mahatma's state of mind, "The old man has gone senile". What a travesty of truth! We in Pakistan were shocked at the violent death of the preacher of non-violence and the Quaid-e-Azam condoled the passing away of the great Hindu leader in tragic circumstances.

The provisional government of Pakistan started functioning on its own soil from 7th August, the day Quaid-e-Azam arrived in Karachi from New Delhi. His arrival at the Mauripur airport was like that of a Messiah coming to his promised land. All roads led to Mauripur that morning. The citizens of Karachi celebrated the day with unprecedented gusto and zeal.

Karachi had been selected as the capital of Pakistan not because it had the unique distinction of being the birth place of the Quaid-e-Azam but because the Government of Sind was the only Provincial Government that placed its own capital at the disposal of the Government of Pakistan. Neither Dacca nor Lahore were offered by their respective Provincial Governments for this purpose.

In July, 1947, Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sind, appointed a three-man committee to make arrangements for office accommodation of the Ministers and the civil servants of the Central Government. The Committee comprised N.A. Faruqui, then Home Secretary, Sind; Mustafa, Chief Engineer and myself in my capacity as Secretary to the Governor of Sind.

The Government of Sind offered to move to the Napier Barracks, thereby vacating several houses of their Ministers for use of the Central Government. They relinquished the Assembly Hall and Secretariat, which had been constructed in 1942-43 for the use of the Constituent Assembly and the offices of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Central Government.

Several buildings of the attached offices of the Sind Government were also

placed at the disposal of the Government of Pakistan. Several barracks with asbestos sheeting were also put up. The Intelligence School barracks which were constructed during the Second World War, were converted into two-room and three-room houses. It was one of these barracks which was allotted to Radio Pakistan to initiate its services.

The Central Government had to start from scratch with all sorts of make-shift arrangements. Assistant Secretaries and Superintendents had to work in open verandahs. Thorns were used instead of pins, stools and benches were used instead of chairs and no one complained, such was the joy of working for one's own Government and people, instead of serving an Imperial Government in the prestigious structures constructed by the Government of India in New Delhi.

In August, 1947, the city of Karachi wore a double crown, being the capital of the Province of Sind as well as of the new God-gifted State of Pakistan.

Upto July, 1948, the administration of the city of Karachi rested with the Government of Sind. On the 23rd July, 1948, when I took over as Administrator of Karachi, I became the agent of the Central Government which took over the administration of Karachi from the Government of Sind.

The Government of Pakistan, in consultation with the Government of Sind, had set up the "Administration of Karachi" Committee on 13th March, 1948, in order to collect data regarding, and to consider the various problems that would arise from, the permanent location of the capital of Pakistan in Karachi.

The Committee comprised 12 members, 6 nominated by the Pakistan Government and 6 nominated by the Sind Government. The Chairman of the Committee was Mian Aminuddin, at that time Chairman of Karachi Port Trust, who later became Governor of Sind as well as West Punjab. The Committee submitted its report on the 17th of April, 1948, and I summarise its recommendations:

- It is agreed that Karachi should remain the Capital of Sind in addition to being the permanent seat of the Government of Pakistan. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to where responsibility for the administration of the city should rest.
- The Pakistan representatives were of the opinion that "Greater Karachi" should be notified as a separate Chief Commissioner's Province, administered under the direct control of the Pakistan Government.
- As Karachi will continue to be the seat of the Sind Government, its administration by the Centre will not entail any economic or financial loss to the Province. On the contrary, the development of

> Karachi under the auspices of the Central Government will be of immense benefit to Pakistan as a whole and to Sind in particular. The Sind representatives emphasised that the administrative separation of Karachi from Sind will have the most serious consequences on the industrial, economic, political and cultural life of the Province, and cause very grave resentment amongst all Sindhis.

THE GREATEST CHALLENGE OF MY 32-YEAR SERVICE

A DEPUTATION OF SOME of the politicians of Sind waited on the Quaid-e-Azam and argued that the Sind Government should be allowed to administer Karachi even though it was the capital of Pakistan. The Quaid-e-Azam told the deputationists that there was no question of separating Karachi from Sind as it would continue to be the part and heart of Sind.

What was envisaged was not the separation of Karachi from Sind but the transfer of responsibility of administering Karachi from the Sind Government to the Central Government of Pakistan. The Quaid remarked that it was the people of Sind who would benefit most from the progress and prosperity of the city of Karachi.

We had to make the maximum use of the minimum resources at our disposal. For me, the years 1947-51 provided the greatest administrative challenge of my 32 years of service in the I.C.S. and C.S.P.

For eight months, from 13th October 1947 upto 8th May 1948, I had to work in the dual capacity of Secretary to Governor and Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi - an unprecedented combination of offices. From 9th May upto 22nd July, 1948, I served as Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi and when the Central Government decided to take over the Administration of the Federal Capital, I was appointed its first Administrator.

I was called by the late Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on the 16th July and was asked to take over as Administrator of Karachi on the 23rd July. I pleaded for more time and submitted that when Delhi was made a Chief Commissioner's Province, its first Chief Commissioner, Sir Malcolm Hailey, a very distinguished civilian, who served later as Governor of two Provinces, the Punjab and U.P., was appointed O.S.D. in the Home Department of the Government of India for six months before taking over the charge of Delhi.

The Prime Minister smiled and said. "Hashim Raza, if we could start functioning as a Dominion Government in a month's time, why can't you set up your office in a week's time?" I had no answer to that observation.

On the 23rd July, my table was placed in the room of my friend, M.W. Abbasi, then Joint Secretary, Ministry of the Interior, and my P.A. sat in his P.A's room.

During that stormy period while I invariably saw the sunrise when I started my work, I seldom saw the sunset; for, till the early part of night, I remained surrounded in my office by refugees who needed accommodation, plots and shops to restart their lives in Pakistan.

The refugees flocked to the city of Karachi by sea and land. Khokhrapar in Sind remained for a considerable time a point of entry into Pakistan without any permit and most of the people who came from India via Khokhrapar found their way to the city of Karachi. A colony in Karachi has been named Khokhrapar Colony.

Every ship which entered our port became a question mark for me. Where to lodge the new-comers? To start with, I turned the Haji Camp into a Refugee Camp. Later on, I requisitioned one by one, 32 school buildings to lodge the refugees.

One day as I was disposing of petitions for allotment of evacuee shops and houses in my capacity as Rehabilitation Commissioner, I was summoned by the Cabinet Secretary to the Prime Minister's residence where a Cabinet meeting was in session. I had no advance intimation of that meeting and wondered why I had been called. As I entered the room, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said:

> The Education Minister (Mr. Fazlur Rehman) has a complaint to make against your rehabilitation measures. He says that you have requisitioned 32 school buildings with the result that so many boys and girls have been deprived of education.

I pleaded guilty to the charge but submitted, in extenuation, that 3,200 families of refugees had found shelter in those school buildings. I stated that we were working on the basis of emergency and that Universities like Oxford and Cambridge had to be closed during the last Great War.

The Prime Minister asked me what the way out of that impasse was. I told him that if the Central Government built 3,200 quarters in the area adjoining Golimar, I guarantee vacation of these 32 buildings within a week.

The Prime Minister ordered that a new township be constructed and that top priority should be given to the construction of a bridge and 3,200 quarters. The new township was named after the simple and pious Governor-General of Pakistan, Khawaja Nazimuddin.

Whenever I go to Nazimabad and see how it has expanded since 1951, I

am reminded of the verse of Allama Iqbal:

مری نگاہ نہیں سوئے کوفہ و بغداد
کریں گے اہلِ نظر تازہ بستیاں آباد

Towards Kufa and Baghdad, I look no more,
New dwellings men of vision will make, I'm sure.

PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF KARACHI

—The first Municipality was established in Karachi in September 1862, and was raised to that of a Carporaion in 1934. - Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta was the first Mayor.

BEFORE THE ADVENT OF the British in Sind in 1843, Karachi was an ordinary fishing village named Kalachi. This is how a writer of those days described it:

> A town of low mud-hovels and tall mud-houses with flat mud-roofs, windowless mud-walls and numerous mud-ventilations, surrounded by a tumbled down parapet of mud, built upon platform of mud-covered rock and dark narrow alleys, through which nothing bulkier than a jackal can pass with ease; drainage managed by evaporation and birds and dogs the only scavengers.

The growth of Karachi from a fishing village to a metropolis within the span of a century and a quarter is a fascinating phenomena of urban development. It may sound like a fairy tale but it is nevertheless true.

The first Municipality was established in Karachi in September, 1862. The status of the Municipality was raised to that of a Corporation in 1934. Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta was the first Mayor of Karachi who had been earlier elected as President of Karachi Municipality year after year for a decade. What the city of Bombay owes to Sir Phiroze Shah Mehta, the city of Karachi owes to Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta.

According to the census report of 1941, the population of the city of Karachi was 386,655. Earlier census reports recorded the population of Karachi in 1901 as 1 lakh, in 1921 as 216,388 and in 1931 as 265,565. the net variation in three decades amounted to 169,772.

This could be termed as the steady growth of the city but the variation between 1947 and 1974 was phenomenal. In 1947, the estimated population of Karachi was nearly half a million. It rose to nearly four million in 1974. By 1984, the Karachi population was estimated six millions and now in 1990, being quoted approximately eight millions including suburbs. By the end of this century, Karachi population might exceed ten million. There is no city in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent which grew at such a rapid pace. I do not know of any other city in the world which has recorded similar rate of growth in four decades.

Geography has played an important part in the expansion of Karachi. The port of Karachi lies at the apex of the Indian Ocean and on the route to the Persian Gulf. It is now one of the busiest ports in the world. This has necessitated the construction of another harbour at Port Qasim. As an airport, Karachi lies almost in the centre of Asia. The air traffic is increasing yearly by leaps and bounds. But these natural advantages could not have made Karachi what it is to-day if the State of Pakistan would not have come on the map of the world with a bang.

Karachi was the city that Quaid loved. He was born in Karachi and he undertook an arduous air journey from Quetta on the last day of his life to breathe his last in his favourite city.

Out of his 72 years of his earthly journey, the Quaid spent the first 16 years and the last 13 months of his life in Karachi, the rest in Bombay. It was his will to die in Karachi which sustained him in his fateful air journey from Quetta to Karachi, six hours before he breathed his last. He proved the truth of the saying: "Home is not where you intend to live but where you wish to die."

It was my good fortune to meet the greatest Muslim of his time, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, at different places like Lucknow, Bombay, London, Oxford and Simla. But the city in which I found him most relaxed was Karachi. In the pre-partition days, he used to visit Karachi frequently. It was a treat to listen to him at the dinner tables of the two Knights of the Seafield Road. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Sir Abdullah Haroon and at the residences of Mr. Justice Tayyabji and Mir Bundeh Ali Talpur.

I got the impression that he was almost nostalgic about Karachi. Let me quote his own estimate of Karachi. Soon after he assumed charge as Governor-General of Pakistan, an address was presented to him by the Karachi Municipal Corporation on the 25th August, 1947. Replying to that address, he made the following observation:

> I am very glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and the citizens of Karachi. Undoubtedly, I have great love and

regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old association with it, or because it is my birth place, as you have said, but because it has now become the birth place of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan. For all freedom-loving people, Karachi will on that account not only be a symbol of special significance but will occupy a place in history for which there is no parallel, and I feel it my good fortune that I have the honour to be the first to receive this Civic Address.

Karachi is not an ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why, starting from humble beginnings, it has come to what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports, but the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest. There is specially pleasing feature about Karachi while most of the big cities are crowded and cramped with over-towering structures, Karachi has large open spaces and hill station style roofs which give to the visitor a feeling of space and ease. It has also got the advantage of a salubrious climate and is always blessed with healthy and cool breeze throughout the year. I visualize a great future for Karachi. It always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of Pakistan Capital here and the arrival of Pakistan Government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense opportunities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture.

KARACHI, A MINIATURE PAKISTAN

— "Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocausi unprecedented in History. Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessy butchered and Millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes." Addressing to a gathering of civil and military officers at Khaliqdina Hall on October 11, 1947, by Quaid-e-Azam.

WHEN I BECAME THE District Magistrate and Collector of the Capital of Pakistan in 1947, I had the good fortune to serve under the supervision and direction of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan and it was under their orders that I took over as Administrator of Karachi in July, 1948. In my first official interview with the Quaid-e-Azam, he laid emphasis on three points:

1. Proper planning of Karachi,
2. Rehabilitation of refugees, and
3. Protection of minority communities.

I requisitioned the services of Lt. Col. G. Swayne Thomas, an Australian who was Town Planning Consultant to the Government of Sind, to draw up a Master Plan for Karachi. I had shown the draft plan to the Quaid-e-Azam in January, 1948, who had approved of the outline.

The Plan envisaged, and according to it, the expansion of the city of Karachi grew six times its size, i.e. from 5,000 acres to 30,000 acres. The breakdown was as follows:

- Industrial and Trading Estate: 5,500 acres.
- Housing Societies: 14,500 acres.
- Karachi University: 1,500 acres.
- Park and Sports grounds: 2,500 acres.
- Roads and Circular Railway: 1,000 acres.

It was that plan which enabled me to select the last resting ground of the Quaid as that spot was located in the centre of the greater Karachi plan. I recall one of the post-scripts of Swayne Thomas, which I quote:

> Here is a good story for you; I have been doing a good deal of walking along the Railway line, to learn the ground thoroughly for road crossings, etc. Apparently this quite alarmed some of permanent way-men working on the line; and a report was sent round that a drunk had fallen off a train, and was seen wandering up and down the line in a dazed condition. I believe the rumour even reached the police, asking them to investigate, take the drunk (me) into safe custody and possibly hospital (Giddu Mental Home?). Such are the perils of Planning.....!

A Mayors' Conference held in Karachi in late 1930 decided that Karachi was the cleanest town in India. Thus it fulfilled the prophesy of Sir Charles Napier made in mid-19th century. While the phenomenal growth in its population has deprived Karachi of its cleanliness and sanitation, there is no doubt that it has turned out to be a grand town.

While it has ceased to be the capital of Pakistan, it continues to be the capital city of Pakistan. It is the most populous town of Pakistan. At a Press Conference held on the 14th December, 1977, a spokesman of the Government of Sind, while quoting the latest Master Plan of Karachi, stated that Karachi's population was 6 per cent of the total population of the country and this city

alone contributed 15 per cent of the G.N.P., while its contribution to the national exchequer was to the extent of 25 per cent.

Karachi is in fact miniature Pakistan. There is no province of Pakistan whose inhabitants have not migrated to Karachi to seek fresh fields and new channels and avenues of employment. There is no province or state of India whose inhabitants have not left their hearths and homes to restart the tenor of their lives in Karachi. They were in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan and, in the words of Allama Iqbal, followed the precept of the Holy Prophet of Islam (S):

"ہے ترکِ وطن سنّتِ محبوبِ الٰہی"

Migration is a happy tradition of the Messenger of God.

They had earned the tribute of the Quaid-e-Azam, in his Presidential Address at the 30th Session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, on April 24, 1943, in the following words:

> Do not forget the minority provinces. It is they who spread the light when there was darkness in the majority provinces. It is they who were the spear-heads that the Congress wanted to crush with their over-whelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. IT IS THEY WHO HAD SUFFERED FOR YOU IN THE MAJORITY PROVINCES, FOR YOUR SAKE, FOR YOUR BENEFIT AND FOR YOUR ADVANTAGE. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer. (Cheers). We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 millions of our brethren in the North-Western Zone.

The plight of the refugees caused him intense pain which was evident when Quaid visited a refugee camp in Karachi, housed in a school on Burns Road and heard their heart-rending tales.

That was the only time in my association with him when I saw tears twinkling in his eyes. When he addressed a gathering of Civil and Military Officers at the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, on October 11, 1947, he remarked:

> Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life, are today paupers with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found

> asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck in East Punjab awaiting evacuation, that they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have been unmindful of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his Headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.

He was not satisfied with the pace of rehabilitation of refugees and he expressed his disappointment at the routine manner in which this as well as other pressing problems were being tackled by Government servants. He said:

> It is the time for constructive effort, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty. This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that now that Pakistan has been achieved they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralised by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi, and in others, the general lawlessness prevailing in some parts of the country has, bred a spirit of indiscipline. These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies and will spell ruin for us. It is the duty of all of you who have gathered here today to see that this cancer is removed as speedily as possible. You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.

QUAID'S CONCERN FOR REFUGEES AND MINORITIES

"ہے ترکِ وطن سنّتِ محبوبِ الٰہی"

— Migration is a happy tradition of the Messenger of God.

THE QUAID APPEALED FOR public participation in the funds raised to rehabilitate the refugees. In his speech at the opening ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills on the 2nd February, 1948, he observed:

> Millions of our brethren have been displaced by the cataclysm

> that attended the birth of Pakistan. Most of them have lost all their worldly belongings as also their means of livelihood. Their rehabilitation presents a problem of colossal magnitude, the successful solution of which would require the concerted efforts of the Government and the people. The response to the Quaid-e-Azam's Relief Fund has been magnificent and the munificence of people like you will go a long way in mitigating the sufferings of the stricken but gratuitous relief and doles are only palliatives and do not provide a satisfactory solution of the refugees problem. We do not want merely to keep these unfortunate people alive as a drag on society. We want them to live as self-respecting, self-relying and useful members of society.

His inspiring leadership transformed the atmosphere, hope replaced lethargy and he was generous enough to acknowledge the change in his message to the nation on the first anniversary of our Independence, 14th August, 1948. He summed up the situation in the following words:

> We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy which have been so often referred to before, especially the pre-planned genocide and pushing on with real constructive work internally. The result of our constructive and ameliorative work has gone far beyond the expectations of our best friends. I congratulate you all, my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister, members of the Constituent Assembly and of the legislatures, officials working in various administrative departments and the members of the Defence Forces for what you have achieved during so short period, and I thank the people of Pakistan from whom we have received patience and genuine support in every effort that we have made to put forward the programme of the first year.

Another administrative problem on which the Quaid felt very strongly was the treatment to the minorities. In his Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on the 11th August, 1947, he gave a message of cheer to the minorities who were wondering what was in store for them in Pakistan:

> You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed, that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

> Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that, in course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

His deep concern for the safety of the minority communities was brought home to me when I was summoned to report to him on the sudden communal riot which broke out in Karachi on 4th January, 1948. This riot occurred as a result of the arrival of a train load of Sikhs from Upper Sind whose destination was Karachi Harbour from where they were to sail for Bombay.

As District Magistrate of Karachi, I had advised the North Western Railway authorities not to stop the train carrying Sikhs migrants at the Cantonment or City Railway Station but to take them straight to the harbour. The Railway authorities followed these instructions except in the case of one train. The Station Master, Karachi Cantt. explained that since the Sikh passengers entreated him to let them detain at the Cantt. Railway Station, he complied with their request. The Sikhs went from the Cantt. Station to a Gurdwara on Burns Road in a procession of horse carriages with their kirpans dangling and raising slogans of "Sat Sri Akal".

This was a serious provocation for those refugees from East Punjab and Delhi who had arrived in Karachi after having lost their property and near and dear ones. We, who were in charge of law and order, had to face the consequences of the lapse of the Station Master, Cantt. Railway Station, in the form of a direct clash between the Sikh migrants and the refugees.

Another factor which caused these disturbances was the attitude on the part of numerous Sindhi Hindu landlords whose families had already left for Bombay but who delayed their departure in order to charge heavy pugrees from the incoming refugees. These houses were nominally occupied, but these were actually vacant. The police were unable to stop the flow of the houseless refugees into some of these houses.

Since the police were unable to control the situation, I had to ask for the assistance of the Military authorities who came promptly from Malir. When I gave the background of the riot to the Quaid-e-Azam, he directed that curfew should be imposed as long as complete normalcy was not restored. He said that a night and day vigil should be kept to avoid the recrudescence of the events of the day. He referred to this unfortunate episode in replying to an Address of Welcome presented to him and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsis of Karachi on the 3rd February, 1948:

> It is a pity that the fair name of Karachi was sullied by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month and I cannot find words to condemn the action of those who were responsible for it. The Government is determined in its resolve to root out lawlessness and see that there is not recurrence of such incidents.

There was, in fact, no recurrence of such incidents.

THE QUAID IN SWAMI NARAIN TEMPLE

I WAS SUMMONED ONE morning to the Governor-General's House where the Quaid asked me about the attitude of the minority communities in Karachi. I told him that the small Parsi community was well knit, progressive and loyal to Pakistan. I informed him that Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta was a pillar of support to me in rehabilitating the refugees.

I could not say the same thing about the Hindus of Karachi who were divided in their loyalties. Some of them had no intention to leave but most of them had decided to quit Pakistan. I informed him that it was natural for the 25,000 Gujrati Hindus who were doing business in Karachi to migrate to Bombay. Those Sindhi Hindus who had decided to leave for India had been advised to do so by their kinsman, Acharya Kirpalani, who was at that time President of the Indian National Congress and who, on his visit to Karachi soon after partition, had advised them to migrate to India.

I told him that a number of Hindus from Upper Sind were awaiting their turn to leave by sea for Bombay and were staying in the compound of the Swami Narain Temple. He decided to visit them the same evening. When he arrived at the Temple, he was received by the prominent Mukhis of Sind. He addressed them in Urdu and advised them to stick to their motherland. He said that in the long run, integration of minorities was bound to materialise both in Pakistan and India. The world would judge both India and Pakistan from the manner in which the minorities were treated in these countries. He repeated what he had stated on the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the 14th August, 1947, that the tolerance and goodwill shown to the non-Muslims during the Muslim rule in India dated back to the days of our Holy Prophet (S) who not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians after he conquered them with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs.

Some of the Mukhis said that while they had full trust in him, it could not

be said about the petty officials who had communal bias. As I drove back in his car, he told me that we could not stop those who had decided to leave Sind but we must ensure that those Hindus who had linked their fate with us were treated so well that they should never regret their decision to stay in Pakistan.

When the Quaid received a deputation of prominent Hindus headed by M.S.M. Sharma, Editor of the "Civil & Military Gazette", Karachi, he exhorted them to use their good offices in preventing Hindus to leave in panic. He told them that the Sindhi Hindus had a language and culture of their own which was distinct from that of the Hindus living in other parts of India. If they migrated, they would be scattered in different parts of India and would lose their homogeneity and identity.

In the pre-partition days, there were two English dailies, the "Sind Observer" and the "Civil and Military Gazette"; the former was edited by K. Punniah and the latter by M.S.M. Sharma, both of whom hailed from Madras. Sharma made the point that even though he himself would like to go back to his home province, he would advise the Sindhi Hindus through his paper to stay in Sind. He fulfilled his promise but he did not succeed in changing their mind.

Rao Bahadur Shiv Ratan Mohatta was one of the most prosperous businessmen. He owned a number of houses in Karachi and used to live in his house at Clifton which he called 'Mohatta Palace'. This building was requisitioned for our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All the prominent leaders of the minority communities were invited to the Reception at the Governor-General's House on the evening of the 14th August, 1947. Shiv Ratan Mohatta went upto the Quaid and felicitated him on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan. The Quaid received Shiv Ratan Mohatta with a cordial hand-shake. Mohatta who had resented the requisitioning of his house thought that it was the best opportunity for him to request the Quaid to order the de-requisitioning of his house. I was standing close to the Quaid.

He asked me to explain the circumstances in which Shiv Ratan Mohatta's house had been requisitioned. I submitted that we had requisitioned only those houses whose owners had more than one house. I said that Mohatta had a number of decent houses in Karachi to which he could shift. Mohatta remarked that Mohatta Palace was very dear to him. He then made a fervent appeal to the Quaid to de-requisition his house. The Quaid's reply was:

> Shiv Ratan Mohatta, I am not competent to de-requisition your house. You should appeal against the requisition order to the appropriate authority

Shiv Ratan Mohatta was completely taken aback at the remark of the Head of the State that he was not competent to de-requisition his house. He had obviously no idea that the Quaid was a great constitutionalist and always advocated constitutional means in his fight against the British and Hindu politicians.

In the early part of his political career, Jinnah was as ardent a 'Nationalist Muslim' as Badruddin Tayabji, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Syed Hussain. He was an advocate of joint electorates. Gopal Krishna Gokhle who was a great patriot, described Jinnah "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity".

In one of his revealing moments, Jinnah said that it was his ambition to become the Muslim Gokhle. He parted company with the Indian National Congress during the session of the Congress at Nagpur in December, 1920, when he spoke against M.K. Gandhi, he said "Your way is the wrong way; mine is the right way, the constitutional way is the right way.".

It was the unreasonable and unjust attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Muslim minority that turned the Quaid from a Nationalist Muslim to the best spokesman of the two-nation theory.

5

STRESS AND STRAIN OF KARACHI ADMINISTRATION (1947-51)

IN DECEMBER, 1947 I received a letter from the Secretary, Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, enquiring whether I would like to go on deputation as Chief Minister of Khairpur State for a period of four years. I resisted the temptation to accept the offer even though I would have received higher emoluments, free well-furnished bungalow and a prestigious car, since I regarded the multifarious problems of Karachi as a challenge to my capacity as an Administrator. I felt that my experience in the ICS from 1934 to 1947 could not be put to a better use than in tackling the problems of the Federal Capital of Pakistan. It was a God-given opportunity for me to serve under the supervision, direction and control of the Quaid-e-Azam and the Quaid-e-Millat.

As I wrote a 'no thanks' letter to the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, I recalled two incidents of our literary history. Sheikh Ibrahim Zauq, who was the 'guide' in composing verses of the last and ill-fated Moghal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was invited to migrate to Hyderabad, the premier Muslim State of India, with very attractive emoluments, his reply was:

گرچہ ہے ملکِ دکن میں ان دنوں قدرِ سخن
کون جائے ذوقؔ پر دلّی کی گلیاں چھوڑ کر

In Deccan these days, though poetry is on ascension,
The lanes of Delhi, O Zauq! have their own attraction.

Another distinguished Urdu poet, Nazir Akbarabadi, was invited by one

of the Kings of Oudh who were great patrons of art and learning, to grace his Court in Lucknow as Poet laureate, a high literary position earlier held by Mir Taqi Mir and Mirza Rafi Sauda who had migrated from Delhi. Nazir lived in indigent circumstances and yet he regretted his inability to leave Agra on account of his love for the Taj Mahal.

To resume my story, the problems which I had to tackle were urgent and manifold, the most important being the rehabilitation of refugees who had left their hearths and homes in India and had to start life afresh in Karachi. They needed shelter, transport, jobs and above all sympathy.

The duty of allotment of evacuee houses, shops and business premises fell on me as Rehabilitation Commissioner; it was a case of 'ایک انار، سو بیمار': 'demand is far more than supply'. I suggested to the Central Government that a Rehabilitation Board should be appointed comprising prominent non-officials to advise and assist me in performing this delicate and onerous task. This was done. The Estate Officer of the Government of Pakistan was appointed Secretary of the Board. In such matters, collective responsibility is to be preferred to individual responsibility.

Our task was not only to rehabilitate the refugees but also to rehabilitate the businesses that had been disrupted on account of the migration of Sindhi, Hindu and Gujrati business men who had dominated the economic life of Sind.

The Board decided that the premises used for a particular business or trade would be allotted for the same business or trade from amongst the applicants who could give a prima facie proof of having pursued similar business or trade in India. I recall the allotment of an evacuee shop of hats and caps situated in the Saddar. There were 1,000 applicants for this shop, each claiming to have abandoned shops containing thousands of hats and caps in places like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

The claim of one of the applicants was very modest. He was a refugee from Delhi. In his application, he stated that he owned a small shop in Delhi which was located on a small street. The number of hats and caps in his shop was less than a hundred. When the mass killings of the Muslims of Delhi took place after partition in 1947, and the Congress Government failed to protect them, he was advised by his friends to move to the 'Purana Qila' and go to Pakistan. He argued that the Hindu and Sikh militants had looted big shops; his own shop was too insignificant to attract anyone's attention. And yet when he was driven away from his shop at the point of sword, he had to migrate to Pakistan and wended his way to Karachi. At the end of his application, he quoted a verse of Mirza Ghalib:

ہم کہاں کے دانا تھے، کس ہُنر میں یکتا تھے
بے سبب ہوا غالبؔ دشمن آسماں اپنا

Wisdom I possessed not, nor was skilled I,
For no reason, enemical became the sky.

The members of the Rehabilitation Board were unanimous in allotting the shop to the Delhi refugee, much to the disappointment of the remaining applicants who complained to the press that the allotment had not been made on merits but on Mirza Ghalib's verse! We were then flooded with verified applications. One such application for a perfumery shop contained these verses:

جس محلے میں تھا ہمارا گھر
اس میں رہتے تھے سات سوداگر

The borough where my house had existed,
Seven merchants too, there inhabited,

میری دُکان سب سے بہتر تھی
جس سے ساری فضا معطّر تھی

Mine was the best shop, in look all pleasant,
It made the atmosphere mellow and fragrant.

عطرِ نایاب بیچتا تھا میں
مہکتا آب بیچتا تھا میں

Of rare quality of scent I sold,
Scented water of quality I sold.

I asked the applicant the meaning of 'Mehkta aab?' He said he meant 'Euede Cologne'! I had to issue a press note advising the petitioners to write their applications in simple prose and to avoid the double fees of petition writers and poets.

The dispute over houses proved to be a thorny question. I had directed the Rent Controllers, there were six at that time, that they should have Advisory Committee comprising serving or ex-M.L.As., Members of Municipalities and Local Boards and other representative institutions.

These disputes sometimes involved fathers and sons and brothers and

brothers. I recall a dispute between two bearded brothers both of whom claimed prior occupation of an evacuee house and both of whom were prepared to take oath on the Holy Quran to prove their exclusive claim. It was obvious that one of them was prepared to commit perjury and I did not want that the Holy Book should be desecrated in that manner.

When I said that I would have to test their veracity in some other manner, they suggested that I should visit the disputed house and hold a 'Mubahila'. I was taken aback at this proposal and asked them what would be the 'modus operandi'. They said "We shall confront each other with our children and invoke God's curse on the perjurer.".

I asked as to how I would know which one of them was a perjurer. They said that the perjurer would sink in the ground! I queried "What happens if no one sinks in the ground?" They said that the perjurer was bound to sink in the ground. I remarked that had that been the case, our Courts of Law would have turned into sand dunes.

Amongst the hundreds of visitors whom I received daily, a gentleman asked me to give him a 'Jaedad'*. This request startled me. I said I do not have a property myself, how could I confer a 'Jaedad' on him. He replied "You have a big Jaedad and then explained that by 'Jaedad' he meant a job". He was a refugee from Hyderabad Deccan, where 'Jaedad' was synonymous for job.

Although Karachi had been functioning as Capital of the Dominion of Pakistan since 14th August 1947, it was officially declared Capital of Pakistan when the Quaid-e-Azam promulgated Pakistan (Establishment of Federal Capital) Order, 1948, on 23rd July, 1948.

Mr. Akhtar Husain, a senior Member of the ICS and CSP was appointed OSD by the Central Government in 1950 to examine the working of the Karachi Administration. I reproduce the note which I sent to him on the 6th February, 1951, on this subject:

> I am grateful to the OSD for his unofficial note No. 3/OSD dated the 29th January, 1951, with which was enclosed his appreciation of the existing position of the Administrator.
>
> 1. I took over as Administrator of Karachi on the 23rd of July, 1948, and replaced the Government of Sind in the area separated from Sind to form the Federal Capital of Pakistan. I got only seven days time to join this post. When I represented that, I should have at least six weeks time within which to organise my office and select my staff, I was told by the Prime Minister

*Property

of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the matter brooked no further delay in view of the hostile attitude of some Sindhi politicians over what they described as the separation of Karachi from Sind and that I should take over charge immediately.

On the 23rd of July, 1948, I had only a stenographer without an office. I had to share a room with the Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Interior, and my stenographer had to sit in a passage. The staff was sanctioned by the Ministry of Interior in a piecemeal fashion and it had taken more than 18 months to get my present staff. I did not have a Financial Adviser till 15-10-1950. I have no R.L.A. to advise me on legal issues. Although my responsibilities are well-known, my status and powers have not yet been defined.

2. I have been requesting the Ministry of Interior from time to time to clarify my position and it was not till March 1949 that a decision was taken by the Cabinet about my position in respect of the Central Ministries. The decision that the Central Ministries will function as Provincial Governments vis-a-vis Karachi Administration, made my position still worse. This decision reduced the Administrator of Karachi to an executive agency and this was done without amending the law which had invested him with the powers and duties of a Provincial Government. The Ministries reacted to this Cabinet decision in various ways. The Ministry of Interior, for example, passed orders in respect of Rent Control matters which ranged from a direction to let out certain premises to an individual (which is the function of the Rent Controller) to staying the orders of the Chief Judge, Small Causes Court. I mentioned 8 files to give the OSD some idea of the nature of directions issued by the Ministry of the Interior in Rent Control matters. The Ministry of the Interior have held conferences from time to time to determine the policy of allotment to which I and the Rent Controller were invited. While the Ministry have functioned as Provincial Government in respect of the Sind Rent Restriction Act, they have allowed me to function as Provincial Government in the matter of Sind Requisition of Land Act under which appeals against requisitioning of accommodation by the Estate Office are heard by me. The number of such appeals is very large.
3. No one has been notified as Commissioner of Excise, Revenue Commissioner for Karachi and Revenue Tribunal for Karachi. I was informed that the Ministry of Finance, Revenue Division, wanted to take over Karachi Excise, but the actual transfer has

not yet been effected. File No. 3(106)-50/Excise in respect of the cancellation of the foreign liquor licence of Carlton Hotel will show that I was not allowed to function as a Provincial Government in this matter.

4. As for law and order, important decisions of policy are taken in the Ministry of Interior in conferences presided over by the Minister of Interior, to which I am called along with the District Magistrate and some times the SSP. Although the Ministry have agreed with the principle that the District Magistrate and the SSP should have no access to the Ministry of the Interior, yet in one case the decision has been taken that the SSP may appeal to the Ministry of Interior over the head of the Administrator. I sent the correspondence in respect of this matter. My emphatic view is that the District Magistrate and the SSP should not be called by the Ministry of the Interior for any discussion. They are subordinates of the Administrator and the Administrator alone should be called upon to answer questions relating to law and order.
5. There is a tendency in the Ministry of Health to treat the Karachi Municipal Corporation as a branch of that Ministry. The Ministry took a decision to appoint an officer to enquire into the finances of the Corporation without consulting me although I was called upon to notify his appointment. Similarly, the Ministry appointed the late Mr. Khuda Buksh as an Enquiry Officer without any consultations with me even though I was asked to sign his appointment order. Recently, the Ministry created three posts in the KMC and selected the incumbents without consulting me. These appointments have not been made according to the rules.
6. The Ministry of Health completely ignored the Administrator of Karachi in dealing with the affairs of the Jinnah Central Hospital. They were corresponding directly with the CMO on medical matters of the Karachi Administration. It was only on the 9th of December, 1950, that they clarified the position and decided that the CMO should be responsible to the Administrator of Karachi and not to the Ministry of Health and that there should be a Chief Health Officer in addition to the Chief Medical Officer under the Administrator of Karachi. The Jinnah Central Hospital is now being administered by the Director-General, Health Services, who is responsible to the Ministry of Health, and not to the Administrator of Karachi. The control services of TB, fly and malaria within Karachi area are also being administered by the Director-General, Health Services.

7. The Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Agriculture have notified to me that they will function as Provincial Governments insofar as their respective subjects are concerned. I had asked for the services of an Assistant Commissioner of Labour to deal with the manifold labour problems of Karachi, but the Ministry of Finance turned down this modest proposal. Karachi in fact needs a whole time Commissioner of Labour.
8. A comic example of how the Administrator of Karachi is expected to do odd jobs for the various Ministries is provided by the request of the Ministry of Communications for reserving 27 rooms in various hotels of Karachi for a party of foreign tourists who were travelling for pleasure! I protested against this request and the Ministry of the Interior had to inform the Director-General, Railways, that although the Administrator has an overall responsibility in respect of every thing in the Federal Capital area, the Railway Division should request the Controller of Hotels for accommodation for Overseas tourists.
9. The Central Government recently passed a Vagrancy Act to stop begging in the Capital. It is interesting to note that in this Act which is meant exclusively for Karachi area, there is no mention of the Administrator of Karachi in any clause. The appointment of a Magistrate who should try cases under this Act is to be made by the Central Government and the rules have to be framed by the Central Government. There is, however, provision that the Central Government may delegate their authority to any officer. They have recently asked for my views and I have told them that it could be hardly expected that a Ministry will run a poor house and that the powers of the Central Government will have to be delegated to the Administrator of Karachi.
10. I forwarded a file which showed how the Ministry of Education had functioned as Provincial Government for Karachi.
11. My Secretaries and the Assistant Secretary have been appointed by the Central Government. I have got three Secretaries and one Assistant Secretary. Except for the appointment of Mr. Latif Sheikh, which was made at my recommendation, the remaining appointments were made direct by the Ministry of the Interior. The status of my Secretaries is that of an Assistant Secretary in a Ministry. I can do with two Secretaries of the status of Under Secretary to a Ministry. My Assistant Secretary should be of the status of an Assistant Secretary to a Ministry. Recently, when three Magistrates had to be appointed, I sent proposals to the Ministry of the Interior nominating three persons serving on the

Karachi-Sind cadre, but these suggestions were not accepted and persons other than those recommended by me were appointed.

12. As Rehabilitation Commissioner, I had to interview innumerable persons every day. As Chairman of the Allotment Board for Karachi and as a member of the Industrial Allotment Board for Karachi and Sind, I have to spend hours and hours in meetings every week. I had requested the Ministry of Refugees to relieve me of my duties as Rehabilitation Commissioner and I forwarded correspondence which passed between me and the Ministry of Refugees. I regret to state that I have not yet been relieved of the functions of the Rehabilitation Commissioner.
13. The O.S.D. is quite right in stating that I cannot perform the duties of I.G. Police effectively. Besides interviewing people everyday, I have to receive deputations from refugees, hear appeals under the Land Requisition Act and the Rehabilitation Ordinance, attend conferences in various Ministries (and even Deputy Secretaries to Government expect me to attend the conference convened by them) and have to visit various refugee colonies. I need a day of 48 hours to cope with the work expected of me by the Central Government and the people of Karachi.
14. I would sum up the situation by stating that either the Administrator should be allowed to assume responsibility for the welfare of the people living in the Karachi area and allowed to function as a Provincial Government under the various enactments, being divested of the responsibilities of the I.G. Police and the Rehabilitation Commissioner, or the office of the Administrator should be abolished altogether and the various Ministries should be empowered to administer their respective subjects directly, as the Government of Sind was administering Karachi without the intermediation of the Administrator, and the Ministry of the Interior may function as the coordinating Ministry.

AGA KHAN III – A WORLD CITIZEN

—"The truth about a man, as much as about a country or an institution, is better than legend, myth, and falsehood. I am some one about whom a whole fabric of legend has been woven in my own life time".

ONE OF MY PLEASANT duties as Administrator was to receive Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III on his first visit to Karachi after it

became the capital of Pakistan. The Aga Khan, like the Quaid-e-Azam, was born in Karachi. His followers, the Ismailis, had played a very significant part in the development of Karachi. He was one of the foremost benefactors of the Indian Muslims. It was he who led the Indian Muslims' deputation to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in 1906, which resulted in the acceptance of their demand for separate electorates.

Separate electorate led to the two-nation theory which became the basis for Pakistan Movement. He was the President of the All-India Muslim League from 1907 to 1912. It was through his and Maharaja of Mahmudabad's efforts that a sum of Rs. 30 lakh was collected to raise the status of M.A.O. College to that of Muslim University, Aligarh, of which he became Vice-Chancellor in 1921. He was elected Chairman of the British-India delegation to the Round Table Conference and Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms 1930-33. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a member of the Indian delegation in 1930 only, while Allama Iqbal attended all the sessions of the Round Table Conference. He was the only Asian to be elected as President of the League of Nations Assembly in 1937.

My first contact with this great man goes back to my Oxford days. As President of the Muslim Society, Oxford, I invited him in 1933 to address the Society. He regretted his inability to do so owing to his preoccupation with the Round Table Conference and suggested that we should invite Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, ex-ICS, which we did. Again I wrote to him, after the Round Table Conference was over, to address the Oxford ICS Society which had done me the honour of electing its President.

Aga Khan wrote a very nice letter saying that he was not too well those days but he invited all members of the ICS Society, to have lunch and tea with him on a Saturday at his suite in the Ritz Hotel, London. All members availed themselves of his kind offer and we enjoyed his generous hospitality from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Sir Sultan Aga Khan III was a brilliant conversationalist and we learnt within the four hours that we had spent with him more about the Indian problems than by reading the day-to-day proceedings of the Round Table Conference. When I took leave of him, I said that I had a special reason to be grateful to him. He enquired how, and I told him that I had backed his horse "Windsor Lad" in the Derby and won a handsome sum of £20. He had a hearty laugh.

I had the good fortune of meeting the Aga Khan in Ahmednagar in 1935 which was my first posting in the ICS. He had motored down 72 miles from his palace in Poona to attend a reception given by the citizens of Ahmednagar. Here too he was in a buoyant mood.

When my friend Ikramullah, Foreign Secretary, informed me of the impending arrival of His Highness the Aga Khan, he said that a befitting royal reception should be arranged for him at the airport and enquired where he should stay. I suggested that the best host in Karachi was Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, then a Minister of Sind Government, who used to live in a spacious home, 'Casurenaz', now called 'Qasre-Naz' and used as a Guest House of the Central Government. It was Mir Sahib's custom to greet his guest on arrival and then leave for his home in Tando Muhammad Khan. Thus, the guest felt completely at ease to have his meals and move about as he liked!

His Highness was accompanied by his gracious Begum and got a thunderous welcome from the citizens of Karachi. He was accorded facilities of the Head of a State.

MY HOUSE IS IN SUITCASE AND I AM WORLD CITIZEN:

I was present at the Press Conference held by the Aga Khan on the day following his arrival. It was a crowded conference with some foreign journalists. Everyone was keen to know what nationality he had chosen for his passport. It could be Pakistani since he was born in Karachi. It could be Indian since he lived in Bombay as well as Poona, it could be British since he had a permanent suite at the Ritz Hotel, London, it could be Swiss since he had a villa in the suburbs of Geneva, it could be Iranian since his ancestors came from Iran and the Shahinshah of Iran called him 'uncle'; it could be Egyptian since King Faruque of Egypt too called him 'uncle'.

He was asked what his nationality was. He replied "I am a citizen of the world". A fitting reply from one who had headed the League of Nations.

The next question was: "Your Highness! where is your home?" His reply was "My home is in my suitcase". He regaled the journalists with his reminiscences and everyone had a very good time.

His Highness asked me to stay on after the Press Conference. I had earlier meetings with him in London and Ahmednagar and he recollected them. I then related a story which amused him very much. I said that I picked it up when I visited the Thomas Cook office in London to book my passage for Holland by sea in 1933. There was a widow of an Earl who was very wealthy. She wanted to go on a world voyage to see the Empire encompassing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Her steamer was to berth in the Bombay Port for a few days. She told the agent of Thomas Cook, who called on her that she would like to visit the most beautiful building and meet the most important man in India.

A visit to the Taj Mahal of Agra was the obvious answer but it was a difficult proposition to name the most important man in India. So the agent

sought the instructions of the General Manager who held a staff meeting to suggest the person she should meet. An executive suggested that her interview should be arranged with the Viceroy of India but the prestige of the Viceroy was not the same in 1933 as it had been in the earlier times. The Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress had been a great blow to the prestige of the Government of India.

It was suggested by another participant that she should meet Gandhiji who had led the Civil Disobedience Movement. That proposal too was rejected on the ground that only the Hindus regarded him as the most important man in India, the Muslims considered Mr. Jinnah as the most important man in India.

Then a bright fellow suggested the name of the Aga Khan and everyone agreed that her interview should be arranged with the Aga Khan. Fortunately for her, the Aga Khan was in Bombay at that time. She met the great man and was much impressed by him. She was lucky enough to visit the Taj in the light of the full moon and was enthralled by what she had seen that night. When she returned home after a long time and was asked by her friends what was the most impressive sight she saw during her travels, her answer was "Aga Khan by the moonlight!"

I had deputed a couple of Police Sergeants to escort His Highness to the places which he visited. At the time of his next visit, I was flooded with applications from Traffic Policemen to select them for the honour of escorting His Highness. When I asked my S.S.P., Abdullah, the cause for this enthusiasm, he said that the two Sergeants deputed earlier had been presented with gold Omega watches by His Highness. Who would not like to bag a good Omega watch for just doing one's duty?

MULLA SHORBAZAR OF AFGHANISTAN:

When the well-known Afghan religious leader, Mulla Shorbazar, visited Karachi we made much of him since he was a friend of Pakistan coming from a country which was not friendly to Pakistan. Of all the Afghan leaders, Mulla Shorbazar was the person who had a soft corner for Pakistan. Ever since the advent of our country on the map of the world, Afghanistan had been consistently opposed to Pakistan. Ikramullah suggested that Mir Sahib should be requested to make him his guest. I rang up Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and told him that the Foreign Office was very keen that he should put up Mulla Shorbazar. I spoke to him in Urdu and said, " ملاشوربازار کراچی آرہے ہیں ", meaning thereby "Mulla Shorbazar is coming to Karachi." he enquired, "How many are they?" I could not obviously say ! ملاشوربازار کراچی آرہا ہے

HASRAT'S VERSES PACIFY ANGRY CROWD

WHEN THE RAINS CAME, inspite of requisitioning a large number of buildings, I could not provide shelter to all those who had made a bee-line for Karachi. Almost all the open spaces were occupied by dwellers of huts; most of the footpaths were occupied by labourers. These hardships were borne patiently as the people affected, knew the limitations of the authorities.

Karachi's weather is kind to the poor. There are no extremes of heat or cold and the nerve-soothing sea breeze blows throughout the year. Only once there was a furore when Ahmed Memon went on hunger-strike at the door of Khawaja Shahabuddin, Minister for Interior, who dealt with Karachi Administration, and said that he would not move unless all those who lived in huts and lay on footpaths were provided with pucca shelters within a week. He, dressed in coffin cloth, sat on a 'chatai' (mat) and had attracted a large crowd.

Khawaja Sahib rang me up and entreated me to persuade Ahmed Memon to leave him in peace. I had a long session with Ahmed Memon in which I complimented the shelterless at their forbearance, apologized for our inability to comply with his wishes within such a short time as a week, argued that hunger-strike was a weapon which had been used against foreign rulers, and appealed to him to break his fast. But he was adamant and said that the Government had vast resources and could build the requisite number of houses in no time.

Meanwhile the crowd swelled and the roads leading to the house of the Minister for Interior on Hoshang Road were blocked. The crowd regarded the whole thing as a 'tamasha*', raised slogans of 'Ahmed Memon Zindabad' and became unruly. It became a problem of law and order. I directed the District Magistrate, Khan Sahib Muhammad Ishaq, to disperse the unlawful crowd. He was able to do so with the help of a posse of policemen. He took Ahmed Memon in judicial custody and released him after 24 hours.

The approach of the rainy season caused us the greatest anxiety, the dwellers of huts and footpaths were most vulnerable to rain. We appealed to the residents of houses to give shelter to those who lived in open spaces, we constructed shelters of asbestos sheeting to enable the hut and pavement-

*Plaything

dwellers to flock together when it rained cats and dogs and we utilized empty railway carriages at the City and Cantonment Stations. I designated the Divisional Superintendent of N.W.R., Mr. Salahuddin Ahmed, as Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner, to enlist his support in affording temporary shelter to rain-affected persons in Railway sheds and carriages.

The average annual rainfall of Karachi is 6 inches. During the period of 1947 to 1951, the year 1950 was the most trying for us when the rainfall measured 12 inches. A look at the rainfall of Karachi will show how fitful, unpredictable and spasmodic it could be in certain years.

In 1869, the annual rainfall was 28 inches.
In 1944, the annual rainfall was 25 inches.
In 1950, the annual rainfall was 12 inches.
In 1953, the annual rainfall was 19 inches.
In 1967, the annual rainfall was 25 inches.

The year 1977 has been the worst year for rains in Karachi. It rained 7 inches on 30th June, 2 inches on 1st July and 4 inches on 12th July, resulting in colossal loss of life and property.

To revert to the year 1950, when I had to face the music. I had turned the Haji Camp into a Refugee Camp and had provided alternative accommodation for the prospective Hajis in tents. I had requisitioned all available tents in Karachi for this purpose. The Khema Haji Camp was located close to the Central Jail where the Bahadur Yar Jung Colony is now situated.

The prospective Hajis were satisfied with the alternative arrangements made for them till one day when it rained heavily from midday to midnight, 1 inch in 12 hours. I got a frantic phone call from my District Magistrate, Muhammad Ishaq, at 5 a.m., who said "There is mutiny in Haji Camp. The inmates of the camp propose to take a procession to the Prime Minister, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, to complain against the unsatisfactory arrangements made by the Karachi Administration for their stay in Karachi."

Throughout my tenure as Collector and Administrator, I had a van fitted with loudspeaker at my disposal which I utilized whenever I felt the need to talk to the people and explain my point of view to them.

I arrived at the temporary Haji Camp by 5.30 a.m. where Muhammad Ishaq and Haj Officers were awaiting my arrival. I asked those officers to collect the disgruntled people who wanted to march to the Prime Minister's House. About one hundred inmates of the camps surrounded the van. I told them that since I was responsible for the arrangements made for their stay, they could pour out their heart to me. I told them that in case they went to the Prime

Minister's House, they would have to cover a large distance and the Prime Minister would call me to explain: I had come to them to save them the inconvenience of walking to the Prime Minister's House. I told them that the permanent Haji Camp had been utilized by me for those who had left their ancestral homes and regarded Karachi as a haven of refuge. The prospective Hajis used to stay in Karachi for a few days only on their way to, and return from, the Holy Kabaa. It was most unusual to have an inch of rainfall in Karachi in 12 hours. We were very sorry for the inconvenience caused to them and begged for their pardon. We felt, however, that any inconvenience which they experienced in their hollowed journey was bound to enhance the 'atonement' which they would earn at the end of their journey.

I said that there have been and still are, people who perform Haj on foot. I quoted the example of the saintly Haji Waris Ali Shah who performed several journeys on foot from Deva Sharif (U.P.) to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina. I quoted the poem of the great freedom fighter, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who had performed Haj 11 times and paid his homage to the Mausoleum of the Holy Prophet (s) 12 times. He made one of his trips purposely long and arduous and described it in these words:

اے شہِ شاہانِ رُسل السّلام
حاضرِ دربار ہیں پھر یہ غلام

O King of Prophets! accept our compliments,
Present are the slaves, with their compliments,

دہر کی آسانیوں کو چھوڑ کر
خواہشِ آرام سے منہ موڑ کر

Renouncing all worldly ease,
Rest and recreation no longer please,

بصرہ و بغداد سے تا کاظمین
ہو کے چلا سُوئے مزارِ حُسینؑ

From Basra and Baghdad to Kazmain,
Then came to the tomb of Imam Husain.

خوبیٔ قسمت جو ہوئی رہ نما
بندۂ مولائے نجف بھی بنا

It was my fortune's further favour,
Ali's mausoleum I visited with fervour.

آگے نجف کے یہ دیارِ عرب
کھینچے رہِ دشت و جبل کے تعب

Away, far away from Najaf, is the Arab land,
Rigorous is journey, because of mountain and sand.

پہنچے تو سب ہو گئے تیرے حضور
رنج مبدّل بہ سکون و سرور

But in your presence, gone was the discomfiture,
And sorrow changed into mirth and pleasure.

حاصلِ حسرت یہ سفر ہو مدام
بیتِ نبیؐ سے سوئے بیت الحرام

May this Hasrat's visit prove a perennial pod,
From the Abode of the Prophet to the House of God.

Those present were deeply moved by Hasrat's verses and a venerable old man came upto me and said "Who told you that we had complained? Who told you that we were going to the Prime Minister's House? We are not at all perturbed at the rains which, we know, are not your doing. We are prepared to bear still greater hardships with fortitude." All present cheered the old man. I heaved a sigh of relief and asked Muhammad Ishaq who had told him that there was mutiny in Haji Camp. He whispered in my ear "These very people". He further added that 'they had behaved like the Koofans* in changing their mind!'

* Kufa is a place in Iraq. Historically speaking, the people of this place are notorious for their infidelity and sudden change of mind.

THE PERMIT SYSTEM

— Many of the impoverished refugees who wended their way to Karachi had left some of their blood relations in India and entreated me to let them come to Karachi through the authorised land and sea routes.
— I devised a permit system which enabled fathers and mothers to join their sons and daughters; brothers to join their sisters; and wives to join their husbands.
— Foreign Minister Sir Zafarullah Khan protested to the Minister for Interior.
— I have had not to poke my nose in Foreign Affairs but the very attitude of Sir Zafarullah Khan manifested, as if, he hated from his heart not only the Muslims of India but the very existence of Pakistan.

EVEN THOUGH TRANSFER OF population from India to Pakistan and vice versa was not contemplated in the Partition plan of the Sub-Continent agreed to between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League and confirmed by the British Parliament, the biggest migration in history took place in 1947-48.

I have already quoted Leonard Mosley on the dreadful results of this migration. Mosley blames Mountbatten's hurry for this holocaust.

He argued "If the Labour Government was prepared to give a united India its freedom by June, 1948, how was it possible to promise a divided India freedom ten months earlier?"

Mountbatten was furious when he read Mosley's book which came out in 1962. He wrote letter to Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab, and Sir Chunnilal Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab, protesting against the figures quoted by Mosley and asking them to give the casualty figures of their respective provinces.

Sir Francis Mudie showed me Mountbatten's letter and his reply when I spent a weekend with him in his home in Broughty Ferry, Scotland, in July 1963.

His reply was very brief: "I was too busy," he wrote; "looking after the Muslims who crossed over to my province after losing their near and dear ones, and all they had on their way, to count the dead Hindus and Sikhs in my province."

Many of the impoverished refugees who wended their way to Karachi had left some of their blood relations in India and entreated me to let them come to Karachi through the authorised land and sea routes. I took the bit in my teeth

and devised a permit system which enabled fathers and mothers to join their sons and daughters; brothers to join their sisters; and wives to join their husbands.

I appointed my Secretary, Enver Adil, as Permit Officer. He worked very hard and issued permits for the entry of nearly one lakh such persons. The Foreign Minister, Sir Zafrullah Khan, protested to the Minister for Interior at this procedure and observed that it was only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which could authorise the entry of Indians into Pakistan. No Provincial Government was competent to issue such permits as were being issued by the Karachi Administration.

The Ministry of Interior asked for my comments. I replied that I could not join issue with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this score, but I had done so purely on humanitarian grounds. I was asked to stop issuing permits and I complied with these instructions. This caused great disappointment to those whose applications of the reunion of their blood relations were pending with the Permit Officers.

As regards the status of Sir Zafarullah Khan, although I was well aware of his religious belief and dedication to that cause, at the initial stage of the formation of our country, I strongly felt that his selection as Foreign Minister might possibly help the cause of our newly-born country. But the way events were taking place and immediately after the demise of Quaid-e-Azam, I started changing my opinion about the loyalty and sincerity of Sir Zafarullah Khan. Then I strongly felt that it was nothing but propaganda about Sir Zafarullah Khan being the ablest person in the Foreign Relations. It was also said about him that he had the hypnotising effect in the United Nations. That too was a wrong image. I have had not to poke my nose in Foreign Affairs but the very attitude of Sir Zafarullah Khan manifested as if he hated from his heart not only the Muslims of India but the very existence of Pakistan. At every stage, I was therefore facing the same hostile and negative attitude contributing nothing but obstacles. Whether it was the Kashmir problem or the settlement of refugees in Pakistan, Sir Zafarullah Khan had no genuine interest. Even in Redcliffe Award, his role appeared to be dubious. After all these years, when I recapitulate the past events, I become all the more frustrated. But I feel relieved when I think that, despite persons like Sir Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan and her people have survived.

As the permits could not be issued, the applicants surrounded me whenever I went and asked for a reconsideration of the policy. I explained the position as best as I could do, but I could not satisfy them. One day, a Government servant came to me with a postcard in Urdu which bore the postmark of Muradabad. The letter was from his father who had been awaiting the

permit for a long time. He wrote:

> You have been writing for a year that you do not have a house and therefore cannot receive me and your mother. And now that you have been allotted a house, you have invented a new excuse that you cannot send a permit to us. We do not believe you. Which Government can refuse permission to a father to join his son? The Government of Pakistan which is based on Islamic principles could not possibly issue such orders. Ever since you have got married, your mother has been complaining that you are playing in the hands of your wife. I always defended you but I cannot defend you any more. Your mother has been right all along. This is my last letter to you; henceforth you should consider your parents dead.

The son wept when he handed over that letter to me.

Some time later, a tailor came to see me with his wife's postcard in Urdu bearing the post-mark of Bombay. The contents of the postcard were as follows:

> My errant husband! in your last letter, you said that you were unable to send a permit for the entry of your wife and children. This is unbelievable. I suspect that you have married a second wife in Karachi.

If these letters had been sent in envelopes I could not press my point. A presumption could be raised that these letters had been written in Karachi and put in envelopes bearing Indian post-marks. These two post cards turned out to be my trump card when a full-fledged meeting was held at the Foreign Office with the Foreign Minister in the chair.

Those who attended comprised the Minister of Interior, Foreign Secretary, Secretary Interior, myself and my Permit Officer. I produced these two cards and related the story of the penny postage in England.

Initially, the postage was of six pence. A brother who worked in London had a sick sister who lived in Scotland. They wrote to each other every week but were too poor to spend two shillings every month. So they devised a system of bearing postage. When the brother received his sister's postage due letter, he declined to take it but was happy to learn that the sister was alive and vice versa. When this method of correspondence which cost nothing came to light, it caused a good deal of compassion and sympathy. Rowland Hill, M.P., introduced the Penny Postage Bill which was passed by the Parliament in 1840.

I am glad to be able to report that Rowland Hill's example was followed by the Foreign and Interior Ministers of Pakistan. Even though I was asked not to entertain any further applications, I was authorised to dispose of the pending applications which numbered 15,000. My Permit Officer was thus able to issue permits for entry of one lakh more refugees.

KARACHI'S FIRST GRAND MOSQUE

— As long as I was Administrator of Karachi, I did not allow my name to be inscribed on any market, park or road.
— The highest Bank Guarantee was produced by the Memon Jamaat of Karachi. Accordingly, I allotted the whole land on 24th August, 1949. I am glad a grand Mosque has been constructed over a maidan which was lying unused.
— After my retirement in 1966, when I was invited by the Trustees of the Mosque to offer my Eid prayer, I was delighted to see that all Roads in the Vicinity had been closed and nearly 50,000 offererd their Eid prayers. It was a grand site.

THE EIDGAH FOR THE city of Karachi was located in the very heart of Karachi, on Bunder Road now named M.A. Jinnah Road. It was in this Eidgah that the Quaid-e-Azam offered his Eid prayers in August, 1947.

Normally, Eidgahs are located on the outskirts of the cities or towns. The Eidgah Maidan served as a lung for a congested area and as a venue for social and religious gatherings. I recall a mammoth 'Husain Day' meeting which was held in these premises on Sunday, 31st January, 1943. The chief guest was the famous divine, editor and writer, Khawaja Hasan Nizami. He used to publish his Roznamcha (daily diary) in his paper Munadi. I quote an extract from his Roznamcha of 31st December, 1943:

> I called on Syed Hashim Raza: he is very [khushjamal] handsome and [khushkhisal] good natured I do not deserve Khawaja Sahib's generous encomiums. He is the President of today's function. A very large number of ladies and gentlemen sat under a grand Pandal. The audience included hundreds of Hindus and Parsis. The function began with recitation from the Holy Quran. The President then gave a scholarly discourse, followed by Hindu, Parsi and Muslim speakers who spoke in Sindhi as well as English. Begum Sir Abdullah Haroon delivered her learned speech in Urdu. Mr. Hatim Alavi's daughter, Zaibun Nisa, spoke very well in English. All of them paid glowing tributes to Hazrat Imam Husain and other heroes of Karbala. In the end, I spoke for 45 minutes. The audience heard

> my speech with rapt attention. It is not customary for Karachi audiences to applaud speakers. They listen to them in silence. But an exception was made in today's meeting when they cheered the President of the meeting, myself and a Hindu speaker who gave his discourse in English.

After the carnage in Delhi and East Punjab, some of the refugees wended their way to Karachi and occupied the entire Eidgah Maidan in September, 1947. They constructed 'Jhuggis'* for shelter and shopping. When the Chief Minister of Sind, Mr. M.A. Khuhro, passed by that site, he ordered the Superintendent of Police, who accompanied him to demolish the hut and remove all the encroachments.

I told him that those unfortunate persons had been turned out of their ancestral homes by force and should not be confronted with force in their promised land! I decided to visit the perturbed people. When I arrived at the scene, I noticed a gathering of nearly 500 persons who were about to form a procession and march to the residence of the Chief Minister. I did not reveal my identity and told the leaders of the procession that they should approach the District Magistrate instead of the Chief Minister as the Chief Minister was bound to call the District Magistrate so that they could register their protest to him.

After deliberating the matter for some time, they decided to march to the Deputy Commissioner's House and asked me the way to the D.C.'s House. It was at this stage that I told them that I was the D.C. and they could pour out their hearts to me which they did. I told them that an Eidgah was a sanctified place and should not be despoiled by filth and rubbish. They took the point but asked as to where they should go. I told them that I could allot an alternative site where they could settle down permanently. They welcomed the idea and that was how a colony sprang up on Gizri Road in Clifton area which is known as Delhi Colony.

It was this episode that prompted Khawaja Hasan Nizami to do me the honour of visiting me a second time when he spent a few days in Karachi to give his blessings to some of his 'murids' (followers) who had migrated to Pakistan.

There was a large tract of land situated on Bunder Road adjoining Boulton Market. In a corner of this land, there were a dozen graves of unknown persons in a very dilapidated condition. This big plot was coveted by a large number of individuals and organisations. I received over a hundred applications for allotment of this plot as a mosque, an Imam Bargah, a shopping centre and a

---

* Huts

graveyard.

Some applicants brought Fatwas from Moulvis that once a graveyard always a graveyard, others produced decrees that the site could be used for a mosque provided the graves were preserved. I announced my decision that the plot would be allotted for a mosque and market and that the graves would be preserved in the basement area. The applicants pursued me in my office and at home.

I called upon them to bring bank guarantees of the amounts which they claimed to have collected. This diverted them from my office to the doors of the prospective donors. The highest bank guarantee was produced by the Memon Jamaat of Karachi. Accordingly, I allotted the whole land to that Jamaat on 24th August, 1949, on the following conditions:

1. The entire property will be treated as 'Trust'.
2. The trustees will be the office-bearers of the Jamaat with the Collector of Karachi as an ex-official trustee.
3. The main building will comprise a prestigious mosque; the graves will be preserved in the basement area.
4. Shops could be constructed all round the mosque. It was called the New Memon Mosque as Karachi had already two Memon Mosques in Saddar and Gari Khata.

I am glad to be able to say that a grand mosque has been constructed over a maidan which was lying unused. It took six years to complete the mosque and some more years to complete the two minarets which are 195 ft. high, hitherto the highest minarets in Karachi. The covered and open spaces enable 11,000 persons to offer their prayers at a time. This mosque has turned out to be a 'substitute' for the Eidgah Maidan for the Eid and Friday prayers. After my retirement in 1966, when I was invited by the trustees of the mosque to offer my Eid prayers in that mosque, I was delighted to see that all roads in the vicinity had been closed and nearly 50,000 offered their Eid prayers. It was a grand site.

Apart from the shops on the main road, there is a market to the west of the mosque called 'Iqbal Market'. The trustees wanted to call this 'Hashim Raza Market' and when they approached me with their advocate, Mr. Muhammad Asghar (Alig) Ex-M.L.A., C.P., I advised them to name it after our national poet. As long as I was Administrator of Karachi, I did not allow my name to be inscribed on any market, park or road. Once I took off a board which had been fixed in front of Maulvi Musafirkhana bearing the name 'Hashim Raza Market'.

There was an incomplete building opposite New Memon Masjid which

was completed as a cinema hall. The trustees of the Masjid resented the emergence of a cinema so close to the mosque. They carried on a virulent campaign against the owner of the cinema, protesting in the verse of Mirza Ghalib:

مسجد کے زیرِ سایہ خرابات چاہیئے

Should evils thrive under the shadow of a mosque.

and foreboding dire consequences on the opening day of the cinema, the owner of the cinema went ahead with his programme and advertised three shows on Eid-e-Qurban of 1949. After the Eid prayers, a mob surrounded the cinema hall and some miscreants set fire to it.

The I.G. of Police, Mr. S. Kazim Raza, rushed to the scene with his men and summoned the fire brigade. It took a couple of hours to extinguish the fire, which if uncontrolled, would have caused considerable damage to the surrounding buildings. The police challaned 11 persons as instigators of the crime. After a long trial, they were acquitted as witnesses did not come forth to implicate them. The cinema-owner got wise after the event. He converted the cinema hall into offices and shops to the satisfaction of all concerned.

THE FIRST-EVER RUET-E-HILAL COMMITTEE

AT THE APPROACH OF the holy month of Ramazan, I was asked by the Ministry of Interior to form a Ruet-e-Hilal Committee of Maulvis. This was not an easy task for a large number of Maulvis had migrated to Karachi from India, each one of them claiming a large following.

I constituted a Committee of the Maulvis which included Maulana Ehtishamul Haq Thanvi and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni. Their task was to pronounce the visibility of the Ramazan as well as Eid moon. The Committee commenced its proceedings with a note of dissent. Maulana Ehtishamul Haq suggested that the moon should be seen from the maidan around the Jacob Lines mosque where he led the prayers. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni proposed that the moon should be sighted from the Artillery Maidan mosque where he led the prayers. When the matter was referred to me, I decided that the Committee should meet at the roof of the Karachi Municipal Corporation Building which was approachable by lift. All the members assented to that suggestion and met at the roof of the Karachi Municipal Corporation and gave a unanimous verdict. The next year I arranged for them to see the moon from

a still higher altitude. At my request, Alexander Munro, ex-Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow who was the Managing Director of the Orient Airways, placed a plane at the disposal of the Committee to witness the Ramazan moon. The plane flew for nearly half an hour at an altitude of 8,000 ft. and when it returned to the ground, the members were not unanimous in their verdict, four of them said that they had seen the moon, two of them said they had not seen it. I accepted the verdict of the majority and declared the following day as the first of Ramazan. When I told Syed Muhammad Jafri, a poet of repute who was then an Information Officer, how the differences between Maulvis persisted in the air, he produced a witty and humorous poem in which he argued that the two Maulvis could not see the moon because they were looking at the air hostess! I hope that the Maulvis would forgive this lampoon. I quote three stanzas of the poem:

رُویتِ ماہِ صیام امسال تھی کچھ سودمند
جب ایئرویز اورینٹ آیا لیے اپنا سمند
مولوی صاحب ہوئے تب بیٹھ کر اس میں بلند
ماہ و پرویں پر نگاہِ تیز کی ڈالی کمند
ساکنانِ چرخِ زنگاری میں تھی چیخ و پکار
کیوں ہوئی جاتی ہیں یارب یہ نگاہیں دل کے پار

This year, appearance of Ramzan's moon was happier,
When the Orient Airways chartered its carrier,
On boarding it, the Maulvi became much merrier,
To the moon and stars, he scanned like a cavalier,
Among the dwellers of the sky, there was a commotion,
What a look it was! what a vision!

مولوی صاحب نے دیکھا چاند جب رمضان کا
اُن پہ طاری ہو گیا عالم عجب وجدان کا
تھی شفق مُرغے کا سالن چاند ٹکڑا نان کا
کہکشاں میں رنگ افطاری کے دسترخوان کا
بعض نے تو چاند دیکھا بعض نے دیکھا نہ چاند
بعض نے وہ چاند دیکھا، پڑ گیا ہر چاند ماند

When the Maulvi[1] beheld Ramazan's moon,
At once he came under trance-like swoon,
Reddish was the chicken soup, whitish bread as moon,
In milky-way he lay the edibles, what a boon!
Some beheld the moon, others only heard,
Some saw that moon which the real moon had blurred.

چاند بھی وہ چاند جس سے ہو سکے گفت و شنید
مولوی صاحب کو جو دے عقدِ ثانی کی نوید
یعنی اک مہ پارہ کنوائے* میں بخشے جبکہ دید
آخری شعبان میں پھر کیوں نہ دیکھیں ماہِ عید
ہوش پھر کس کو رہے گا جبّہ و دستار کا
ہے خدا حافظ مسلمانانِ روزہ دار کا

It was that moon, one could speak and consort,
For the second marriage, which could excite the Maulvi's heart,
A look in the plane, a madonna might dart,
The mind of Maulvi became passion's resort,
About his apparel and cap, the Maulvi became unmindful,
Of the fasting Muslims, Saviour is God, the Merciful.

URDU AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

URDU WAS THE MEDIUM of the campaign for Pakistan throughout India. The Quaid's mother tongue was not Urdu. He spoke English with the facility and ease of a mother tongue but, after delivering his speeches in English, he invariably added some sentences in elementary and halting Urdu which thrilled his audiences.

After we had achieved independence, the Quaid stated categorically on March 21, 1948 at a mammoth meeting in Dacca:

The State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other

1. Maulvi means priest.
* Convoy.

language.

In accordance with the wishes of the Father of our nation, I issued instructions that Urdu would be the official language of Karachi Administration. All applications which were presented to me, were written in Urdu. Advocates who appeared before me, argued their cases in Urdu. The first Rent Controller to have written his judgement in Urdu was S.M. Owais.

I admired Mr. R.P. Dewhurst, I.C.S (a District Judge of U.P.) who had as far back as 1920 issued a circular, urging the advocates to address him in Urdu. The District Judge stated that he would address them in English. When an Indian barrister started his arguments in English, Dewhurst requested him to switch over to Urdu. The barrister did not like to be interrupted in that manner and asked Dewhurst why he was insisting that he should speak in Urdu. Dewhurst politely told him:

> I cannot stop you from speaking in English. I requested you to speak in Urdu as I thought you will be able to express yourself better in your mother tongue. I like Urdu and I have acquired sufficient knowledge of it during my 20 years stay in the U.P. But I know that my pronunciation of Urdu is faulty and must be jarring to your ears. Allow me to say that your pronunciation of English is equally jarring to my ears. English is my mother tongue, Urdu is your mother tongue. Let us both talk in our mother tongue!

This story was related to me by Mr. R.P. Dewhurst who, after retirement from the I.C,S., was teaching Urdu to English Probationers of the I.C.S.at the Indian Institute, Oxford. His vocabulary of Urdu words was excellent. So was his handwriting but his pronunciation was poor. When we held a Mushaira (poetical gathering) in 1933, I requested him to compose a poem in Urdu which he did. He advised the Indian members of the I.C.S. who were about to return home after completing their probationary period to stick to their culture and traditions. I quote some of his verses:

اِسی زمانے میں آپ اس عظیم مدرسے سے
روانہ ہوں گے، زیادہ کچھ انتظار نہیں

When you go back, it's not long,
Leaving this institution, which you belong,

وطن میں لوٹ کے اپنے رسوم اور آداب
نہ ترک ہوں، نہ یہ سمجھیں کہ استوار نہیں

But when you have gone back to your country, with jubilations,
See that you stick to your literature and traditions.

نہ گھر نہ گھاٹ کا ہے سب کہیں گے یہ ہنس کر
یہ ہے عجائبِ خلقت، کچھ اعتبار نہیں

And the natives may not think that you are a strange creature,
And they jokingly say that you are a freak of nature,

وطن کا شعلۂ آتش، ہمیشہ دل میں جلے
یہ لکھنؤ کے انگارے جو پائیدار نہیں

with national favour, your hearts may every be lit,
Not like the 'Angarey of Lucknow'* which has no grit.

Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haq, who is popularly known as Baba-e-Urdu and whom I call Farzande Urdu, (the title Baba-e-Urdu should be appropriately used for Amir-e-Khusro), related to me the tragic story of the burning of the library of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu by a mad mob in Delhi. I took him round and gave him the option of choosing any suitable evacuee building for his work in Karachi. He chose the premises where the Anjuman's office, library and college are located. Dr. Abdul Haq invited Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, to visit these premises. When the Premier came, he commended the progress made in such a short time. In an address presented to him, Dr. Adbul Haq stated:

> The Anjuman has performed another task in drawing the attention of various Departments to the desirability of using Urdu for their correspondence. We are grateful to you, the high officials who have acted on our appeal, especially to Syed Hashim Raza Sahib, Administrator of Karachi, at whose instance Urdu is being used in his office. The Director General, Railways, Nizamuddin Sahib, welcomed our suggestion with enthusiasm. He sent us the Railway time table, the Railway Code and bye-laws and asked us to translate them in Urdu which we have done. Zahid Hussain Sahib is taking personal interest in translating into Urdu the Reserve Bank Report and the technical terms used in banking. Some other offices have written to us from time to time to provide them with Urdu translation of English terms.

*('Angarey' was a book of short stories published in Lucknow. The writers called themselves Progressive; in fact they propounded Communist ideas.).

The daily Hurriyat of 18th August, 1971, reported that the meeting convened by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu to commemorate the 10th death anniversary of Maulvi Abdul Haq turned into a protest meeting against the Karachi Police who had disallowed Urdu Number Plates for motor vehicles. Mr. Akhtar Husain, President of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu was in the chair. Syed Hashim Raza who had allowed the use of Urdu Number Plates when he was Administrator said that when the Karachi Police had challaned a car owner for using Urdu Number Plates, Maulvi Abdul Haq had reacted strongly and had represented to him that the challan should be withdrawn. This was done. Syed Hashim Raza issued a Circular to the Police saying that since Urdu had been declared as official language of Karachi Administration, Urdu Number Plates were valid. In the context of this language, I recall a verse of Ustad Qamar Jalalvi:

حضور اس کو بھی کوئی جگہ الاٹ کریں
ہمارے ساتھ یہ اُردو بھی لُٹ کے آئی ہے

O Lord! grant it a piece of land,
A migrant like us, is Urdu, the grand.

The Quaid-e-Azam allotted the highest place to Urdu. The efforts of the present regime to encourage Urdu are commendable.

It is my considered view that, apart from their provincial languages, our students should learn two other languages, viz. Urdu and English: Urdu as the national language and English as the language of international relations, trade, commerce, science and technology.

It is not unusual for young boys and girls to pick up three languages. In the U.K., they teach English, Latin and Greek, even though the students make seldom use of Latin and Greek when they grow up.

Mushairas and Urdu dramas have played a significant part in popularising Urdu. Two excellent dramas of the late Khawaja Moinuddin "Taleem-e-Balighan" and "Mirza Ghalib Bunder Road Par" became widely popular. An early death cut short his brilliant literary career.

LABOUR PROBLEM

THE SIND INDUSTRIAL TRADING Estate was set up in Karachi in 1946. Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sind, obtained the services of Col. Beck

who had been associated with the establishment of Trading Estates in the U.K. He did a good job and provided a base for the industrial growth of Karachi in post-independence period. The problems of labour increased with the growth of industry.

I dealt with a number of disputes in which both the industrialists and their workers showed a spirit of accommodation. This was possible because the labour leaders, who directed the affairs of the trade unions - Mr.Naraindas Beechar, an M.L.A. of Sind in pre-Independence period and Mr. Mukhtar Azad (Alig), an advocate who migrated to Pakistan after 1947, were enlightened and reasonable persons who did not believe in agitation.They were vigilant in respect of the rights of the workers but they also took note of the fact that the industrialists had to cut their coat according to the cloth.

The following extract from the "Sind Observer" of April 1951 will show how we got along:

> You are people who earn your living by hard work and labour, and you must maintain unity and discipline in your ranks and work for the welfare of the State as loyal citizens, said Mr. Hashim Raza, the Administrator of Karachi:'
>
> There was a large and distinguished gathering of oil workers and citizens of Karachi.
>
> Continuing Mr. Raza said, "Peaceful administration is necessary for the well being of the common man who must feel satisfied. We may not have agreed on the solutions of some problems, but we all agreed on unity, discipline and the running of the administration on the principles of Islam.
>
> Even officials of bureaucratic mind could be brought in line with others with the active cooperation and support of the people', concluded Mr. Raza.
>
> Earlier, Maulana Abdul Hye Abbasi and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni in their speeches praised the services of Mr. Raza, particularly his work for the uprooted millions and called him, 'a real friend of the Muhajreen.

Mr. Mukhtar Azad who presided over the function also paid a glowing tribute to the qualities of head and heart of Mr. Raza and praised his meritorious services for the poor.

A piquant situation arose when the employees of the newly established State Bank of Pakistan threatened to go on strike. The Quaid had performed the opening ceremony of the State Bank on lst July, 1948. He had come all the way from Quetta to do so. This was the last public function attended by him.

The Governor of State Bank, Mr. Zahid Husain, called on me one day in

1949 and sought my help in preventing the threatened strike. He told me that some of the officers of the Bank have resented the appointment of Mr. Altaf Gauhar as his Secretary. He had turned down the request of the employees association to replace Mr. Altaf Gauhar and he wanted me to use my authority to prevent the strike. The rest of the story is contained in a letter of Mr. A.G. Sheikh of the State Bank of Pakistan which I reproduce:

5th May, 1973

Dear Hashim Raza Sahib,

It was great pleasure to receive your letter.

The incident which I narrated to you took place in 1949, if my recollection does not fail me. The employees of the State Bank had threatened to go on strike in protest against the policy of direct recruitment of officers started by the Bank. Under cover of this policy, the intention was to bring in friends and relatives in the higher echelons of the cadres! With the strike staring in their face, the Governor and his Private Secretary turned towards Karachi Administration for help. Consequently, one fine morning seven officer-bearers of the Employees' Association, including myself, were most unceremoniously picked up by plain clothes men and arraigned before you. As I vividly remember the scene, we were made to sit around your desk with two Senior Superintendents of Police menacingly brandishing their revolvers and making loud suggestion to you that we should all be put into lock-up. You gave us an early morning sermon in quite threatening tone to say that you will not allow us to go on a strike. However, when we explained the other side of the matter, I could see that the almost artificial anger that was on your face was gradually withering away. At this stage, one of us complained that we were picked up from our houses like ordinary criminals without breakfast etc. I did not know whether driven by reason or by compassion, you ordered breakfast for all of us which was served right on your office desk. Perhaps that was the most costly breakfast because, in turn, we had to promise you withdrawal of strike notice.

Yours sincerely,
(A.G. Sheikh)

Three prestigeous daily newspapers of Delhi, the most ardent supporters of Pakistan Movement, had to close down, as a result of the hate campaign against Muslims in Delhi: Dawn, Jang and Anjam. They appeared in Karachi on the 14th August, 1947. The Anjam was run by two brothers, Messrs Usman Azad and Umar Faruqui. We became good friends.

The Karachi Merchants Association had accommodated the office of Anjam in their premises off McLeod Road on a temporary basis. When they required these premises for the use of their own members, Mr. Usman Azad refused to leave the premises, even though the Merchants Association had offered alternative accommodation in a building situated on McLeod Road.

After prolonged litigation, the Court ordered ejectment of "Anjam" from the Merchants Building. When the bailiff went with police force to carry out the ejectment order, Mr. Usman Azad, who was known for his violent temper, threatened that he would set fire to the building rather than quit it!

The S.S.P., Mr. Abdullah, reported the matter to me and asked for instructions. I rang up Mr. Usman Azad and enquired whether he had uttered the words ascribed to him. He was frank enough to reply in the affirmation. I then passed an order of his detention under the Maintenance of Public Safety Act for a couple of days. When the news of his detention reached the Minister for Interior, Khawaja Shahabuddin, he was perturbed and rang me up. He said that he felt embarrassed since he had given an undertaking to the press that the Safety Act would not be used against the editors and reporters.

I told him that I was aware of his assurance to the press and argued that the action taken by me was not due to any matter published in the Anjam. My sole object was to ensure the peaceful shifting of the office of "Anjam" from the Merchants' Building to the new premises and this could not be done in the presence of Mr. Usman Azad. Khawaja Sahib did not press his point. After his two day's detention, Mr. Usman Azad restarted his work in the new premises.

When I met Mr. Usman Azad after this incident, I told him that in passing detention order, I had acted on his own advice given to me in December 1947. He had written several editorials in the "Anjam" against races and had exhorted the authorities to wind up the Karachi Race Club. I was informed that he never missed any races. When I asked him over a cup of tea, how he reconciled his editorials with his interest in horse-racing, he answered, "This is very simple. I want you to stop races, so that I may get rid of a bad habit!"

SPORTS & OFFICIAL PATRONAGE

— To collect funds for relief of Cyclone-stricken people of East Pakistan, a "DANGAL" was organised. Since all the open spaces in Karachi had been occupied by the refugees, "DANGAL" was held in the maidan in front of Governor-General's House, popularly known as the Polo Ground. We prepared to accomodate 50,000 spectators but the crowd that turned up exceeded our expectataions.

— Late Khawaja Nazimuddin then Governern General of Pakistan, took a keen interest and immensely enjoyed witnessing "DANGAL".

I PLAYED HOCKEY AND tennis during my college days in Lucknow and Oxford. I had been associated with the organisation and development of cricket in Sind for more than 5 years, first as President of the Sind Cricket Association in 1947-48 and later when the Administration of Karachi was passed on to the Central Government, as President of Karachi and Sind Cricket Association from 1949 to 1952. I quote a letter of Daud Khan, a well-known cricketer of Karachi, which I received when I relinquished my office:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I quote below the following resolution of appreciation of services rendered by you was unanimously passed at the meeting of the Managing Committee.
>
> The Managing Committee place on record their high sense of appreciation of valuable services rendered by the retiring President of the Association for the last 3 years, during which period Association entertained three International Cricket Teams Viz: Commonwealth XI, Cylon XI and MCC XI.
>
> Yours faithfully,
> Daud Khan
> Hon: Secretary.

I received this letter in the same spirit which was described by Somerset Maugham in the following words:

> The desire for approbation is perhaps the most deeply seated instinct of a civilized man.

My happiest moment was when our team defeated the MCC for the first time on 1st December, 1951, at the Karachi Gymkhana ground. The God-fearing, sport-loving Governor-General of Pakistan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, witnessed that match. I have two photographs of the event. The stretched hand and beaming face of Khawaja Nazimuddin represents the joy of every Pakistani who witnessed that match or heard about our victory. An English sport commentator called it the victory of Babes in Cricket.

The second photograph was taken at the Governor-General's House when Khawaja Sahib invited the team to dinner to celebrate their victory.

Our team's victory over the MCC made cricket the most popular game in Pakistan even though it is a very expensive and time-consuming game. Owing to the paucity of playgrounds, our boys filled our streets with wickets, bats and balls.

I recalled a minor match between Administrator's Eleven and NWR Eleven led by Mirza Fazal Ahmed, Divisional Superintendent, on the Railway ground near the City Railway Station. Commenting on the poor standard of the teams in fielding, the "Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan" wrote:

> The later's failure was amply made up by-sporting gestures of both Syed Hashim Raza and Mirza Fazal Ahmed, the two skippers of their respective teams. For their age, they at times out-shone the youngsters in the departments of fielding. They used their arms and legs with almost the same precision and efficiency on the field as while they sit at their tables. Syed Hashim Raza, being the younger of the two, appeared to be more imbibed with the spirit of healthy rivalry. This displayed his keenness to take things in their proper perspective. And what pleased us most was their true sporting spirit for, they seemed to have left their departmental worries at home. In the tent, and on the field, both behaved as intimate friends to those whom they led. This very fact endeared them immensely to the fellow cricketers and very largely contributed to the pleasant atmosphere that pervaded the game throughout the game. And I am sure the two gentlemen can do a lot for the improvement of cricket at least in Karachi if right sort of people make unselfish approach and put forth constructive suggestions.

In an informative article published in 'Dawn', August 16, 1976, under the caption 'Tennis in the Province of Sind', Mr. Samin Khan wrote:

> Unlike U.P. and Punjab,which produced players of all-India stature, Sind was never able to produce any player of that level. Punjab produced the famous M. Saleem and U.P. the most outstand-

ing player of the Sub-continent, Ghous Muhammad. Tennis in Sind was confined to either the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, the Parsis and Sindhi Hindus. Among the Sind players, one finds names like Blake, the Sind Champion, Daryanani, Bhojwani, Hiranandani, Dinshaw and Dastur in various tournaments played in Karachi.

Among the Muslims only three are conspicuous, namely H.B. Tyabji (later Justice Tyabji), Feroz Nana (later Justice Feroz Nana) who started his tennis at Aligarh and our own Hashim Raza who is now more interested in mushairas.

I explained, in a letter to Mr. Samin Khan, that after Karachi became the Capital of Pakistan, I got no time to play tennis as I had to spend all my evenings in my office.Of all the outdoor games, football is the cheapest. It was played with much enthusiasm in the Lyari and adjoining areas.

Football got a fillip in Karachi when the Central Government employees shifted from Delhi to Karachi. One of them, Rashid Tabassum, himself a good player, used to meet me often to discuss organisational matters to promote football. It was mainly a question of more football grounds.

When he wanted to run a tournament in my name, I requested him not to do so as long as I held charge as Administrator. I handed over charge on 15th April, 1951. He organised a tournament after that date.

Karachi Football Association request
the pleasure of your company
at
The Finals of Hashim Raza Football
Tournament
(Shan-i-Islam
Vs
Himalaya Mahboob)
on
Sunday, the 29th April, 1951,
at 5:30 p.m.
at
the Fire Brigade Ground.
(near the Urdu College)

The late Khawaja Nazimuddin was a patron of sports. As Minister and, later on, as Chief Minister of undivided Bengal, he took much interest in making Muhammadan Sporting as one of the most outstanding football teams of India.

At a meeting which he called at the Governor-General's House, he

suggested the holding of a 'Dangal' to collect funds for relief of cyclone-stricken people of East Pakistan. We needed a big maidan[1] for this purpose. Since the open spaces in Karachi had been occupied by the refugees, he suggested that the 'wrestling' be held in the maidan in front of the Governor-General's House, popularly known as the Polo Ground.

We prepared stands to accommodate 50,000 spectators. But the crowd that turned up exceeded our expectations. Khawaja Sahib took very keen interest in our preparations, witnessed the 'wrestlings' with great gusto and distributed several prizes. Bholu Pehlwan was adjudged to be the victor of the day. I received the following letter from the Governor-General:

> My dear Hashim Raza,
>
> I take this opportunity to congratulate you, your Committee and the judges for the outstanding success of the Shahi Dangal yesterday. I will be glad if you will please convey my appreciation to all those who participated and help in making the show a success.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> Khawaja Nazimuddin.
>
> S.H. Raza, Esq., PAS
> Administrator, Karachi.

The letters P.A.S. after my name mean 'Pakistan Administrative Service'. This was the name given to the Service which succeeded the ICS in Pakistan. Later on the Pakistan Administrative Service was redesignated as Civil Service of Pakistan.

One of the concrete results of the 'Shahi Dangal'[2] was the opening of an 'arena' near the Railway Sports ground where old and budding wrestlers rubbed shoulders every evening. My colleague, Muhammad Masud, ICS/CSP Deputy Administrator, Karachi, who was a boxing blue of Cambridge University and had a passion for physical fitness, once advised our poets to give up versifying and take to wrestling.

FAREWELL TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF KARACHI

— Hashim Raza services both as an I.C.S. of pre-partition India, and as Administrator of Karachi "faced with the Colossal problem of refugees re-settlement", would be far long remembered in Karachi. — Jamshed Nusserwanji.

A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF the relationship between the Ad-

1. Big open space / ground.
2. Royal wrestling.

ministrator and the Ministries of the Central Government was made in an editorial published in the "Evening Times" of Karachi, dated April 2, 1951, which I reproduce:

> We are sad to hear that Mr. Hashim Raza is leaving us. He has served the people of Karachi during the worst period that has fallen to the lot of any Pakistani. Hundreds of thousands of refugees poured into Karachi from all sides. His job was to keep the administration going while rehabilitating as many as he could within the means at his disposal. But there's the rub. He never had enough means at his disposal. Although citizens at large consider him the all-powerful Administrator who could do anything he fancied, his status has never been clear. Actually he has had the misfortune of serving as a sort of smoke-screen against those who wielded the real authority. No man in his position could succeed without real powers. So invested, we are sure, he would have given us a cleaner Karachi, with far less people scattered on the footpaths; for, he possesses capacity and sincerity. He has deep sympathy for the lot of the people who have been uprooted from India and would have liked nothing better than settling them. Despite all the criticism he has received, for he was the only target people knew and hit, he has handled the situation manfully and capably. Any real change in the affairs of Karachi will, however, come about only when the Government make up their minds as to how they propose to run this Central city. Is it to be treated as a province? (We hear that it is proposed to convert it into a Chief Commissioner's Province). Or is it to be directly run by the Department of the Interior? As it is, whoever the officer be, a Chief Commissioner or an Administrator, the poor fellow will be so inundated by advice and interference from the various Ministers of the Government, that he will not be able to have a mind of his own, he will be no more than a mirror of the confusion of so many up above him. The only way to give a clear direction to Karachi's affairs seems to be for the Central Government to own her own child and appoint a new Minister responsible for Karachi, or entrust it to one of the present Ministers. It is high time that Karachi should be saved from being a victim of bungling.
>
> We hope that Mr. Hashim Raza's services will be used appropriately. We have few enough high officials with long experience and sterling capabilities as that of Mr. Raza. Personally we would like to see him back in Karachi with a new look.

After having served as Administrator of the Federal Capital from 23rd July, 1948 upto 15th April, 1952, I proceeded on two months leave to

recuperate from the awesome burden of the job. My reward was the generous appreciation of my services by the public and the press. I append some of the letters and press cuttings.

Dear Mr. Raza,

I take immense pleasure to enclose herewith cuttings of yesterday's Editorial (Farewell to the efficient) and today's report of the farewell party.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
(F. MATRI)
Editor Millat Daily

"The Millat", a Gujrati daily of Karachi, dated January 30, 1951, commenting on the report that Mr. Hashim Raza was going on leave, wrote:

By the services rendered for the last two years, Mr. Hashim Raza, the Karachi Administrator, has not only proved himself a sensible and tactful administrator but has also enhanced the prestige of the Government by discharging his responsibilities as the real representative of the people. His responsibilities are in fact greater than even those of the Prime Minister. Persons who are carrying on propaganda against him are none but those who have failed to get from him the benefits they did not deserve.

In view of the onerous duties of the Karachi Administrator, he should be endowed with sufficient powers and receive full cooperation from the Centre.

The paper concludes by saying that the real intention of these lines is to pay an appropriate tribute to the deserving official.

Dear Sir,

The Managing Committee of this Association at their meeting held at the Association Offices on Saturday the 31st March, 1951, were all praise for you when they reviewed your administration on hearing from the Sr. Vice President, Mr. M.A. Rangoonwala, that you were leaving for some other important place. The Committee, out of appreciation for your service, passed unanimously a resolution which I am pleased to append hereunder:

RESOLUTION

The Pakistan Merchants Association place on record their sense of deep appreciation for Syed Hashim Raza, C.S.P., on the eve of his

laying down the office as the Administrator of Karachi. During the three and a quarter years of his administration, he was faced with a number of problems sometimes of enormous magnitude, which cropped up in the wake of the birth of Pakistan that brought with it the mass uprootings and migrations of people on unparalleled scale. The birth pangs of the country perhaps told not so heavily upon anybody else in the Government of the State as upon Syed Hashim Raza, as the Federal Capital of Pakistan bore the brunt of the rehabilitation problem, but he tackled the same with full sympathy, tact and patience, and rose up to every height, so that he left behind an administration that was a fine success in the given set of circumstances. His may be called the most critical period in the history of the Karachi Administration for it was the initial period covered by new settlers and everything new about the city and he had to start with nothing old or traditional to count upon in the governance of the City just separated from the Province of Sind. Mr. Raza discharged his responsibilities in a manner that was worthy of the highest post of the City of Karachi. The keen interest that he evinced in the settlement of the refugees and the measure of success achieved therein by him, apart from the smooth conduction of affairs effected by him in several departments of our civic life, bear eloquent testimony to his gifted ability which earned him the praises of the citizenry. The Association wish him all success in his new undertakings, whatever and wherever, and pray for his health, happiness and long life so that he serves the Nation as ever with added zeal and fervour.

Yours faithfully,
AHMED JAFFER

From the British Council:

My Dear Hashim Raza,

This is just a note to wish you well and a happy leave to you and your wife after your having laid down the seals of your great office. You have carried out a most difficult task and you well deserve your leave.

Despite your many preoccupations, you were always ready to meet us and give us whatever assistance you could, and for this we are grateful. The long story of the Sarnagati Saga will make interesting reading and I have no doubt you will not forget the British Council in a hurry.

I am sorry that I was not at the Karachi citizens' tea party yesterday to say goodbye to you personally but I had not received an invitation.

(W.R. Owain Jones)

From the Office of the Census Commissioner:

Dear Mr. Raza,

On my return from tour in Baluchistan and Sind, I am most sorry to find that I had missed the opportunity of attending the party which was given in your honour on the 27th of April.

I should like to say how very much the help and encouragement, you have given in my work, has been appreciated by me. I feel that the prestige and authority which you lent to our efforts on several occasions was of the greatest help in ensuring the reasonably accurate census of Karachi, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking you.

Of course, I regret that one of my first and most pleasant contacts in Karachi is discontinuing.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(E.H. Slade)
Census Commissioner,
Pakistan.

The Civil and Military Gazette of April 28, 1951, wrote:

The Karachi citizens bade farewell to Syed Hashim Raza, the former Administrator of Karachi, last evening at an impressive and touching tea party in Frere Hall grounds. It was touching because the people who organised the 'goodbye over a cup of tea' represented all walks of life. There were hundreds of refugees with tear-stained faces who could not forget the great and selfless work done by Syed Hashim Raza towards their rehabilitation. There were Sindhis who seemed happy as he was reported to have been earmarked for reversion to the Province of Sind. There were Gandhi-cap-clad Hindus, simple-attired Parsis, a large number of Christians and, among them, a sprinkling of 'Begums', adding lustre to the sea-green lawns of the Frere Gardens. There were also diplomats of different races. There were officials, both cheerful and grim.

Dr. Elahi Alvi, the Dental Surgeon, formerly of Nanital, presented the farewell address which hoped and prayed that Raza might return to Karachi.

Nusserwanji, the sage-businessman of the Parsi community, speaking in a very natural Pakistani Urdu, eulogised the great services rendered by the retiring Administrator. He appealed to the

moneyed class of Karachi not to wait for Government aid for everything. He said if the people who had money, realised their duty to their fellow beings and to the Creator and cared a little, the housing problem in Karachi would be solved in a year's time.

He related two very interesting stories, one when he was Chairman of the Municipal Corporation which taxed him so much that within a month, he was 'grey' all over; second when there was threat of water famine in Karachi, and suddenly it rained heavily which made him jump up and dance under the beating rain itself.

Syed Hashim Raza was full of sincere pathos in his extempore reply. He was bold, fearless, very human and sympathetic towards refugees. He was conscious of his failings. But is there a human being who has never failed in his life? He revealed that the Karachi Administration was already constructing tin sheds for the rainy days and that Government had allotted Rs.8 lakhs for this purpose. He believed that the only solution of the housing problem in Karachi was to expand Karachi up to Thatta. He also said that a Minister of Sind once became so annoyed having heard of the scheme of refugee rehabilitation that in bitter anguish he cried: "Why not up to Sukkur itself.

Syed Hashim Raza would be missed in Karachi's social and cultural life. The literary circles would miss him particularly as he is a good poet and was always the light of the symposiums.

One thing which struck me at the party was that the atmosphere was so natural; there was nothing artificial about it. The Sind Observer of April 28, 1951, gave an account of the citizens' party in the following words:

It was somewhat due to his own foresight and mostly at God's bidding that he, an old I.C.S. Muslim from a minority province of this Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, chose this part of the Sub-continent for his career, said Mr.Hashim Raza while replying to a farewell address presented to him last evening on behalf of the citizens of Karachi.

Over a thousand people attended the tea-party including some members of the Diplomatic Corps, High Government officials, Municipal Counsellors, businessmen and others.

Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanji, paying tribute to Mr.Hashim Raza's services both as an I.C.S. of pre-partition India and as Administrator of Karachi "faced with the colossal problem of refugee resettlement" said that he would be far long remembered in Karachi.

In the farewell address, particular stress was laid on the sympathies and simple disposition of Mr.Hashim Raza, so very uncommon

in an old I.C.S. officer. He was an exemplary specimen of officers who hold such a responsible post in an independent Islamic State, it was said. Particular credit was given to Mr. Hashim Raza for his efforts in resettling the "numberless homeless". Thanking the citizens of Karachi, while replying to the address, Mr. Hashim Raza said that he had decided and announced not to accept any party in his honour till the work of refugee resettlement was satisfactorily accomplished. He was sorry to have gone against that decision but it was the last and only exception to the principle he said.

Referring to Urdu as the "most valuable and poorest" of refugees, Mr. Hashim Raza said that he made arrangements to introduce Urdu in local Courts and allot the best available building in Karachi to the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu[1]".

THANKS TO PAKISTAN

I SPENT THE HALCYON days of my youth - 1920 to 1932- in Lucknow which was the official as well as cultural capital of U.P. My longing for congregations and literary sittings such as Milad,[2] Majlis[3], Mushaira[4] and Mahfil-e-Sama[5] was eminently satisfied in that city and when I left it in 1932, I wondered whether I would find similar cultural atmosphere in any other city of India.

Thanks to Pakistan, I was able to satisfy fully my urge for these pursuits in Karachi. I attended Milad and Majlis gatherings addressed by eminent orators and scholars, like Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi, Prof.Syed Nawab Ali (my uncle), Maulana Ehtishamul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni , Maulana Nasir Jalali, Maulana Ibne Hasan Jarchavi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Delhavi and Allama Rashid Turabi.

I attended Natia Mushairas[6] and Musalemas[7] in which renowned poets like Qamar Jalalvi, Behzad Lucknavi, Mahirul Qadri, Munawwar Badayuni, Rais Amrohvi, Rana Akbarabadi, Saba Akbarabadi, Syed Aley Raza (my brother), Mehshar Badayuni, Iqbal Safipuri and Raghib Muradabadi recited their poetical works.

It was at Karachi that I was acquainted with a new type of Marsias[8] which highlighted the moral values of Karbala from eminent poets like Josh

1. An association for developing Urdu language.
2. A religious festival celebrating on the birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.).
3. A religious ceremony observed in mourning of martyrdom of Karbala.
4. Gathering of poets.
5. A typical gathering of groups of minstrels (Qawwals) who sing poems in a unique style of their own.
6. A gathering in which poets recite poems in praise of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.).
7. A gathering of poets reciting poems in praise of Ahl-e-Bait (martyrdom of Imam Husain).
8. An elegy written in mourning of the martyrdom of Imam Husain at Karbala.

Malihabadi, Najm Afandi, Syed Aley Raza, Nasim Amrohvi, Dr. Yawar Abbas, Saba Akbarabadi, Ummeed Fazli and Shahid Naqvi.

I attended Mushaira wherein it was a joy to hear the ghazals and verses of Arzoo Lucknavi, Seemab Akbarabadi, Syed Aley Raza, Hafiz Jullundri, Hafiz Hoshiarpuri, Qamar Jalalvi, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Nazar Hyderabadi, Mahirul Qadri, Behzad Lucknavi, Hadi Machchli Shehri, Rais Amrohvi, Adeeb Saharanpuri, Majeed Lahori, Shaukat Thanvi, Syed Muhammad Jafri, Zarif Jabbulpuri and Z.A. Bukhari.

A Mushaira which was held under the auspices of "Dawn" attracted the largest audience. Mr. M.A. Zuberi, who was Assistant Editor of Dawn at that time, was the prime mover of that Mushaira. It was attended by all prominent local poets as well as eminent Indian poets like Jigar Muradabadi, Ravish Siddiqui, Nashoor Wahidi and Saghar Nizami.

It was Majid Lahori who described that grand Mushaira as 'Azim-us-Shawn Mushaira'. I give an extract from Dawn:

> Everybody from the Governor-General of Pakistan to the proverbial 'Ramzani' seemed to be there, and but for the entry bar, the Mushaira was held in aid of the Punjab Relief Fund, the audience could well have been multiplied by ten.
>
> The President, Mr. Hashim Raza, himself a poet of considerable renown, also recited a few verses and it appeared that the apology with which he had prefaced his recitation were far from genuine and the drab routine and pressure of administrative work still could not sap the poetic talent of all but the most versatile.

I enjoyed listening to the parties of Qawwals like Azim Premragi, Mubarak Ali Fateh Ali, Ghulam Farid Sabri, Manzoor Niazi and Bahauddin.

Karachi's traffic is now mechanized but in those days (1947-51) a substantial proportion of it were animal driven horse-carriages, camel-carts and donkey-carts that abounded on our roads and byelanes. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was fairly active in ensuring that the owners of horses, camels and donkeys did not maltreat the dumb driven animals. It ill-behoves them to bite the hand that feeds them. Among the social workers who were active in this field, I would like to mention two names, Mr. Sohrab Katrak, Mayor of Karachi, and Mrs. Maldon, wife of General Maldon, C-in-C, Bahawalpur Army. We took care of diseased and decrepit animals in a Panjrapore. There were a number of animal shelters with water troughs in the city. I commend the efforts of Lady Constantine, wife of the late Sir George Constantine, Chief Judge of Sind Chief Court, and the late Mr. Ahmed Sulaiman in recent years to build a proper Hospital for sick and under-

nourished animals.

REST & RECREATION

— After the brown landscape of Iraq it was refreshing to see the blue water of the Mediterranean.

I NEVER FELT MORE relieved and light-hearted than on April 15, 1951, when I handed over the charge of my office to Mirza Sikandar Beg who was my batch-mate in the ICS. We signed our Covenants together in London in 1934 and travelled in the same ship coming home, s.s. 'Viceroy of India' It was then a newly-constructed very posh steamer. Beg was Acting Chief Secretary, Punjab. He told me that he was the number two choice for my job, the number one choice being S. Fida Hasan who was then Commissioner, Lahore Division and whom the Government of Punjab declined to spare for Karachi Administration.

I experienced the school boyish feeling of summer vacation after annual examination. I proceeded on four months leave. According to the service rules, I could take four months leave on average pay and eight months leave on average pay-ex-Pakistan. I spent two months in Pakistan and two months abroad.

One evening when I met Col. Iskander Mirza in Karachi Gymkhana, he suggested that I should have a change and go abroad. I spoke of the high air fares. He offered me and my wife to travel in the Viking of Air-works London chartered by the Ministry of Defence at the incredible fare of Rs. 1,120/- for two tickets.

We availed ourselves of this offer and left Karachi at 7:15 a.m. on 12th June. Our plane flew at an altitude of 10,500 feet above sea level at a speed of 210 miles per hour. The flight was smooth. We arrived at Sharja Airport at 12 noon. Sharja was ruled nominally by an Arab Chief but the British were still the real rulers. What surprised us was its currency, the Indian rupee. We felt that till the country had decided to have its own currency, both Indian and Pakistani rupees should be treated at par.

We arrived at the burning hot airport of Baghdad at 2 p.m. The airport comprised a dilapidated building with desert around it. The scene changed totally when we flew over the Mediterranean Sea by 5 p.m. After the brown landscape of Iraq, it was refreshing to see the blue waters of the Mediterranean. We landed at the Nicosia Airport of Cyprus at 6 p.m. The land-marks of this pretty island are its graceful cypress trees. I was impressed by the words of welcome on a board over the passport desk. The quotation was taken from

Shakespeare's play Othello. 'Wel-come to Cyprus, Sir'. Cyprus was ruled by the Sultan of Turkey for centuries. the population of the Island was in those days 250,000: of Nicosia 22,000. The complexion of the population was 85 per cent Greeks and 15 per cent Turks.

We stayed at Hotel Atlanta at a distance of 4 miles from the airport. We were told that a coach would leave for the airport at 6:30 a.m. When we got up after a good night's sleep, our room was full of sunshine. We looked at the watch which showed 4:30 o'clock. We thought that it had stopped. We came out of the room and saw our co-passengers looking at their watches in the same dilemma. When we got down to the reception counter, the wall clock showed the same time as our watches. We learnt that in June the sun rises at 4:30 a.m. in Nicosia.

We left Nicosia at 8 a.m. and flew over the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea, witnessing the beauty of the southern coast of Turkey with ice clad hillocks. We arrived at Athens at 11:15 a.m. and got down at the airport which adjoined the sea. Athens looked pretty from the air. After a brief stay we left for Rome, where we arrived at 3 p.m. The residents of the eternal city were enjoying their siesta and there was very little traffic on the road. After a brief stop-over, we left for Nice where we arrived at 6:30 p.m. We had to spend the night at Nice as the plane had to refuel at Nicosia. Nice is the prettiest town on the French Riviera and we decided to sacrifice our sleep and took a conducted tour upto Monte Carlo. Our coach passed through multi-coloured lights and well tended flower gardens. The Monte Carlo Casino is world famous for its high stakes. The various halls were full of old people, particularly ladies in their fifties and sixties absorbed in gambling. Our guide took us to a platform which abetted on a lake and told us that 'This is a jumping platform'. Lest we should be under the impression that the gamblers of Monte Carlo took a dip into the lake from this platform to get refreshed, the guide explained 'Those who cannot pay their debts commit suicide by jumping into the lake'. Monte Carlo has ruined many people but there are some lucky ones like the one for whom the song,

'The man who broke the bank at Monte Carlo' was composed.

The scene was exhilarating as we descended from the heights of Monte Carlo on our return journey to Nice. The stars shown brightly in the cloudless sky, the street lights and their reflection in the Mediterranean looked like stars in the sea. We returned to our hotel, Atlanta Hotel, after 1 p.m. and snatched as much sleep as we could before leaving for Paris at 7:15 p.m. The view of the Alps Mountains on this leg of our journey was breath-taking. The snow-clad peaks looked like castles, parapets, passes and boundary walls just as one

sees streams and trees in the mirages of the desert. The optical illusions refresh the minds like pleasant dreams. The English Channel looked like a vast river from the air. Just as the winter of Russia saved Russia from the armies of Napoleon and Hitler, the English Channel protected England from the hordes of Napoleon and Hitler, which led the historians to coin the words - General Winter and General Channel as the most formidable generals of Russia and England respectively.

6

LAST GLIMPSE OF THE LIBERATOR

— The news of the passing away of the Quaid cast a gloom over the length and breadth of Pakistan.

— I recall a most moving scene, the only daughter of Quaid, Mrs. Dina Wadia, had flown from Bombay and arrived just in time to see the face of her most distinguished father, as his body lay in the grave, She broke down completely and cried like a child.

— The most outstanding tribute came from the most outstanding man of his time, Late Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III, who considered him the greatest man, he had ever met. Aga Khan stated: "Now he belongs to history and his memory, I am certain, is imperishable. Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mahatama Gandhi, Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of those men, in my view outshone him in strength of character".

— "Never in the field of political history was so much owed by so many to a single individual".

THE SADDEST TWO DAYS of my four-year association with Karachi Administration were the 11th and 12th September, 1948. I had just finished dinner at my residence 'Ashiana', Khuhro Road now Club Road, when my telephone bell rang at 10:35 p.m. The caller was Lt. Mazhar of Pakistan Navy, A.D.C. to the Governor-General who told me that the Prime Minister wanted to see me at the Governor-General's House as quickly as I could make it. He did not tell why I had been summoned.

I arrived at the Governor-General's House within five minutes and was conducted to the Cabinet Room where Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan sat alone with a mournful countenance and a bowed face.

When the A.D.C. announced my arrival, he lifted his face and said:

"Innalillah, the Quaid has left us for his Heavenly abode. I have summoned my Ministers to select his successor as Governor-General. You have to select the site of his grave and to collaborate with the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence for making befitting funeral arrangements."

I said I would do my best and added, "Every time the Quaid left Karachi

or returned to it, I got an advance notice. This time, however, I got no intimation of the Quaid's return to Karachi."

The Prime Minister apprised me, "When the Military Secretary informed me that the Quaid's plane would get down at the Mauripur Airport sometime in the afternoon of 11th September, he conveyed at the same time Miss Jinnah's message that no one, not even the Prime Minister, should come to the Airport and that the Quaid's return was to be kept as a top secret. How could I intimate you in contravention of Miss Jinnah's instructions?"

I then took leave of him and returned to my house. It was from there that I contacted S. Kazim Raza, I.G. of Police, and Khan Sahib Muhammad Ishaq, Collector and District Magistrate. The three of us proceeded to select a site for burying the Quaid. We visited several sites. All the graveyards of Karachi, except two, were located across the Lyari river. This nullah is turned into a river only when it rains heavily. Lyari did not have a single bridge over it in 1948 as against three bridges now. To bury the Quaid across the Lyari was, therefore, out of question.

When I met my friend Ikramullah, Foreign Secretary, in the course of our search for a suitable site, he suggested a ground in Clifton by the side of the Dargah of Ghazi Shah. Years later, Ikramullah was buried at the very site which he had suggested for the Quaid's grave.

The map of Greater Karachi which Col. Swayne Thomas had drawn up, helped me a lot in selecting the eventual site. It had three outstanding features:

(1) It was the only site where the level of the ground was much higher than the surrounding area.
(2) It was easily accessible to the common man.
(3) It was in the heart of the plan for Greater Karachi.

So suitable was the place that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan told me later, "You must have selected the site in an inspired moment".

I thanked him for his words of appreciation and added, "It was Heavenly help which directed the Quaid's last resting place as it had directed the course of his entire life!"

I was kept awake throughout the night between 11th and 12th September. The frail and emaciated body of the Quaid, wrapped in an immaculately white shroud, lay on the same platform where he was sworn in as Governor-General of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947. Those who waited to see his face for the last time, had gathered in thousands in the premises of the Governor-General's House since dawn. Each hour, the crowd swelled to unmanageable proportion. However, people paid their respect in silence with tears and sighs.

In the afternoon, his body was placed on a gun-carriage wrapped in Pakistan flag. The procession winded its way via Elphinstone Street and M.A. Jinnah Road with full military honours. All the three Services were represented in the funeral procession. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the members of the Central Cabinet, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Governor of Sind, and members of the Sind Cabinet walked immediately behind the cortege, followed by the members of the Diplomatic Corps dressed in mourning suits. It was impossible to count the number of mourners on three-mile route between the Governor-General's House and the burial site. I have never seen such a milling crowd in Karachi. One got the impression that the entire male population of Karachi had turned out to bid farewell to their beloved leader.

Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani delivered a heart-touching funeral oration. Earlier, funeral prayers had been offered on the instructions of Miss Fatima Jinnah in the Governor-General House. It was Maulana Anis-ul-Hasnain who had led the prayer. Maulana Shabbir described how the Quaid had liberated the majority of Indian Muslims from the yoke of British imperialism and Hindu domination. He said that Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the greatest Muslim of the Sub-continent after Emperor Aurangzeb. He led the funeral prayers which were joined by Christians and Jews, Parsis and Hindus. Such was the regard of the members of the minority communities for one who had promised them just and generous treatment in the newly-established state.

The news of the passing away of the Quaid cast a gloom over the length and breadth of Pakistan. Official mourning was announced for 40 days.

I recall a most moving scene just before the bugle sounded the last repose. The only issue of the Quaid, Mrs. Dina Wadia, had flown from Bombay and arrived just in time to see the face of her most distinguished father as his body lay in the grave. She broke down completely and cried like a child. Miss Fatima Jinnah who had controlled her emotions in the Governor-General's House also broke down when her dearest brother's body was placed in the grave.

Glowing tributes were paid to him by world leaders. The most outstanding tribute came from one of the most outstanding man of his time, late Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III, who considered him the greatest man he had ever met. I quote his obituary:

> The Quaid-e-Azam's brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in those momentous years of 1946-47. Now he belongs to history and his memory, I am certain, is imperishable. Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life, Clemenceau, Loyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi, Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of those men, in my

view, outshone him in strength of character and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft.

At a Rotary Club memorial meeting, I quoted the tribute of Winston Churchill to the performance of the Royal Air Force during the 2nd World War:

> Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

I summed up the achievement of the Quaid-e-Azam in the following words:

> Never in the field of political history was so much owed by so many to a single individual.

What transpired in my mind during these two fateful days, I have tried to preserve in a poem of 14 lines. I quote five couplets of my poem:

اُٹھے ہیں کر کے بڑا کام قائدِ اعظم
جو سو گئے ہیں سرِ شام قائدِ اعظم

A great task the Quaid did perform,
Tired as he was, he slept in calm.

ہوا تھا ہند میں آغاز جس کا ٹیپو سے
تھے اس اُمید کا انجام قائدِ اعظم

In India, that from Tipu had its initiation,
Of that hope, the Quaid was the culmination.

وہ کام کر کے چلے جو کسی سے نہ ہو سکا
ہوا یہ فیصلہ عام قائدِ اعظم

The task which none but he could accomplish,
This tribute, people wish to cherish.

تھا سامراج اِدھر اور رام راج اُدھر
چلے سنبھل کے خوش انجام قائدِ اعظم

British rule one side, Hindu domination,
Despite all odds, the Quaid earned salvation.

غریب قوم تو خدمت کا کیا صلہ دیتی
خدا سے پائیں گے انعام قائدِ اعظم

The poor nation can ill afford to award,
God, the Almighty, will give him a reward.

The death of the Father of Nation definitely cast a corrosive gloom all over the horizon and the only ray of hope flickered in the persons of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan. Grief-stricken as I was, I tried to peep into the past. It was in the midst of crowded events and galaxies of people that I visualised two prominent figures - Ruttan Bai and Dina Wadia.

RUTTAN BAI: THE QUAID'S WIFE - FLOWER OF BOMBAY:

Ruttan Bai Dinshaw Petit, wife of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, nick-named "Ruttie Bai" was lovingly praised all over Bombay, because of her natural gifts and impressive personality which was blooming at an age of 16 into a beautiful, gentle, noble, kind and the only well-brought teen-age child of Bombay's very rich parents. Her father, Sir Dinshaw Petit, was known as a kind-hearted and God-fearing, "philanthropist" throughout Bombay. Her mother, Dinbai, was a noble and gentle lady. The couple had invested their very best which Almighty had provided for raising their daughter with the highest degree of human standards and delicacy in manners which reflected from her every action.

In 1934, my first assignment as a full-fledged ICS Officer was to join the Bombay Presidency Administration. My late father, who was himself a Judge, was a great admirer of Barrister Jinnah's abilities and his performance in the courts. Thus, my richly benefited and staunch Muslim family background intensified my curiosity about Jinnah's personal life. During my stay in Bombay, it came as a great surprise to me that after five years of Ruttie Bai's demise, she was still afresh in the minds of the people. "Jinnah's love affair" was discussed among lower as well as the higher classes of people. Whenever Jinnah's day-to-day political and professional activities were referred, it was a fashion to discuss the fairy-tale containing the love-story of Jinnah with Ruttie Bai which began at "Darjeeling" in 1916 and ended in Bombay in 1929 in a tragic manner.

I agree with her biographer - Mr. Kanji Dawarkadas, who wrote a booklet of 58 pages on her in the span of 30 years, stating therein that it was easier to write a biographical account of M.K. Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru or about her

husband Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah than to write about her with all her God-gifted accounts which were bestowed upon her by Nature. Ruttie Bai whole-heartedly loved her parents and deeply enjoyed every moment of their love which they generously showered upon her for grooming her personality. It is said that she had the highest degree of sensitivity and telepathy which she developed beyond her physical fitness. She had intensive thirst to acquire knowledge and to digest heart-felt spiritualism for its applications. It was found very difficult to understand at that time, particularly when social and political upheavals were taxing the minds of common men. Ruttie continued her religious and spiritual studies, and at times she made statements that:

> I am feeling peculiarly restless and wish someone with psychic powers come to my assistance. My soul is too clogged.... how intensely my researches remain uncrowned even by thorns!

QUAID'S FIRST MEETING WITH RUTTIE BAI:

As the story went, it was in April, 1916, that Ruttie was vacationing in Darjeeling with her wealthy parents who were commanding India-wide reputation, and it was a coincidence that she met Barrister "Muhammad Ali Jinnah" for the first time. Those who had watched her closely said that she was a ravishing beauty. Many people called her the "flower of Bombay". Thus, a forty-year old man, who was much impressed with this teenager - Ruttie, fell in love with her from the core of his heart. Perhaps she was the first girl who had left such a deep impact on his heart and mind that despite his attempts, he could not make himself forget her. He felt himself beyond control. This feeling was reciprocal as the young Ruttie, though tender in years, had developed a tempestuous love for the forty-year old Jinnah.

The love-affair of Jinnah and Ruttie was not the talk of the Bombay town alone, but had spread and was talked about in higher social and political circles of the Sub-continent. It was also circulated by newspapers.

Ruttie's parents outrightly rejected the possibilities of their marriage on the grounds that: firstly Mr. Jinnah was a Muslim, and belonged to Isna Ashari Khoja community, and had nothing in common with the Parsee religion; secondly, Ruttie was still a minor - a teenager who could not be suitable for a person of such a mature age with an established career in profession. But Ruttie had made up her mind.

JINNAH'S MARRIAGE TO RUTTIE BAI:

Ruttan Bai was totally mesmerised by the charm of Quaid, and felt, as if her marriage was already decided in Heaven. She remained adamant for about more than two years. So at the age of 18, regardless of her parents' obstruction, she not only embraced Islam but bravely walked out of the parental house, and married Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah under Muslim rites.

In April 1918, Ruttie converted herself into a Muslim in a mosque of Bombay in the presence of prominent Muslim personalities and got married to Jinnah in the spring of 1918, at Jinnah's bungalow on the Mount Pleasant Road. To quote a newspaper:

> Miss Ruttan Bai, the only daughter of Sir Dinshaw and Lady Dinbai Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam and is today to be married to Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah.

Jinnah was greatly inspired by his wife. His political, social and personal life had no existence without Ruttie. She always remained with him, looked after him and performed her duties as a wife in the best possible way, thus making her husband's life worth living.

Quaid-e-Azam used to play chess and billiard at the Orient Club when he was a bachelor but left it after his marriage.

Then came the happiest moment in the couple's life when on the night of the 14th August, 1919, in England, their only child and their most beloved and charming daughter - Dina was born. The family lived happily together for quite a few years in which Ruttie had to make adjustments and compromises with her husband's temperament which was totally different from her own. Jinnah was a man of high intellect and maturity and had spent 40 years as a bachelor. Therefore, the solitary life had made his habits extremely rigid and inflexible. He was a man with a goal and a mission which required complete devotion and attention, thus keeping him away from his wife most of the time. Ruttie obviously loved him, but as the days passed, she found it more and more difficult to adjust to the extremely busy pattern of her husband's life. The gap between them kept widening and consequently Jinnah and Ruttie separated in January, 1928.

Ruttie's biographer confirms that:

> I cannot find fault with either for this separation which was due

> to temperamental differences and difference of age. I can assert from personal knowledge that even today, 33 years after her death, she retained her affection for Jinnah.

This bad turn in Ruttie's life was gradually pushing her soul and body towards the verge of death.

END OF MARITAL LIFE:

IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1928 in Paris, when Ruttie fell seriously ill, communication between Jinnah and herself prevailed, and ultimately Jinnah followed her and stayed with his wife in the nursing home where he looked after her till she returned to India with her mother. On returning to Bombay, Ruttie's condition became worse. She was staying with her mother inspite of the reconciliation which had gradually taken place when Quaid-e-Azam used to spend the evenings with her.

But before they could take another decision for their future life, death took away this last chance from them. On 18 February, 1929, Ruttei became unconscious and a couple of days later on her 30th birthday (20th February) her soul left her body - the "Flower of Bombay" withered and Ruttie died.

Having heard the sad news, Jinnah who was attending the Budget Session of the Assembly in New Delhi, rushed to Bombay on the 22nd February. An eye-witness said that before the burial ceremony was performed, Jinnah put a very brave face but when Ruttie's body was being lowered into the grave, he knelt beside it and gave way to tears and wept like a child after throwing the first hump of earth into the grave. Jinnah realised how lonely and disappointed he had become after Ruttie's death.

Solitude and loneliness once again became a part of Jinnah's life and he lived in it for the rest of his 19 years.

DINA WADIA: THE QUAID'S DAUGHTER:

The Quaid-e-Azam had only one daughter, named Dina. When she expressed the desire to marry a Parsi millionaire, Neville Wadia, the Quaid-e-Azam did not accord his approval to the marriage. It was his desire that she should marry a Muslim. Neville Wadia did not follow Rutten Bai in getting converted to Islam and when he married Dina, Mr. Jinnah decided that he would have nothing to do with his daughter for the rest of his life.

One of the Private Secretaries of the Quaid-e-Azam told me that in

December, 1942, Mr. and Mrs. Wadia came to the Quaid-e-Azam's residence at Mount Pleasant Road in Bombay and gave their visiting card to him. He was surprised that a daughter should wait in the reception room instead of walking into her father's drawing room. His surprise was, however, greater when the Quaid-e-Azam, after reading the card, told him to call Mr. Wadia. In his excitement, the Private Secretary said:

"Sir, Mrs. Wadia is also waiting to see you".

The Quaid replied, "Have you not heard me? Call Mr. Wadia alone".

And when he went back to the Reception Room and conveyed the Quaid-e-Azam's instructions, Mrs. Wadia wept like a child but did not disobey her father's instructions. She did not see her father during his life time, but rushed to his funeral from Bombay on the 12th of September, 1948.

I saw her when Quaid-e-Azam's body was being lowered into his eternal resting-place. She was crying like a child. What a remarkable resemblance there was between the father and the daughter! At that moment she typified the millions who, like her, had become orphans. I felt great compassion for her and when, subsequently, I met her to offer my personal condolences, she told me that when she heard that her father was gravely ill in Ziarat, she wanted to pay him a visit, but the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India regretted his inability to issue a visa to her to visit Pakistan. She added that the High Commissioner was helpless as the visa was refused to her under her father's orders!

In spite of the great gulf which her marriage had created, Dina continued to respect her father and when an interviewer met her some time ago in Switzerland, she gave a statement which shows her to be a worthy daughter of a worthy father. This is what she said:

> Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, repudiated even the closest and fondest worldly ties to uphold the principles of the Islamic faith. Papa was the symbol of true greatness whose depth is beyond me to gauge and fathom.

When she conveyed her decision to marry Neville Wadia, she was told by her father:

> If that be your decision, I must tell you mine. Such a marriage will turn you an apostate. You will, therefore, cease to be my daughter, for Islam refuses to recognise blood relations when they cross the bounds of Faith.

Afterwards, Dina Wadia ruefully complained:

That was my punishment for breaking his heart and shattering his hopes in the days of my youthful frenzy.

Time rolled on. Dina did marry Wadia and lived with him for a number of years. Then there came a time when she separated from her husband. Now she lives in New York. The Quaid-e-Azam wrote his will in Bombay on 30th May, 1939, which he never revised. He made the following provisions for his daughter in his will:

Clause 5: "I also direct my executors to pay her during her life time Rs. 2,000/- per month for the maintenance and other requirements for her."

Clause 10: "I direct my executors to set apart Rs. 2 lakh which will at 6% bring an income of Rs. 1,000/- and pay the income thereof whatever it be, to my daughter every month during her life time and after her death the corpus of Rs. 2 lakh set apart to be divided equally between her children, male or female. In default of issue, the corpus to fall into my residuary estate."

The Administrators of the Estate of Quaid-e-Azam have been complying with his instructions faithfully.

When I attended the 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1976, I was invited by the Pakistan Council of the Asia Society, New York, to give a talk on "Pakistan's great leader - Muhammad Ali Jinnah". The hundredth birth anniversary of Quaid-e-Azam was celebrated in 1976. I gave a talk on Thursday, November 4, 1976, and sent an invitation to Mrs. Dina Wadia through her bankers in New York. I am not sure whether she received the invitation but I missed her very much on that occasion.

MAUSOLEUM OF QUAID-E-AZAM:

The present site of Mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was my selection and now whenever I have the occasion of visiting the Mausoleum of Quaid or passing through that way, it gives me a great deal of inner satisfaction and sense of pride that God was very kind to give me this opportunity to be able to select this magnificent eternal place for the Quaid which is not only in the heart of the town but also has a commanding view of being approached from all corners of Karachi.

It is an imposing structure, with arched gateways, surmounted by a majestic dome. This mausoleum is glaringly visible in Karachi, whether you come

by air, by sea, or just drive into that most populous port-town of Pakistan.

Built on a high prominence, the mortal remains of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, are enshrined in this superb work of modern architecture which tries to follow the basic requirements of Islamic tradition providing a tomb for the honoured dead.

In the words of Yahya Merchant, whose design was finally approved for construction in 1960, the mausoleum 'reflects the founder of Pakistan's grand character, personality and unflinching determination.....'

As regard the main structure, the mausoleum which commands a panoramic view of Karachi, occupies an area of 324,280 sq. yards in the heart of the city and rises to a height of 114 feet from the ground level. The mausoleum at chair level measures 90x90 feet and at the podium level it is 116x116 feet. The platform, which is reached by a flight of 18 steps, measures at top 250x250 feet, while at the base it is 300x75 feet. The entire 40 feet belt around the podium platform is paved with stone slabs matching the walkways leading from the main road to the mausoleum.

At shoulder level, the mausoleum measures 82x82 feet, since the walls, as they rise, taper inwards. The diameter of the dome from inside it is 72 feet.

Over the Quaid's grave, there hangs a chandelier. The Muslim Association of the People's Republic of China has made a gift of a magnificent chandelier which hangs from the ceiling at a height of 19 feet from the floor. The chandelier, which weighs 0.62 tons, is 81 feet long and comprises four tiers of annular, decorative, luminous, aesthetically arranged, concealed lights. These luminous tiers are joined to each other by means of gold-plated steel rods. The end-to-end distance between the tiers is 10'-8". The chandelier blends well with the entire setting of the mausoleum.

A green belt runs around the mausoleum which has been transformed into a beautiful garden dotted with young trees. More than 6,000 saplings have already been planted. Four green lawns with flower beds run along the sidewalks. A boundary wall measuring 6,600 feet, crowned with artistic iron-railing and provided with iron gates, runs all around the vast compound of the mausoleum.

Fifteen water pools along the walkways leading from M.A. Jinnah Road to the mausoleum have been finished with blue glazed tiles, and 30 fountains have been set up to lend charm and give artistic effect to these pools, well lit at night.

The mausoleum is colourfully flood-lit at night. Four towers, about 150 yards away from the main structure, have been erected from which light of appropriate type and colour is reflected on the dome, making it visible at night within a long range. Facade lights are built in the floor to add to the prominence

of the marbleslab patterns.

A Relic Room to house the personal effects, furniture, automobiles and other objects belonging to the Founder of Pakistan has been built within the precincts of the mausoleum.

A small shopping centre has been planned for the area, a little away from the boundary wall of the mausoleum. Its income will be utilised for the upkeep of the monument.

A total of Rs. 15.00 million were spent on the construction of the mausoleum, and its outreaches on completion of 1971. Further Rs. 500,000 are spent annually on its maintenance and repairs.

Twelve tons of bronze had been used for decorative screens in the lofty arches on the four sides of the mausoleum. These have been given exquisite treatment. Fine wood-work and louvres have been provided to enhance the beauty and keeping out dust and glare.

A beautiful railing made of solid silver, weighing 6,188.3 Oz. costing Rs. 182,000 in 1970, has been installed around the marble cenotaph in the main chamber.

Outside the main building of the mausoleum, adjacent to its eastern wall, is a simply constructed hall containing the graves of the four most important personalities associated with the freedom movement and the Founder of Pakistan. These belong to his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, the first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Mr. Noorul Amin, the last two being the most trusted lieutenants of the Father of the Nation till his death in 1948.

In the end, a few words about the architectural quality of the mausoleum. To overall effect of the mausoleum is that of the traditional Muslim style of construction with which the people of Pakistan are very well familiar. However, it is a clear integration of the classical Mughal style with the Modern, making the entire complex something more attractive and novel. Unfortunately, there is no parallel between the classical architecture of the Mughal period of the sub-continent and that of the modern Western structures either in scope or scale, except in rare cases like this mausoleum where the designer has tried to make some allowance for the traditional form of architecture in the overall ultra-modern and simplified structure, with a view to giving it an individuality which might be termed 'traditional' or 'Islamic' by a casual observer.

THE LIAQUATS

— Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan "My Right Hand".
Quaid-e-Azam's tribute on 26th December 1943.
— What Thomas Jafferson was to George Washington, what Ismet Inounu was to Mustafa Kemal, what Jawaharlal Nehru was to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and what Chou-en-Lai was to Mao-Tse-Tung, Liaquat Ali Khan was to Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

IT IS TRUE THAT Liaquat was born with a silver spoon in his mouth but it is also a fact that he rose to great heights by dint of merit and hard work. He possessed commonsense in an uncommon degree. He was level-headed and cool-minded. His aristocratic birth was responsible for his dignity, poise and generous nature. He refrained from petty pleasures in which the sons of Rajas and Nawabs of India generally indulged. Like Maulana Muhammad Ali, he was a product of the two finest educational institutions of the world - Aligarh and Oxford. Like the Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal, he was called to the Bar. He was fully equipped to pursue a legal career that could have brought him fame and money. His private means enabled him to adopt a career of service to his community which gave him the greatest satisfaction.

He could not have expected a greater public recognition of his services than the tribute which the Quaid-e-Azam paid to him at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League on 26th December, 1943. I quote from the proceedings concerning his re-election as General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League:

> In putting the proposition to vote Mr. M.A. Jinnah described Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as 'my right hand'. He, the Nawabzada, had 'worked and served' day and night, and none could possibly have an idea of the great burden he shouldered. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Jinnah continued, commanded the universal respect and confidence of the Mussulmans. Though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough proletarian, and he hoped other Nawabs in the country would follow his example.
>
> Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the General Secretary for the services he had rendered to the League during the last seven years and wished him a long life of service to the community.

I witnessed his intense love and affection for the Quaid-e-Azam on that

fateful night of 11th September, 1948, when the Quaid breathed his last. I was summoned to the Cabinet Room of the Governor General's House within ten minutes of his death. Liaquat sat alone in that large room with his head bent and his hands on his temples. He raised his head as I was announced by the A.D.C. I can never forget his grief-stricken face. In a choking voice he said:

> Inna Lillah-e-Wa Inna Ilah-e-Rajeoon. The great man is no more. I have summoned my Ministers to select his successor. You will have to select his last resting place.

BEGUM RANA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN:

It is generally believed that behind every successful man, there is a woman. The star of Liaquat had shown brighter after 1932 when it absorbed the light of another star - his second wife, Rana. Begum Rana was no ordinary woman. As Miss Pant, the relative of Govind Ballab Pant who was a freedom fighter and Chief Minister of U.P., she had a brilliant academic career at the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, from where she graduated and proceeded to Canning College, Lucknow University. It was from that college that she took her post-graduate degree in Economics, standing first in the Master of Arts Examination. Her thesis on the topic of "Women labour in agriculture in the United Provinces", was adjudged to be the best thesis of the year.

Marriages, they say, are made in heaven. Liaquat Ali Khan and his first wife failed to hit it off. Similar was the case with Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and his first wife. Marriage in Islam is not a sacrament but a contract. Both Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Allama Iqbal found supreme happiness in the company of their second wives. I recall my speech in the Third Committee of the United Nations in 1974 when it considered a proposal for observing an International Women's year. Referring to the progress made in the status of our women, I said:

> In my own country, Pakistan, there has been a wind of change since we achieved our independence in August, 1947. The veil has disappeared and women are making great strides in all walks of life. The village women have always fully participated in agricultural operations and have helped their fathers, husbands and sons in obtaining better yields from fields.
>
> In urban areas, however, our women had tended in the past to confine their sphere of activity to the home. They had lagged behind in educational and consequently in professions. "The founder of our state, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, laid great stress upon

the full participation of women in all the spheres of public activities. As a result of the encouragement shown by him, an organisation emerged named, the All-Pakistan Women's Association, which has been very active in educational and social fields. It has its branches throughout the country.

Girls are doing much better than boys in our educational institutions. Although boys outnumber them in quantity, girls certainly outshine them in quality. They top the lists in university examinations and this year a lady candidate has stood first in the competitive examination for the top services of Pakistan. The Vice Chancellor of Islamabad University is a lady. More and more girl students are joining Engineering and Medical institutions every year. We have many lady doctors, though not sufficient nurses. We have women professors, journalists, lawyers, engineers and architects.

We have now ladies in executive, judicial and secretariat posts. They are giving a good account of themselves. Their number is not yet adequate but it is on the increase every year. Ladies are working in banking and insurance fields. They are taking part in trade union activities as office-bearers and as chair-persons.

We have in our country a conservative section which would like to confine the activities of women to the precincts of homes but they are not able to check the tide and our young women want to participate in all spheres of social and national activities. Of the four Governors of Provinces in Pakistan, one is a lady.

ALL PAKISTAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (APWA):

The Governor to whom I made a reference was Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, then Governor of Sind. The APWA whose services I had lauded, has grown from strength to strength since February, 1949, when Begum Liaquat convened an All-Pakistan Women's Conference at the Prime Minister's residence. She told the social workers who responded to her call:

> We have associated ourselves together to fight the evils of ignorance, poverty and disease, so that the land which belongs to all of us and our children may become a happier, healthier and better place.

APWA's initial success was no doubt due to the fact that the Prime Minister's wife was its patron and President, but Begum Liaquat Ali Khan contributed much more to its success as Rana, the Prime Minister's widow.

The APWA opened relief centres for refugees, literary centres, educational institutions, industrial homes, dispensaries and welfare centres.

In March 1948, the Pakistan Cottage Industries Association was founded. Soon, the Rana Liaquat Craftsmen Colony sprang up, the Pakistan Cottage Industries Emporium was opened, the Gul-e-Rana Nusrat Industrial Home was established and a Cottage Industry Shop was opened in the Ilaco House. By 1950, an Industrial Home was set up in Liaquatabad and a dispensary was opened in the most backward area of Karachi - Liyari. Two well-known educational institutions of Karachi owe their existence to the APWA - the College of Home Economics, and the Arts and Science Degree College.

In the fifties, a school, an Adult Literary Centre and an Industrial Home were established in the province of Baluchistan. An APWA Centre was opened at Dera Ismail Khan. Industrial Centres were opened in East Pakistan at Bogra, Rajshahi, Rangamati, Dinajpur and Chittagong.

Just as Quaid-e-Azam encouraged Miss Fatima Jinnah to share the public honours with him, so did Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan associate his Begum with his political activities. She was his constant companion and partner. She accompanied Liaquat to the Quaid's residence in Hempstead Health, London, in May, 1933, to request the Quaid to return to India and to resume the leadership of the Indian Muslims.

QUAID'S LETTER:

In June, 1944, when the Quaid-e-Azam and Miss Jinnah were having a short holiday in Srinagar, Kashmir, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was away from Delhi, the Quaid-e-Azam was gracious enough to send a telegram to Begum Liaquat inviting her to Srinagar. When she begged to be excused, the Quaid wrote a most touching letter to Liaquat from Srinagar, dated 3rd June, 1944. I quote some portions of this letter:

> .... I was very sorry that Begum Sahiba decided not to come to Kashmir.
>
> No doubt, it is not easy to make arrangements here, and one has to put up with a certain amount of roughing and inconvenience, but the other day I struck upon a very fine house-boat indeed, which will be available on the 9th of June, and it can be had, including food, for about Rs. 36/- per day: that means Begum Sahib, yourself, and the children. They have got all the servants, complete staff, except your own personal bearer and an ayah that you may bring with you. Arrangements can also be made to meet Begum Sahib at Pindi, and I will personally see that a proper agency attends to her arrival there

> and takes her in the party to Srinagar comfortably. I think it will do her and the children a lot of good, and it is really worth it even if they can manage to be here for only a month, and I will see that they are comfortable. You can also run up here for a short time...

What a felicitous and revealing letter! What a letter to write! What a letter to receive!

This letter, which is treasured by Begum Liaquat, appears in a well-written biography of Rana Liaquat Ali Khan by Mehr Nigar Masroor (1980). When I read this letter, I recalled how Mrs. Sirojni Naidu had once called Muhammad Ali Jinnah as 'a great-hearted prince of Indian nationalists', and had at another occasion drawn his pen portrait in the following words:

> Somewhat formal and fastidious and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks, who knows him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's a humour gay and winning as a child's.

Every year, on the death anniversary of the martyred Liaquat, his lonely widow appeals for investigation and justice. When the greatest leader of modern India, Gandhiji, was assassinated on 30th January, 1949, his people had at least the satisfaction of unearthing the conspiracy and awarding the severest punishment to the culprits.

Rana had experienced 19 years of marital bliss. What should have happened to her heart and mind when her beloved husband was snatched away from her by the cruel hand of fate. Only she can describe. If she would have been an ordinary widow, she could have withdrawn herself into a shell, to nurse her grievances and grief. But she rose to the occasion in a grand manner. She decided to rededicate herself to the service of the people whom her husband had served to the best of his ability till his last breath.

In 1952, Begum Rana Liaquat represented Pakistan in the third Committee of the United Nations and advocated equality of political status for women. She was the first Muslim woman to become an Ambassador. She served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the Netherlands from 1954 to 1961, and was the doyen of the Diplomatic Corps in The Hague in the last year of her assignment. In June, 1961, she was appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Italy and Tunisia and held this post till March, 1966.

Begum Liaquat received the International Gimbal Award in 1962, being the first non-American lady to be so honoured. It was a very coveted award. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, another widow who dedicated herself to humanitar-

ian tasks after President Rooselvelt's death, was Dean of the National Gimbal Award winners.

Begum Liaquat was elected to the prestigious Committee of Experts on the application of Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation, Geneva, in 1955, and performed her duties with distinction till 1977. Another feather was added to her cap when she was appointed Governor of Sind in February, 1973. She held this post for three years and was the first lady to be the head of a province of Pakistan.

Other awards which she earned make a most impressive reading. She was awarded Nishan-e-Imtiaz in the Honours List of Pakistan in 1959, and the Grand Cross of Orange-Nassau (Netherlands) in 1961. The Turkish Women's Association presented her the "Women of the World Award" in 1965, and the Government of Italy awarded her the 'Cavaliere de Gran Croce' in 1966.

In 1978, came the announcement that she was to receive the Human Rights Award of the United Nations. On December 11, 1978, she received this most coveted award.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF QUAID-E-MILLAT:

The Quaid's death caused a great shock because the people did not know the extent of his illness in Ziarat. The fall of the State of Hyderabad had depressed everyone in Pakistan. The entire nation was apprehensive of the future without the Quaid.

It was Liaquat Ali Khan who lifted the nation from the morass of despondency, restored the morale of people and reinforced their faith in the bright future of Pakistan. The Quaid had called Liaquat his right-hand man. After his passing away, the mantle of leadership fell squarely on the lieutenant whose shoulders were broad enough to carry the burden with dignity and equanimity.

I shall always cherish the memory of his perfect understanding of the problems which we discussed, his large-heartedness, his great sympathy for the refugees, his winning smile and his sense of humour.

On March 7, 1949, Quaid-e-Millat brought before the Constituent Assembly what came to be known as the Objective Resolution under which the Muslims of Pakistan were deemed to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah. He had assured the minorities that they would have the same rights and opportunities as their Muslim fellow citizens.

Liaquat Ali Khan concluded in 1950 what is popularly known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact with a view to safeguarding the interests of the minorities

in both the dominions. When he succeeded in bringing on the Statute Book the Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act known as PRODA, he told me that no other Parliament in the world had passed a law like that.

In July 1951, when the relations between the two dominions deteriorated and the Indian troops were amassed on our frontiers, some people thought that war was round the corner. He allayed the apprehensions of the people by assuring them that Pakistan was prepared for all eventualities. His 'fist' became as famous as the 'V' sign of Winston Churchill in the Second World War.

Quaid-e-Millat raised the prestige of Pakistan in the comity of nations. He made a very successful tour of the United States of America and Canada along with his gracious wife.

The month of August will continue to be celebrated in Pakistan and India as it was in this month that we achieved our freedom. But just as the happy month of Zilhijj, in which we celebrate Eid-ul-Azha is succeeded by the sorrowful month of Muharram in which we commemorate the greatest martyrdom in Islamic history, the succeeding months of September and October will ever be associated with the death of the founder of our State, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 11th September 1948, and the dastardly and tragic assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in Rawalpindi on 16th October, 1951.

It is a matter of great shame that the conspiracy which led to the murder of our first Prime Minister still remains shrouded in mystery. Every year, Mohtarma Rana Liaquat, the aggrieved widow of our first Prime Minister, issues a statement in deep anguish on 16th October bemoaning the indifference of successive regimes to unearth the conspiracy of her husband's murder. Every year, on this day, our flag flies half-mast and our newspapers, radio and T.V. commemorate his services. This has almost become a routine, but there has been no breakthrough as to the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of the great man. When Liaquat fell victim to the bullet of Saeed Akbar, I was reminded of the assassination of Julius Ceasar as a result of a conspiracy and the words which Shakespeare put in the mouth of Mark Antony:

'O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!'.

PUNDIT NEHRU AT QUAID'S MAZAR

— "Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru" remained Prime Minister of India for 17 years.
— I accompanied Prime Minister Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru to the Quaid's Mausoleum. This was Nehru's first visit to Pakistan after independence. He paid his homage in silence.
— When Nehru broke his silence, he pointed towards innumerable hutments all around the grave and asked Mr. Administrator, what do you propose to do with these hutments?
— Pundit Nehru's knowledge of Urdu was superb. He loved Urdu poetry too. He appreciated the remaining two quatrains and asked me to convey his thanks to "Rais Amrohvi".

PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU WAS a distinguished son of a distinguished father, Pundit Motilal Nehru, who was an eminent lawyer like the Quaid-e-Azam. Pundit Motilal Nehru was also his colleague in the Central Assembly of India. Jawaharlal was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge and had breathed the air of freedom in England. On his return to India which was then in the shackles of British slavery, he joined the Indian National Congress and accepted Mahatma Gandhi as his political 'guru' (teacher). Both Gandhiji and Jawaharlal failed to appreciate the tremendous hold which the Quaid-e-Azam had acquired over the minds and hearts of the Muslims of India. Their efforts to wean away Muslims from the Muslim League met with a complete failure. When Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru told the press that only two powers mattered in India, viz., the British Government and the Indian National Congress, the Quaid-e-Azam dubbed him as the 'Peter Pan of the Indian politics' and remarked how short-sighted he was not to mention that there was a third party i.e. the Muslim League, without whose agreement the Indian problem could not be solved. In one of his speeches delivered in Delhi, the Quaid said:

> I tell Jawaharlal ' ہنوز دلّی دوراست ', meaning 'Delhi is still far away'.

In his famous book 'The Discovery of India' Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

> Mr. Jinnah is a lone figure even in the Muslim League keeping apart from his closest co-workers, widely but distantly respected, more feared than liked.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru remained Prime Minister of India for 17 years i.e. from 1947 to 1964. He won many laurels during his life-time but died a very disappointed man. The stunning defeat which China inflicted on India in 1962 left a wound in his heart which he carried to the last moment of his life. However, Punditji ranked next to Gandhiji in the Congress hierarchy. He had been President of the Congress many times i.e. 1929-30, 1936, 1937 and 1946.

On the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I had the pleasure of receiving some notable personalities like Sir Aga Khan, Sardar Najibullah Khan, Special Representative of the King of Afghanistan, the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India.

I accompanied Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, to the Quaid's mausoleum. This was Nehru's first visit to Pakistan after independence. As he paid his homage in silence, I reflected upon his esteem for Jinnah which he had made in his book, 'The Discovery of India' as quoted above.

When Nehru broke his silence, he pointed towards the innumerable hutments all around the grave and asked: "Mr. Administrator, what do you propose to do with these hutments?"

I gently answered, "All these have to be removed sooner or later from the site". He appeared not to be satisfied with my answer. To be more definite, he posed another question, "When?"

My reply was: "Mr. Prime Minister! that depends upon you and your Government. "How?", he asked.

I replied, "When the exodus of the refugees to Karachi ceases from your country".

He did not resent my bold reply. There was a flicker of smile on his face when he said, "This is not a one-way traffic. I have seen similar jhuggies of refugees in West Bengal who are pouring into an already over-crowded Calcutta."

As we drove to the Governor-General's House, I recited three 'quatrains' of our talented poet, Rais Amrohvi. He was amused at the first quatrain which is given as under:

چلی جاتی ہے یارو چھیڑ چھاڑ اپنی حکومت سے
کبھی ہنس ہنس کے چھیڑیں گے کبھی جھنجھلا کے چھیڑیں گے

اگر ہم خود نہ چھیڑیں اپنے اربابِ حکومت کو
تو کیا پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو آ کے چھیڑیں گے

With our government, O friends! We often wrangle,
Sometimes the issue is serious, sometimes mirth we mingle.
Should we not stir our men, at the helm of affairs,
Would Pundit Nehru come to us, so as to solve our tangle?

Pundit Nehru's knowledge of Urdu was superb. He loved Urdu poetry too. He appreciated the remaining two quatrains and asked me to convey his thanks to Rais Amrohvi:

تا چاند مری جاں، یہ آشفتہ مزاجی
تو میری طرف، میری محبت کی طرف دیکھ
رہتی نہیں تا دیر شریفوں میں لڑائی
نہرو کی طرف دیکھ لیاقت کی طرف دیکھ

How long this indifference? My love!
Look towards me, and towards my love.
Enmity does n't last long among the gentle folks,
Look towards Nehru, look towards Liaquat, my love!

ہم نے نہرو کی شکل و صورت میں
ہند کا اک مثالیہ دیکھا
لب و عارض پہ موجِ گنگ و جمن
تیوروں میں ہمالیہ دیکھا

In the personage of Pundit Nehru,
There is in India a beacon-light.
Both graceful and dignified is his being,
In temper, he is of Himalayan height.

To the press correspondents, Nehru stressed the similarity in texture between the culture of Northern India and West Pakistan and, with an old Harrow boy's knowledge of the English poets, he quoted Samuel Taylor Coleridge to explain the peculiar persistence of India-Pakistan bitterness:

To be wrath with one we love,
Doth work like madness in brain.

In spite of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact on Minorities, the bitterness increased with the passage of time resulting in two unfortunate wars. The Kashmir problem, which bedevilled the relationship between the two countries, still remains unresolved. Nehru was the architect of modern India. He served his country with much distinction for 17 years but he acted Hamlet-like in two matters - Urdu and Indian Muslims. Urdu was his mother tongue and he often expressed his annoyance at the new and difficult words used by the protagonists of Hindi. But it was during his regime that Hindi replaced Urdu as the lingua franca of India.

Although Nehru was an enlightened intellectual and wanted India to be a secular state, he could not prevent a vast majority of his countrymen from regarding India as a Hindu state and indulging in communal disturbances on an unprecedented scale.

In his book "Discovery of India", Nehru had stated:

> We have to get rid of the narrowing religious outlook and that obsession with the supernatural and metaphysical speculations which come in the way of our understanding ourselves and the world.

I could not get the figures of communal riots in India before 1950, but from the official reports of the Government of India, the toll in communal riots from 1950 to 1969, based on the actual dead bodies found, has been 3499, the worst year being 1964, when 2057 persons were killed in Bihar, Orissa and East Bengal. Another very bad year was 1969 with 603 killed. Of these, 480 were killed in Gujrat. The number of persons killed during the recent elections in Assam has been quoted variously, but the figure is fairly large over 3,000. In these communal disturbances, the axe fell on Muslim lives and properties.

The greatest man of modern India, Gandhiji, preached non-violence throughout his political career. Alas! he fell victim to violence. Very few in modern India believe in non-violence. India's expenditure on arms and ammunition, war-planes and warships is next only to the amounts incurred by the Superpowers of the world.

7

LONDON'S PICTURESQUE COUNTRY-SIDE

— The English are a class conscious people. They love their Monarchy and Aristocracy .
— In 1983, two million Pakistanis were working abroad, 3,50,000 in U.K.

WE ARRIVED AT THE Black Bush Airport at 10:30 a.m. This was a Service airport situated at a distance of 40 miles from London. We were met at this airport by my friend Haji Naziruddin Babar who used to edit an Urdu paper of Karachi, "Hayat". During the Second World War, he was a member of the Press Advisory Committee of Sind, of which I was the Chairman. Later on, he set up Civil and Military Press in Karachi.

He drove us through a picturesque countryside where we met streams of cars full of fashionable ladies and gentlemen who were on their way to the Ascot Racing Ground. London was my favourite city during my student days at Oxford, 1932-34. I spent most of my holidays there and appreciated the wisdom of Dr. Johnsons's verdict that one who was tired of London, was tired of life. The libraries, picture galleries, museums, theatres, cinemas, cricket and football fields, golf courses and tennis courts provided a variety of diversions suited to all tastes. I was never tired of listening to the debates in the House of Commons and the witty and humorous speeches in the Orators Corner of Hyde Park.

As we took a steamer trip in the Thames, I was reminded of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's verse:

کیا کہئے کہ رہتا ہے بہر حال تصور
حسرتؔ ہمیں لندن کی اُسی آفتِ جاں کا

Each moment I'm obsessed with thought,
Of that exquisite beauty of London.

We stayed in London for five weeks upto 22nd July. The weather was remarkably sunny and bright. The bombed sites of London gave us some idea of the havoc caused by the German bombers during the Second World War. Those sites were being used as parking grounds. Eggs and sugar were still rationed but there was no shortage of food and fruits.

The dogged determination and fortitude with which the British people faced the rigours of the Second World War will always remain the finest chapter in their history. The inspired speeches of Winston Churchill, who in the words of one of his biographers, Violet Bonham Carter, took his place in his life-time among the immortals, are now part of the English literature. He had unbounded confidence in himself and his people. He once said, "I feel as if I could lift the universe on my shoulders". The battle of Britain was really won in the air. Churchill complimented the officers and men of the Royal Air Force in the following moving words:

> Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

I used this sentence when I summed up the role of Quaid-e-Azam in the battle for Pakistan. "Never", I said, "in the field of political history was so much owed by so many to one man."

The English are a class-conscious people. They love their monarchy and aristocracy. But I did not notice any instance of colour bar. The Duke of Wellington, the Victor of Waterloo, who had served in India as an Army Commander used to say that he did not come across a single good-tempered Englishman East of Suez. In his own country, the Englishman is courteous, polite and good-tempered; even though he may regard his home as his castle. The English are a patriotic people.

There is a song which begins with the words "What they know of England, who only England know?" I can say "What do they know of Pakistan, who only Pakistan know?" The lines of Walter Scott represent the feelings of all those who return to England after serving abroad.

> Breathes there the man, with soul so dead.
> Who never to himself hath said,
> "This is my own, my native land!"
> Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
> As home his footsteps he had turn'd
> From wandering on a foreign strand!

I had similar feelings for my country when I returned to Pakistan in

August, 1951. I am sure that my country-men who are working abroad, must be experiencing similar feelings when they return to Pakistan from time to time. In 1983, two million Pakistanis were working abroad, 350,000 in U.K., one lakh in the U.S.A. and Canada and the remaining in the Gulf States. Kuwait alone has 70,000 Pakistanis. These persons are doing a great service to Pakistan by sending more than half of their monthly earnings to their near and dear ones. They have contributed considerably to our foreign exchange reserve.

We saw the difference between the classes and the masses in England when Haji Naziruddin Babar took us in his Vauxall to Brighton and Eastbourne. Brighton Beach is overcrowded with middle and lower middle class people and a lot of scattered looters. The Eastbourne beach reminded me of Nice. It is neat and clean and visited by well-to-do persons. The large number of hotels in Eastbourne are occupied by retired civilians and soldiers who prospered in the service of the Empire.

Napoleon called the British a nation of shop-keepers. Their merchant navy enabled them to capture markets all over the world. Their supremacy over the seas came to an end after the Second World War. With the loss of their Empire, they had to compete with other countries like America and Japan. They girded up the loins and tightened their belts. In 1951, I saw many attractive new cars in the show rooms of West End. These cars could not be bought by Englishmen. They were reserved for export. I reproduce some of the entries from the diary which I maintained:

SUNDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1951:

My friend Akhtar Hussain, ICS, took us to Oxford in the car. He was doing a year's course at the Imperial College of Defence. He joined our Foreign Service and served as Pakistan's Ambassador in Italy, Algiers and Iran. Mrs. Akhtar Hussain and her son Akbar who had travelled with us in the chartered plane from Karachi, were our companions on that trip too.

Oxford, which reminded me of my halcyon days of youth, has not changed a bit since I left it seventeen (17) years ago. We visited Jesus College and Christ Church College. I was reminded of football and hockey matches between these two colleges when the onlookers shouted 'Come on Jesus' and 'Come on Christ'.

We did some punting in the Isis. This poetic name has been given to River Thames when it flows through Oxford. The river was full of punts as it was Sunday. Many visitors flock to Oxford to see its Colleges and playing fields and enjoy punting in the Isis on Sundays. Punting looks easy but many a new

punter comes to grief and falls into the river.

FRIDAY, 6TH JULY:

We celebrate Eid-ul-Azha today by offering our prayers at the International Islamic Centre - Regents Park. This Centre is run by the Government of Egypt. This land was allotted for a mosque as a quid pro quo to King Faruque's gesture in allotting land for a Church in Cairo. Most of the 'worshippers' were Egyptians - about 250. We met two dozen Pakistanis, ladies and gentlemen.

We then motored down to Mosque at a distance of 30 miles from London where the prayer time was an hour later and were delighted to see that, barring a few non-Pakistanis, about 2000 Pakistanis had gathered for Eid prayers. The call to prayer was given by an Egyptian Moazzin whose voice was perfectly modulated. After that, an African lady recited some verses from the Holy Quran. There was a subscription lunch under mutli-coloured shamianas[1]. The atmosphere was festive and it was good to meet so many of our countrymen in a foreign land and exchange greetings with them.

THURSDAY, 19TH JULY:

We attended a garden party at the Buckingham Palace in the afternoon. The King, George VI, was indisposed. The Queen and Princess Elizabeth hosted the party to which one thousand guests had been invited. The ladies were in their best costumes; the gentlemen had to wear morning suits. Most of the morning suits appeared to have been hired. I went in 'sherwani', my wife in a 'gharara suit'. An invitation for Buckingham Palace is considered to be the highest mark of respectability in social circles. I overheard a lady telling her friend "Isn't it heavenly?" I was disappointed to note that the lawn in Buckingham Palace was not as well-tended and green as in the adjoining Green Park or Hyde Park. The Queen received selected guests in the Royal pavilion, among whom was our High Commissioner, Mr. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola, the Nawab and Begum of Bahawalpur and the Mir of Khairpur. I was glad to note that Begum Rahimtoola and Begum Bahawalpur did not bend their bodies for 'courtesy', but raised their hands for 'salaam[2]'. The Begum of Bahawalpur is an English lady. By not offering courtesy as other English ladies did, she exhibited her pride in being a Pakistani. The judges were the cynosure of all eyes in their ermine robes and wigs. I learnt that the judges in England are never seen in public except at the annual party of the Buckingham Palace. The judges are accessible only in their courts.

1. Tents
2. Traditional gesture of greeting.

EMPTY POCKETS AND WINDOW-GAZING

SUNDAY IS THE BEST day to see the difference between West End and East End of London. The streets in the West End look almost deserted, the church bells toll merrily, all shops are closed and people stroll or lie down in parks and meadows. The East End on Sundays is overcrowded, all shops are open, the Pattecoat Lance becomes a trap for customers as they are pulled by hefty salesmen into their shops and are physically prevented from leaving without making substantial purchases.

A Pakistani gentleman, named Shauq, befriended us in this Jews-dominated bazaar. He owned a shop - Shank Ltd. After we had made our purchases, he took us to his house which was not far away from his shop and gave us an excellent Pakistani meal. What delighted us most was a visit to a mosque in East End with a large prayer-room, a small library and an adjoining hall which was used for marriages and meetings.

Shopping and window gazing are the main pastime of visitors to London. The foreign exchange allowed to us was hardly enough for our board and lodging. While we could not afford shopping, we enjoyed window-gazing, in the words of Mirza Ghalib:

گر نہیں وصل تو حسرت ہی سہی

'One may still long for union, even if it does n't materialise'.

In addition to two old Indian restaurants, Veeraswamy and Shafi, a number of Indian and Pakistani restaurants have sprung up in London recently. We enjoyed dining at the Jamshed Restaurant in South Kensington where students did part time work as bearers and did it very well. The Lyons Corner House restaurants of my student days have been replaced by the self-service Fortes eating houses which offered good food at reasonable prices. Everything was in plenty except the eggs.

The London underground railway network is a marvel of engineering and technology. It provides the quickest means of communication between the various parts of this sprawling city at the lowest possible cost. We enjoyed

travelling by tube. The stations were kept clean and the crowd was orderly.

London provides a variety of entertainment to its visitors. Thanks to our knowledge of English, we could enjoy the plays on stage and the pictures in cinemas. The most redeeming feature of the British Raj in the Sub-continent was the English language. The knowledge of English enabled both Pakistanis and Indians to make their respective contributions in international forums. The bitterness of two hundred years of the British rule came to an end when the Indian Independence Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1947. I recall the words of Lord Samuel in the House of Lords on this bill:

> It may be said of the British Raj as Shakespeare said of the Thane of Cowdor in Macbeth 'Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.'

SUNDAY, 22ND JULY, 1951:

We left for Paris on 22nd July in the night by Air France and stayed at Hotel Montana. Paris is always a dream by night but, tonight, the city bore a lustre which was extraordinary. On inquiry, the taxi driver told us that the Parisians were celebrating the 2000 years of the birth of their city. The Arc De Triomphe, the Palace de Concord, the Champs Elysees and the Eiffel Tower appeared like constellations. The whole of Paris was turned into a fairy-land. What Cecil Hedlam said about Oxford is equally applicable to Paris "beautiful as youth and venerable as age."

There is a saying that all good Americans go to Paris to die. The French have had a special relationship with America. The French helped the British Colonies in North America when they revolted against their British masters. The Statue of Liberty commands and adorns the entrance to the harbour of New York; it was a present of the French Government to the Government of the United States of America. The French was the language of international diplomacy till it was replaced by English in the current century. When the Founding Fathers of America were debating the adoption of a national language, the tie was between French and English. It was with a narrow margin that English was voted to be the national language of America. But the President's English is not the same as the King's English.

MONDAY, 23RD JULY:

We visited the Chateau of Versailles on a day that was sunny and bright. It is a grand structure with superb gardens, lakes and rivulets, extending over a vast area. Hampton Court of London paled into significance as compared to

this palace which has three times as many halls as Hampton Court has. The unfortunate Louis XIV and his Queen Marie Antionette, were taken from this very palace to face the fury of the French Revolution and to be executed at the guillotine. In his 'Tale of Two Cities' (London and Paris), Charles Dickens has depicted vividly the plight of the French aristocracy, the joy of blood-thirsty crowds when heads fell from the guillotine. An English historian used the metaphor of guillotine in describing the last meeting of Queen Victoria with her Prime Minister, Gladstone. The Queen whose reign was the longest among the monarchs of England, exhibited her delight whenever Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, kissed her hand. She did not conceal her dismay whenever Gladstone kissed her hand. I quote the words of the historian:

> When Gladstone saw Queen Victoria for the last time she got the impression that it was the sort of talk that Marie Antionette might have had with her executioner at the guillotine.

Disraeli used to flatter and humour the Queen. He wrote poems in which she figured as the Fairy Queen. It was at his initiative that she assumed the title of the Empress of India. Gladstone, on the other hand, kept his distance from the Queen. When one of her ladies-in-waiting asked her why she liked Disraeli and disliked Gladstone, she replied, "Disraeli treats me like a human being, Gladstone treats me like a public meeting."

Our guide took us to the hall in which the Treaty of Versailles was signed after the First World War. The table and chairs and the ink-stand used by the participants have been preserved. I recalled the witty remarks of Georges Clemenceau, French Prime Minister, who was asked how he felt at the Palace of Versailles sitting between President Wilson of the United States of America and Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. "Very awkward," replied Clemenceau:

> Lloyd George behaved as if he was Napoleon Bonaparte and Wilson talked as if he was Jesus Christ.

Lloyd George's description of the First World War as "the war to end the war" did not turn out to be true as within 21 years, the Second World War engulfed the whole of the globe. Adolf Hitler could not have mesmerized the German people, had they not been oppressed by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

It was a joy to walk in the streets of Paris in the evenings. More people sit on the outside than in the inside of the roadside cafes. They appear to be a jolly and friendly crowd. They speak loudly and laugh heartily in contrast to the

Londoners. The Louvre houses some of the best paintings of the world. The 'obelisk', which was brought from Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte, reminds Parisians of the glorious victories of General Bonaparte, whose remains were removed in 1830, nine years after his death, from St. Helana to Paris and are buried under a stately dome - the invalids.

A hero of the first World War also lay buried here - Marshal Foch. he had the unique distinction of being Field Marshal of three armies - French, English and Polish.

Napoleon was not just a person but a phenomenon. When he was at the height of his power, the whole of Europe dreaded his thrusts. He was not only a unique commander in battle-fields, but also a powerful administrator who kept his ministers at tenterhooks. He called his twelve pounders his pretty girls. At the same time, he ensured that no injustice was done to his subjects. He used to say that he had better have lost a regiment than murdered a helpless book-seller for injustice paid itself with frightful compound interest.

TUESDAY, 24TH JULY:

We visited the famous Cathedral, Notre-Dame, whose fame spread far and wide on account of the film 'The hunch-back of Notre Dame'. The foundation stone was laid in 1149 A.D. and it took 200 years to take its present shape. It was in this Cathedral that Napoleon was crowned Emperor of France. When the Pope proceeded to put the crown over his head, he took away the crown from him and put it on his head himself. This gesture meant to tell his countrymen that he was a self-made man.

We visited the Pantheon where famous writers like Rousseau, Voltaire and Victor Hugo are buried. We went to the Latin quarters which is a students' colony, and then to Monmatre which is the oldest part of Paris where artists abound. We saw so many of them sitting by the roadside, etching, painting and chatting. Monmatre was a separate city before it was merged into Paris. The famous Prime Minister of France "Tiger" Clemenceau was at one time Mayor of Monmatre.

Many roads converge on the Arch de Triumph, the grave of the 'Unknown Warrior' is located under this Arch. The French are proud of their writers and soldiers.

WEDNESDAY, 25TH JULY:

We visited the Galleries La Fayette and the Eiffel Tower. The former is a shopping centre located under a very impressive dome. The love of beauty of

the people of Paris is discernible even in commercial buildings. The shops and stores looked like pieces of art! The Eiffel Tower proclaims the skill of French engineers. This 1,000 ft. high tower was constructed in 1889 as a landmark of the International Exhibition held that year in Paris. The view from the top floor of this grand structure is memorable. Paris appears to be a lovely city, with its symmetrical streets and landscaped boulevards. River Seine and its 32 bridges are things of beauty.

We dined with our Ambassador, Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan, who was staying at the Ritz Hotel. This Hotel is considered to be one of the best hotels of the world. Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan was educated at Sandhurst. Like Winston Churchill, he left the army and switched over to politics. He was Minister of State in our Ministry of States and Frontier Region before assuming charge as Pakistan's Ambassador to France. He believes in good living. Beyond doubt, he was an excellent host.

We experienced only one disappointment during our stay in Paris - its underground railway. The platform was shabby and full of rubbish. The crowd was not as disciplined as in London. The trains were not as quick as the London trains. The network was not as widely spread as in London.

THURSDAY, 26TH JULY:

When in Paris, two Pakistani students met us who were travelling by car to Geneva. When we told them that we were going to Geneva by air, they were good enough to offer us the back seats of their Vauxall. We accepted their offer on condition that we would pay for the patrol. One of the students, Muzaffar Zaidi, was the son of my friend Hassan Feroz, Passport Officer, who was reputed to be a 'trusted man' of the then Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, and used to exchange abuses with him whenever they greeted each other!

We set out at 10 a.m. and stopped at Fontanblue on our way. It was a small and pretty Chateau; part of it is used as a School of Art. Most of the students were Americans. If one wishes to enjoy the countryside, one must travel by car. The French countryside is as attractive as the English countryside. We passed through undulating land, green fields, lakes and forests. The most attractive spot on our way was the Burgone Dam, constructed in 1890, which is the source of a canal bearing the same name. It took the engineers eight years to complete the dam and the canal.

We passed through a large old town - Dejon - and arrived at a small village - Avillon - at 8 p.m. We covered 250 miles and stayed in a small hotel for the night.

THE 'LEAGUE OF RESIGNATIONS'

— Sir Sultan Muhammad Aga Khan III led the Indian delegation to the League of Nation in 1932 and attained the distinction of being only Asian to be elected President of the League of Nations.

WE ENTERED SWITZERLAND VIA Champagrole and Morez by 1:00 p.m. on July 27. The weather was delightful with a cloudless sky and cool wind. Our first look at the Lake of Geneva from a distance of 10 miles was breath-taking. It is surrounded on all sides by dazzling white mountains. We were reminded of the Naini Lake which gave its name to the summer capital of the U.P. - Nainital. That lake too has mountains on all sides; but the Lake of Geneva is twenty times larger than the Naini Lake. While one could walk round the Naini Lake in a couple of hours, it would take two days to hike round the Geneva Lake. It takes a fast steamer two hours to go from one end of the Lake to the other.

We passed through dark forests and green meadows down the hill sides before reaching the shores of the Lake of Geneva. We were spell-bound when the colour of the lake changed from purple to green and from green to blue. There is a fountain in the lake which rises hundred feet high. The multi-coloured spray of the fountain gives the impression of an ever-lasting rainbow.

The highest peak of the Alps, Mount Blanc - 15,000 feet high - dominates the lake from a distance. In the evening, we took a trip of the lake in a large steamer which was full of tourists. They were drinking, singing and dancing while we were looking on all sides and admiring the panoramic view.

Geneva attained world fame when it was selected as the Headquarters of the League of Nations which came into being as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty of June, 1919. Although President Woodrow Wilson of the USA was an enthusiastic supporter of the idea of a League of Nations, he failed to persuade the Congress to join it. The other superpower, Soviet Russia, did not join the League till 1934. The last Soviet delegate to the League who called it the nest of brigands, was regarded in Moscow as an authority on the subject. The League failed to pressurize the Italian dictator, Mussolini, to retrace his steps when his forces occupied Libya without any provocation or justification. He entered the new conquered territory on a white horse in his black Fascist uniform.

Since it proved ineffective, the League of Nations became the League of Resignations. It was not the League of Nations which failed, but it was the Nations of the League that failed.

One of the most distinguished leaders of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, Sir Sultan Muhammad Khan, Aga Khan III led the Indian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly in 1932 and attained the distinction of being the only Asian to be elected President of the League of Nations.

We visited the Palais de Nations where the session of the League Assembly used to be held. It is here that each year the annual sessions of the International Labour Conference are held in June.

The International Labour Organisation was formed alongside the League of Nations to promote the economic and social well-being of the people of the world. While the League of Nations perished, the ILO has flourished and is fulfilling the expectations for which it was founded. Of all that was contrived at Versailles, only the ILO survived after the Second World War. The United Nations Charter was signed in 1945 in San Francisco and a number of international agencies came into being to work in such specialized fields as education, health, food and agriculture. In 1946, the ILO became the first of these specialized agencies to be associated with the United Nations.

It was at Geneva that the Red Cross was founded in 1861, the principle having been accepted that nations at war would never fire on ambulances or hospitals, with nurses and doctors who were caring for the wounded under a Red Cross flag. That is the flag of Switzerland - a white cross on a red ground. The Muslim countries who have joined this humanitarian organisation have chosen a red crescent flag. Like the ILO, the Red Cross too has rendered valuable service. The Headquarters of the World Health Organisation are also located at Geneva. Mr. Sharif, an employee of the ILO, took us round the grand building of the Palaise de Nations and the modest building of the ILO.

In the evening when we were strolling, we saw a sparkling 'excursion' bus and heard the conductor saying 'only two seats left'. We hurried to occupy the remaining two seats under the impression that the bus would go round the lake. We were charged 20 Francs each and since our rupee was very strong those days and was at par with Swiss Franc; we thought that the fare was reasonable for a couple of hours ride by the side of the lake. The bus drove by the side of the lake only for 20 minutes and then started ascending the mountains. I then asked a fellow passenger where we were going. He was amused at my query in taking aride without ascertaining the destination. He said 'This is a special bus, going to Avilion in France'. The destination is Casino Avilion. Our fellow passengers were habitual gamblers of high stakes. We were thus caught napping. When the bus stopped at the frontier of Switzerland, a French Custom

Officer entered our bus to enquire whether the passengers had anything to declare. Since we had not brought our passports with us, we could have been stopped from entering France. I told the Custom Officer that I had nothing to declare except my folly! I explained to him that if I had known that the bus was to take us to Casino Avilion, we would never have boarded it. The Custom Officer was a kind-hearted fellow and let us go. When we arrived at the Casino, we had only 50 Francs in our pockets. We had to return by the same bus since there was no other bus to take us back to Geneva. We killed time by taking coffee and enjoying the view of the lake in front of the Casino building. Our bus left for its return journey at 2:00 a.m. We returned to our hotel by 2:45 a.m. and heaved a sigh of relief.

SATURDAY, 28TH JULY:

We left Geneva by car at 9:30 a.m. on our way to Interlaken via Lausanne, Nayon, Berne and Thun, reaching Interlaken at 3:30 p.m. The entire route was fascinating with forests of pines and fir, green pastures and houses that looked like doll-houses from a distance. Switzerland is lucky not only because of its lakes and snow-covered mountains but also because of its peace-loving and hardworking people whose number is less than the inhabitants of London. Interlaken as the name indicates, is situated between two lakes and is, therefore, considered the prettiest spot in Switzerland. Berne is the capital of Switzerland. We went round its old buildings and were impressed by its Railway station and Cathedral.

SUNDAY, 29TH JULY:

After spending the night at Interlaken, we motored up to Gfrindwalde and stayed in Hotel Belvedere. It is a very cosy hotel. It was packed to the capacity by tourists who were enjoying themselves to the full. We took an electric train to Jungfran, situated at an altitude of 11,000 ft. We were advised to have sun glasses since this pretty peak is surrounded on all sides by snow-clad mountains. We took two hours to arrive at our destination. We could then look down at the white mountains from a high altitude to which we had looked up so far. There is a small hotel, a restaurant and a lift here which took us to the Ice Palace. This palace has halls and galleries and a bar. We saw polar dogs dragging small carts. A number of people were skiing all over the place.

We returned to Gfrindwalde by 2:30 p.m. and resumed our journey back to Paris via Interlaken, Bruin, Brienz, Chun and Lucerne which was overcrowded with cars, buses and motorcycles giving the impression of a fair. The

Swiss boys and girls were singing and dancing by the roadside. Lucerne is a large town, situated on a lake of the same name. It was full of visitors from neighbouring France.

We motored to Zurich from Lucerne via Zug. Zurich is perhaps the largest town of Switzerland. The lake on which this town is situated, has an enormous expanse of water and was full of steamers and sailing boats. We rested for an hour in a cafe at Zurich and resumed our journey, arriving at Basle also called Bal which is situated on River Rhine, which flows into Germany. We crossed the bridge over Rhine and had a glimpse of the pretty Rhine Valley.

We reached the border of Switzerland at 10:30 p.m. and crossed into France. The French Police and Custom authorities allowed us to re-enter France without checking our passports or luggage which was a pleasant surprise. We reached Alkrich at 11:30 p.m. It is a small town.

We could not get accommodation in any hotel, but were able to get a small room in a private house for the remaining part of the night. We were too tired to go to sleep having driven for 9 hours at a stretch. Even otherwise, one could get only fitful sleep in this village owing to the barking of the dogs and shrieks of the cats who fight like Kilkenny cats throughout the night. The village clock tower strikes, every 15 minutes, like the Big Ben. I wonder how the good people of Alkrich yet get any sleep at all!

VISIT TO THE DUTCH NATIONAL MUSEUM

WE LEFT ALKRICH AT 6 a.m. on July 30, and after passing through Chalet Chaummont Langres and Troyes arrived at Hotel Montana in Paris at 6 p.m. As some one said:

پھر آگئے وہیں پہ چلے تھے جہاں سے ہم

'We receded to the place wherefrom we had started the journey.'

We slept like a log after the twelve-hour drive from Gfrindwalde to Paris.

TUESDAY, 31ST JULY:

We took what the Pullman Company described as the Modern trip of Paris in a luxurious bus that took us to the Opera House. The Opera House has six stories and a very commodious hall. We were then taken to the Square where Napoleon's bronze statue has been fixed at a commanding position. It was

erected to celebrate his victory of Austertiz in 1805. Our guide told us that the material for that statue comprised the 1200 guns which Napoleon's army captured in that battle.

We moved on to the Champs Elysee and the Arch de Triumph which is the converging place of Twelve avenues. The avenues of Paris, with shady trees, are very pleasing to the eye. The Arch seems to be the centre of Paris. The names of Napoleon's generals are inscribed on the walls along with the names of the battles which they won.

The grave of the 'Unknown Soldier' is located in the centre of this grand building. A perpetual flame has been burning over the grave since 1919. Our guide told us that Napoleon had ordered that the Arch should be ready by the time he brought his second wife to Paris but the project was too big to be completed in a short time. So the French engineers put up dummy arch of wood and the grand procession headed by Napoleon and his second wife passed through the wooden arch. Napoleon was in a triumphant mood at that time; but ten years later, his dead body passed through that very arch. He was buried at the bank of River Seine according to his wishes.

We were then taken to the National Park which is spread over 2,300 acres. It presented a grand site.

In my student days at Oxford, I had visited France and Switzerland as a bachelor, but the visit in 1951 was much more enjoyable because we covered the countryside - pretty as a picture - by car and I had Salma, my wife, by my side.

2ND AUGUST:

We left Paris by KLM at 12:00 noon and arrived at Amsterdam at 1:30 p.m. The KLM arranged for our stay at Mesuem Pansion. In the afternoon, we went round the city in a boat and marvelled at the tenacity and industry of the people of Netherlands who turned marshy lands into colourful gardens and meadows. The word 'nether' means lower and there is no land in Europe lower than the land of Holland.

The highest lands in Europe are situated in Switzerland and the lowest in Holland. They are linked together by River Rhine. There is an old Dutch proverb that God has made the sea but man makes the shores.

The remarkable shore of Holland is the result of the hard work and engineering skill of the people living in Holland. During the last 1,000 years, they have wrested land from the sea and enlarged their borders against the storms and tides that dash against these shores.

The Dutch call their sea-walls as their dykes. A dyke is about sixty feet

high and broad enough for a road bordered with trees and buildings. On one side of the road is the sea, sometimes calm, sometimes stormy, not far below the level of the road with boats coming alongside to little piers and quays and, on the other side, there are slopes deep down to the green meadows.

When we ascended a dyke, we felt as if we had entered a magic land - we saw the chimneys of the houses nestling below. The fish on the seaside were higher than the birds on the trees. These strong walls built of stone, cement and willow boughs push back the sea.

A constant vigil is kept to see that there is no leak, and that the various gates and sluices are in perfect order.

Many lakes have been formed by the draining of the marshes, a process that needs enormous toil and expert knowledge.

The Dutch have constructed strong walls round the lakes and on the banks of the rivers that become flooded when the snow melts in the faraway Alps.

A very prominent feature of Holland is the windmills. The Dutch make most of the riotous wind that causes mischief at times, to provide energy for their windmills. Besides pumping and draining the windmills, they saw up wood and grind corn.

The reclaimed land produces bulb flowers of brilliant hues. The reclamation scheme was started in 1924. Over 800 of the 1,200 square miles of the Zuyder Zee (Zuyder means south) have been reclaimed and a great dyke nearly 20 miles long has been built between North Holland and Friesland. The Zuyder Zee was formed 600 years ago when the North Sea burst over the land. What is left of the Zuyder Zee, is now known as the Yssel Lake.

Amsterdam is the oldest city of Holland and is still its official capital, although for practical purposes. The Hague is the capital where the Prime Minister and his colleagues live. Amsterdam is built on almost as many islands as Venice: Its fifty canals are crossed by 400 bridges. We sailed into Oude Schans, a wide and busy waterway of Amsterdam and Prinzengeacht Canal which has very tall trees on its bank.

3RD AUGUST:

We visited the National Museum which is called, The Ruks. The Dutch painters have won admiration from succeeding generations, the most famous among them was Rembrandt, whose masterpieces attract every day a large number of visitors to the Museum. His famous painting 'The Night-watch' is hung in the centre of the hall and is the cynosure of all eyes.

Rembrandt (1606-1669) lived in Amsterdam. He worked with amazing industry and earned his place as the greatest etcher and one of the greatest

painters of the world. He did etchings for his poor patrons and painted 600 pictures and 300 etchings. One of the most famous of his etchings was his "Christ Healing The Sick," known as the Hundred Guilder Print. Rembrandt stamped the individual soul on each of the faces. Rembrandt saw the human soul hiding behind the human face.

Although he drew a variety of subjects, his interests really focussed on the human face. He could detect unhappiness, fear or pain in faces and revealed these secrets in his portraits. He went out to the high-ways and by-ways and sought out the poor and the blind. Then he painted them in a style whereby he turned their rags into a glorious light. He drew his own portrait at the age of 34, another as an old man. He drew his mother, his wife and a lovely woman. Hendrikje Stoeffels was his servant and was a source of comfort to him in his old age when his gay friends had abandoned him.

THE MAID WAS MISTAKEN AS A 'HOURI'

— When Andrew Carnegie in 1906-1907 donated a sum of $ 1,500,000, as part of the expenses for the construction of a Peace Palace, the Hague was the obvious choice, it took six years to build it from 1907 to 1913.
— Rome is called the eternal city. There is a proverb "All roads lead to Rome."

THE ENTERPRISING SAILORS OF Holland covered the oceans of the world and took possession of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The little Holland, only twice as large as Wales, ruled over Indonesia for centuries till 1945. One of the numerous islands of Indonesia is Sumatra which is more than three times the size of England, another island Java is of the same size as England. It was the Dutch migrants to America, who founded New Amsterdam which later on became New York.

When Charles the Fifth of Spain gathered into his hand the rule of the Netherlands with that of Spain and Austria, he required the rich cities of the Netherlands to furnish him with money; but when denied, he took away all the charters and rights of those who opposed him. Subsequently, he fined and executed the citizens. His son, Philip the Second carried out his father's plan more vigorously and the unhappy people of the Netherlands rose in revolt under the guidance of William the Silent, Prince of Orange. William became a national hero. England helped the people of the Netherlands in their revolt against the Spanish tyrant, Philip the Second, and one of the bravest of the English volunteers who pressed across the North Sea to help the Netherlands was Sir Philip Sidney. It is said that when dying, Sidney handed a precious cup of water

to another wounded man, saying: "Thy necessity is greater than mine."

4TH AUGUST:

We went to the Hague by train. There is a train every half an hour from Amsterdam to the Hague. Hague is virtually the capital of Holland. The Dutch Parliament sits here and the members of the Cabinet live here. Like Switzerland, Holland is a neutral country, where international consultations are held. It attained fame as the centre of International Law. The great jurist, Grotius, was a Dutch.

When Andrew Carnegie donated a sum of $ 1,500,000 as part of the expenses for the construction of a Peace Palace, the Hague was the obvious choice. We visited the Peace Palace and were told by the guide that it took 6 years to build it from 1907 to 1913.

The International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations is located here. All members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Each member of the United Nations under-takes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly or theSecurity Council are entitled to request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

The Dutch wear colourful clothes, their children don picturesque dresses and their fishermen wear wooden shoes. We visited Holland in autumn. My guide suggested that we should revisit Holland in winter so as to see the transformation that takes place in his country. Instead of the vivid green, a mantle of white rests over all, the gleaming waters of the canals and ditches are frozen hard and people are covered with skaters - doctors going to their patients, children to schools, labourers to their factories. The Dutch are among the best skaters of the world.

Although we could not see but only visualize the scene described by my guide. We were taken to an Ice Skatings Show by our Charge de Affairs, Lal Shah Bokhari. He admired the proficiency of Dutch skaters. We witnessed a hockey match on ice which was played much faster than on turf. Lal Shah Bokhari was, like my brother, S. Kazim Raza, one of the best players of hockey in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. His enthusiasm for hockey was worth seeing.We dined with the Bokharis, who had a lovely house. When we complimented them on their good taste and good food, Lal Shah called his cook and related his amusing tale. The cook belonged to Jhang and could only speak Punjabi. Once when Lal Shah, a member of our Foreign Service, had come home for a holiday, his old family servant approached him with a request that he should re-employ him to enable him to see 'Wilayat'. Lal Shah was to leave

for the Hague in a couple of days and enquired whether he was ready to accompany him. He replied that it would take him a fortnight to wind up his affairs but he was prepared to follow him. Lal Shah asked him how he could travel alone from Karachi to London and from London to Hague when he did not know a word of English nor could even speak Urdu properly. The old servant related a Punjabi proverb which means 'Where there is a will there is a way'. Lal Shah decided to arrange for his trip. He wrote his name and destination on a piece of paper and asked him to hang on to it as it were a 'charm'. He paid for his seat in a chartered plane of Airway similar to the one in which we had flown to London. The servant carried a note 'To whom it may concern' in these words:

> So and so is my servant who wishes to join me in the Hague. He is illiterate and this is his first outing abroad. If he is stranded, please help him and put him on the right train or plane.

His journey from Jhang to Karachi was uneventful. His troubles began when he boarded the plane at Karachi. His seat was pointed out to him by the air hostess but he would not sit on it. He squatted on the ground. When the air hostess entreated him to take his seat and fasten the seat belts, he refused point blank. The other passengers intervened but he would not budge an inch from the floor. The flight was delayed as it took a long time for his fellow passengers to lift him easily and fasten his seat belts for him.

When he arrived at Hotel Atlanta in Nicosia and was shown his room, he refused to occupy it and asked for accommodation in the outhouses. His fellow-passengers again persuaded him to enter the room but he did not occupy the bed and stretched himself on the carpet. In the morning, when the maid came into his room with a tray containing his breakfast, he started shouting 'Am I alive or am I dead?' The maid was flabbergasted, his fellow-passengers rushed to find out what the trouble was. It transpired that he was dreaming of paradise when the maid entered his room. He mistook the maid to be a 'Houri' and hence his bewildered cry 'Am I alive or dead?'. When he was reassured that he was very much alive, he said he did not want to have English breakfast. He wanted a glass of 'lassi'. But as he had told his master, he had the will to join him and ultimately found his way to the Hague via London.

I complimented the cook on his delicious dishes and his enterprise in winding his way upto the Hague.

ITALY

5TH AUGUST:

We boarded a KLM plane - Queen Juliana - for Rome and went to Washington Hotel from the airport. The weather was uncomfortably warm and the roads were dusty.

Rome is called the eternal city. There is a proverb 'All roads lead to Rome'. In the days of her greatest glory, Rome was the mistress of the known civilized world of the West. The finest artists were drawn to Rome, although Florence was the city of Dante, Giotto, Michael Angelo and Leonard da Vinci. Most of the Italian sculptors were Florentine by birth. Michael Angelo flung into stone the shapes of human body. When he was only 18, he hewed a marble Hercules seven and a half feet high.

About the great achievements of the Romans I had read in history, but what we saw in Rome, exceeded our expectations. We took an excursion bus of Carrani Travels to St. Peter's, the holiest church in Christendom. We saw the wall pictures drawn by Michael Angelo and the figure of Mary with the dead Christ which is above the altar of one of the chapels of St. Peter's. Michael Angelo was the last great sculptor of Italy. It took more than a hundred years to complete St. Peter's. It was completed in 1609. Rome has the largest dome in the world. The letters inscribed on the ceiling of the dome are 10 feet high. The dome has been erected on four pillars, 92 feet high. The height of the dome is 450 feet and the diametre 127 feet.

... *THE NAME WAS WRIT IN WATER*

— Great English Poets Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats both died very young and in tragic circumstances. They are buried in Rome.

WE VISIT THE ENGLISH cemetery on Aug 6, to pay tribute to the memory of two great English poets who are buried in Rome - Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats. Both died in tragic circumstances. Shelley was only 26 when he died of consumption in Rome. Keats too died when he was young. Yet before they died, both produced volumes of poetry of extraordinary power and appeal. I quote from M. Robertson's book on Keats:

> On February 23, 1821, came the end for which Keats had begun to long. He died peacefully in Severn's arms. On the 26th, he was buried in the beautiful little Protestant cemetery of which Shelley said that it made one in love with death to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.

Little did Shelley know that he too was to be buried in that very cemetery after a year.

I was moved by the words on the tombstone of Keats:

> This grave contains all that was Mortal of a Young English Poet, who on his Death Bed, in the Bitterness of his Heart at the Malicious Power of his Enemies, desired these Words to be engraven on his Tomb Stone 'Here lies one Whose Name was writ in Water' Feb 24th 1821.

As we sat by Keat's grave, the following lines of Keats came to my mind:

> When I have fears that I may cease to be,
> Before my pen has gleaned my teeming brain,
> Before high-piled books, in charact'ry
> Hold like rich garners the full ripened grains;
> When I behold, upon the night's startled face,
> Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance
> And think that I may never live to trace
> Their shadows, with the magic hand of chance;
> And when I feel, fair creatures of an hour!
> That I shall never look upon thee more.
> Never have relish in the faery power
> Of unreflecting love! then on the shore
> Of the wide world I stand alone and think
> Till love and fame to nothingness do sink.

When we walked towards Shelley's grave, I recalled his poem 'When the lamp is shattered', which I quote:

> When the lamp is shattered,
> The light in the dust lies dead.
> When the cloud is scattered,
> The rainbow's glory is shed.
> When the lute is broken,
> Sweet tones are remembered not;

When the lips have spoken,
Loved accents are soon forgot.
As music and splendour
Survive not the lamp and the lute.
The heart's echoes render,
No song when the spirit is mute;
No song but sad dirges,
Like the wind through a rained cell,
Or the mournful surges,
That ring the dead seaman's knell.

We visited the Church of St. Paul which, in the words of our guide, was the most beautiful church in Rome. It was built 300 years ago and contains the mighty figure of Moses. Michael Angelo had designed a magnificent tomb for one of the Popes but the plan fell through owing to the vaccination of the patron.

The only sculpture for the tomb which Michael Angelo finished was the figure of Mosses. When we visited that church, we saw 20 monks praying in a hall which resembled a Greek temple. Our guide told us that these monks used to live in a Monastery which was destroyed during the Second World War. Thereafter, they were shifted to that church. They would return to their monastery when it was reconstructed. Four of the guides told us that they made excellent wines but did not reveal the recipe to any one.

We visited the Statue of Victor Emmanuel. At the back of this Statue is a grand circular marble building; in front is the grave of the 'Unknown Soldier'. Armed guards are posted there. I contrasted the respect paid to the unknown soldier with the disrespect shown to the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, who led the Italians to the garden path in the Second World War and got a crushing defeat.

The mutilated bodies of Mussolini and his sweetheart had been hung upside down at Milan Patrol Station to be spat on by angry women. It was this miserable fate of one dictator which induced another dictator, Adolf Hitler, to commit suicide in his bunker along with his beloved, Eva Brown. His instructions that their dead bodies should be completely burnt so that the advancing Russian army might not desecrate them, were faithfully carried out by his bodyguards.

7TH AUGUST:

We visited the Roman Forum, where Julius Ceasar had built his Palace of

Justice in the Greek style. It is a dilapidated structure now, but in its heyday, it was used as a bazaar and a venue for ascertaining public opinion on the burning topics of the day. Our guide took us to the Colosseum where:

کھنڈر بتا رہے ہیں عمارت حسین تھی

'The ruins speak of the grandeur of the building.'

He told us that when the Colosseum was built, it could accommodate 60,000 spectators, who witnessed chariot races and other Roman sports. Before Rome became the citadel of Christianity, the Coloseum was used to punish those who accepted the new faith of Christianity.

The faithful had to face the lions in this arena who devoured them to the delight of the sadistic on-lookers. Our guide told us an apocryphal story. An emaciated old Christian entered the arena to face a ferocious lion. When the two met, the old man whispered into the ear of the lion 'You are welcome to eat me up, but you will have to deliver an after-dinner speech', upon which the lion turned away and left him alone, to the amazement of the onlookers.

In the afternoon, we saw the Church of the Monks of Capuchin. Our guide told us that the bones of five thousand monks had been used to decorate the walls of that Church! We thought that it was a very strange way to commemorate the services of the deceased monks.

We then visited the Borghses Picture Gallery and Museum and saw the splendid sculptures of Berini, Raphael and Michael Angelo.

In the evening, we visited Tivoli which was 22 miles away from Rome. In the Villa d'Este, we witnessed a remarkable sight - 4,000 fountains spraying water simultaneously! On our way to Tivoli we saw some streams and waterfalls. But the countryside looked bare with very few green patches.

There are two well-known sayings about Rome; 'Rome was not built in a day', and, 'When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do'. The first is a tribute to the grandeur of Rome as no city in the world has been built in a day. I asked my guide the meaning of the second saying. I told him that since I was in Rome what did the Romans expect me to do? He laughed and remarked "The Romans do in Rome what Parisians do in Paris, what Londoners do in London and what you do in your country", and added philosophically that there were good men and bad men in all parts of the world!

When an English judge used the saying 'Do in Rome as the Romans do'

in a case where a Nigerian Muslim was prosecuted for bigamy, explain his obiter dicta. The Nigerian Muslim had left his wife in Lagos and had married an English girl in London. When he was prosecuted for bigamy, his defence was that being a Muslim he was allowed to marry four wives. Why should anyone object to his marrying only two wives? "My Lord," he submitted to the Judge, "we practise polygamy in my country". The Judge, in all solemnity, told the offender, "In my country, we practise monotony."

When I took leave of my talkative guide, I asked him whether he liked his profession. He replied "Not at all." I asked him what would he like to be. He replied, "A tourist."

8TH AUGUST:

I went to the Iraqi Legation in order to obtain visas for myself and my wife to visit Karbala-e-Moalla and Najaf-e-Ashraf. I greeted the gatekeeper, but I got no reply for my Salamun-Alaikum. He was not an Iraqi, but an illiterate Italian. The Visa Officer was an English lady, who gave me the visa forms. In the waiting room of the Legation, all the framed photos hung on the wall were of Italian scenes. There was one photograph of the Speaker of the House of Commons!

I was surprised that there was not a single photograph of the holy places of Iraq nor of the young King Faisal of Iraq. The unfortunate King was to meet a tragic end later on. However, the English lady gave us the necessary visas without making us wait unnecessarily.

8

VISIT TO KARBALA AND NAJAF

— "The Tyrant dies and his rule ends,
the martyr dies and his rule begins."

THE LAST LEG OF our journey on 8th August, 1951, turned out to be the most satisfying experience of our holiday - a visit to the holy shrines of Karbala and Najaf.

We arrived at the Rome Airport at midnight. Rome looked much more impressive at night than during the day. The streets were well-lit and some of the ancient buildings were illuminated. Fountains played at regular distances. We passed through the 'Fountain of Three Coins', where young men and women had thronged to add wings to their wishes by throwing, as high as possible, three coins into the fountain and hoping that the coins would bring them good luck.

We left the airport at 2:00 a.m. and reached Cairo at 8:15 a.m. The Cairo airport was a disappointment - the building looked dilapidated and the arrangements for the incoming and outgoing passengers left much to be desired. We boarded our plane after 2 hours, flying over the Nile and the pyramids, the ground below studded with palm trees, and arrived at Baghdad airport at 3:00 p.m.

We took a taxi to our Legation where we called on Pakistan's Charge de A'ffairs, Akhtar Imam. He took us to his residence.which is close by and gave us an excellent time and tea. His wife was a very cultured Ceylonese lady. Akhtar Imam spent 10 years in Ceylon as a professor. He had collected many prizes during his school and college days but the prize which he valued most awaited him in Ceylon during his professorship - his life partner. Matches, they say, are made in heaven.

9TH AUGUST, 1951:

After staying at the night with Akhtar Imams, the next morning we left for Karbala in a taxi. The taxi driver turned out to be a worldly wiseman. He talked to us in Urdu and charged us 9 Dinars equivalent to Rs.90.

We passed through Mahmudia, Iskandaria and Musayyab and covered 60 miles in two hours. As we approached Karbala, the scene altogether changed from the arid desert to green pastures. There were tall and shady trees. We went straight to our destination, the Roza of Imam Husain. As we entered the precincts of the last resting place of greatest martyr of the world, I recalled to my mind the lines of the Mir Anees:

تسبیح تھی کہیں، کہیں تحلیلِ کردگار

Sanctified was the atmosphere all around.

Old and young men and women were offering tearful prayers on the ground which has become 'Khak-e-Shifa'. As we joined them, I recollected the stanzas which my brother Syed Aley Raza, composed when his eyes feasted upon these hallowed precincts. The opening stanza was:

خدا کا شکر دیارِ حسینؑ دیکھ لیا
زہے نصیب مزارِ حسینؑ دیکھ لیا
مقامِ سجدہ و قارِ حسینؑ دیکھ لیا
جو سُن رہے تھے نثارِ حسینؑ دیکھ لیا
شعاعِ ابنِ شہ بُوتُراب کیا کہنا
زمیں پہ سر بفلک آفتاب کیا کہنا

Thanks Heaven, the Abode of Husain, I visited,
To my good fortune, the mausoleum of Husain, I visited,
The place of bowing, the grand bowing of Husain, I visited,
All that I had heard about the world of Husain, I visited,
O son of Buturab! You're but a radiant light,
Betwixt this earth and sky, you're a sun all bright.

In these premises, I became oblivious of time and space as I visualised the events of Moharram of 61 Hijri. I recalled the lines of one of India's greatest freedom fighters, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar:

قتلِ حسینؑ اصل میں مرگِ یزید ہے
اسلام زندہ ہوتا ہے ہر کربلا کے بعد

In Husain's assassination, Yazid's death lies,
After each battle of Karbala, Islam revives.

and my own lines:

اسلام سُرخرو تو ہوا ہر بلا کے بعد
لیکن وہ بات پھر نہ ہوئی کربلا کے بعد

Islam thrived, after each battle,
But unique is Karbala's battle.

Soren Kierkegaard was on the same wave length as Jauhar when he stated:

> The tyrant dies and his rule ends, the martyr dies and his rule begins.

I recalled the tributes paid by non-Muslims to the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his near and dear ones.

A well known historian, G.H. Thomas, wrote:

> The events that followed the Tragedy of Karbala proved beyond doubt that Husain succeeded in upholding the principles of equality, brotherhood and freedom. It was a lesson for all castes and creeds. Imam Husain, therefore, is the hero of the entire humanity.

Sirojni Naidu, the nightingale of India, composed these moving lines:

> Black-robed, barefooted, with dim eyes that rain
> Wild tears in the memory of thy woeful plight
> And hands that in blind, rhythmic anguish smite
> Their bloodstained bosoms to a sad refrain,

From the old haunting legend of thy pain,
Thy votaries mourn thee through the tragic night,
With mystic dirge and melancholy rite
Crying to thee, Husain, Ya Husain
Why do thy myriad lovers so lament Sweet Saint?
Is not thy matchless martyrhood
The Living Banner and brave Covenant
Of the high creed, thy Prophet did proclaim
Bequeathing for the world's beatitude,
The enduring loveliness of Allah's name.

Professor J.A. Chapman wrote an elegy on the martyrdom of the youngest martyr of Karbala - the six month old Ali Asghar. I quote his opening stanza:

It Was Because The Child,
His Ali Asghar, little babe, had fainted
From thirst and heat, and 't was the mother's cry,
Her cry had summoned the father from the fight,
Did she not always cry for him, if child
Oft heirs ailed anything?
And now the littlest
Lay in a faint because of bitter thirst
So she had cried. He took the child, and rode
Straight to that lynx-eyed, stony pitiless ring
Of enemies, and in a voice whose tones

Of passionate pity for the baby touched
Even those hearts, asked for some water for it.

A Western philosopher has observed the memory of the dead is the only memory from which we should refuse to be divorced. Every other wound we should seek to heal, every other affliction to forget, but this wound we consider it a duty to keep open; this affliction we should cherish and brood in solitude. The memory of the martyrs of Karbala is solemnly observed in the Muslim world, year after year, decade after decade and century after century. John Donne's poem, 'Death be not proud' expresses vividly the attitude of Imam Husain and his fellow martyrs. It reads as follows:

Death, be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so;
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
Die not, poor death, nor yet canst thou kill me.
From rest and sleep, which yet thy pictures be,
Much pleasure then from thee much more, must flow
And soonest our best men with thee do go,
Rest of their bones and soul's delivery.
Thou art slave to fate, chance, kings and desperate men
And dost with poison, war and sickness dwell,
And poppy or charms can make us sleep as well
And better than thy stroke; why swell'st thou then?
One short sleep past, we make eternally,

And death shall be no more; death,
thou shalt die.

Imam Husain has written his name in the everlasting characters on the sands of time. He was the one hero who walked his way into eternal fame. He was firm in his faith, resolute of mind, great in soul and worthy to be borne in increasing remembrance. The deeds of the martyrs of Karbala gave birth to the imperishable literature - Marsia.

In the realm of Urdu Marsia, Josh Malihabadi stands as one of the distinguished poets. I was reminded of some of his sixtains:

تاریخ دے رہی ہے یہ آوازِ دم بدم
دشتِ ثبات و عزم ہے دشتِ بلا و غم
صبرِ مسیح و جرأتِ سقراط کی قسم
اس راہ میں ہے صرف اک انسان کا قدم
جس کی رگوں میں آتشِ بدر و حنین ہے
اس سورما کا اسم گرامی حسینؑ ہے

History is making a repeated clarion call,
It's the height of resoluteness, of woe and gall,
By the fortitude of Christ, by Socrates' valour,
This path is trodden alone, by a man of honour,
Tempered he who was, by the fire of Badr and Hunain,
He is the valiant being, this great man is Husain.

جو صاحبِ مزاجِ نبوت تھا وہ حسینؑ
جو وارثِ ضمیرِ رسالت تھا وہ حسینؑ
جو خلوتیٔ شاہدِ قدرت تھا وہ حسینؑ
جس کا وجود فخرِ مشیت تھا وہ حسینؑ
سانچے میں ڈھالنے کے لیے کائنات کو
جو تولتا تھا نوکِ مژہ پر حیات کو

Of the attributes of the Prophet, the perceiver was Husain,
Of the holiness of the Prophet, the inheritor was Husain,

Of the secrets of Nature, an evidence was Husain,
Of Providence, the best being in existence, was Husain,
For shaping out the universe, in the best of mould,
With the point of his eye-lash, he measured life's gold.

جو اِک نشانِ تشنہ دہانی تھا وہ حسینؑ
گیتی پہ عرش کی جو نشانی تھا وہ حسینؑ
جو خلد کا امیرِ جوانی تھا وہ حسینؑ
جو اِک سنِ جدید کا بانی تھا وہ حسینؑ
جس کا لہو تلاطم پنہاں لیے ہوئے
ہر بوند میں تھا نوحؑ کا طوفاں لیے ہوئے

Husain was a lone symbol, of utter thirst,
Husain was a Heavenly sign, on this very dust,
Husain was the lord, of the youths of Paradise,
Husain was an epoch, glorious and nice,
Into his blood, the commotion lay but calm,
And into each drop, there was Noah's storm.

جو کاروانِ عزم کا رہبر تھا وہ حسینؑ
خود اپنے خون کا جو شناور تھا وہ حسینؑ
اک دینِ تازہ کا جو پیمبر تھا وہ حسینؑ
جو کربلا کا داورِ محشر تھا وہ حسینؑ
واحد جو اک نمونہ ہے ذبحِ عظیم کا
اللہ رے انتخاب خدائے عظیم کا

Of the men of resolution, Husain was the leader,
Into his own blood, Husain was the swimmer,
Of the revived faith, the messenger was Husain,
Of Karbala's resurrecting day, the creator was Husain,
In his approbation, lay the will of Providence,
Of the spirit of revolution, he was the main essence.

طاقت سی شے کو خاک میں جس نے ملا دیا
تختہ اُلٹ کے قصرِ حکومت کو ڈھا دیا
جس نے ہَوا میں رُعب امارت اُڑا دیا
ٹھوکر سے جس نے افسرِ شاہی کو ڈھا دیا
اس طرح جس سے ظلم سیہ فام ہو گیا
لفظِ یزید داخلِ دُشنام ہو گیا

He smashed the pride of power, reducing it to dust,
He tumbled the throne, crushing the ruler and his lust,
He shook the empire, undoing its pomp and pageantry,
He dealt a blow to the kingship and bureaucracy,
Thus, the rule of tyranny, was abased for ever,
And the word 'Yazid' was debased for ever.

پانی سے تین روز ہوئے جس کے لب نہ تر
تیغ و تبر کو سونپ دیا جس نے گھر کا گھر
جو مر گیا ضمیر کی عزّت کے نام پر
ذلّت کے آستاں پہ جُھکایا مگر نہ سَر
لی جس نے سانس رشتۂ شاہی کو توڑ کر
جس نے کلائی موت کی رکھدی مروڑ کر

For three days, he remained without water,
He had put his whole house, on spear and lancer,
He laid down his life, in conscience's fair name,
But had never yielded to the demand, full of shame,
Easy he was, when kingship he had quashed,
And the icy hands of death, he had smashed.

ہر چند اہلِ جور نے چاہا یہ بارہا
ہو جائے محو یادِ شہیدانِ کربلا
باقی رہے نہ نام زمیں پر حسینؑ کا
لیکن کسی کا زور عزیزو نہ چل سکا
عباسؑ نامور کے لہو سے دُھلا ہوا
اب بھی حسینیت کا علم ہے کھُلا ہوا

Despite that many a tyrant, has attempted about,
That memory of Karbala's martyrs, be washed out,
And from the face of world, Husain's name be effaced,
But to the grounds, each such conspiracy is razed,
Dyed with the blood of Abbas is set,
Husainism's banner, is unfurled as yet.

After offering prayers at the place, where the Imam offered his last 'Sajda', and at the mazars of Hazrat Ali Akbar and Hazrat Ali Asghar, we proceeded to the mausoleum of Hazrat Abbas which is situated in a different building at a distance of a hundred yards. The name of Abbas has become synonymous with bravery and courage, fidelity and loyalty. He was selected by the Imam to be the Commander-in-Chief of his tiny army of 72. Husain's armymen were indeed the soldiers of God who faced the mercenary soldiers of Yazid and Ibne Ziad, numbering more than 22,000.

As we passed through a corridor, we saw two large portraits hanging on a wall, one of Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur and the other of his son, Raja Muhammad Mehdi. The latter attained an All-India fame on account of his report, popularly known as Pirpur Report, which recounted the anti-Muslim policies and misdeeds of the Congress Ministries during 1937-39 in 6 out of 11 provinces of India.

A TALUQDAR TURNED INTO DARWAISH

THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE mausoleum of Imam Husain was one of comeliness 'Jamal', while the atmosphere at the mausoleum of Hazrat Abbas was one of awe 'Jalal'. I saw some people trembling while kissing the 'jali' of his mausoleum.

After experiencing much spiritual satisfaction at these two mausoleums, which it is very difficult to describe in words, we called on my good friend, Raja Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmudabad. He had bought a house in Karbala and had been staying there for a year. As Treasurer of the All-India Muslim League, as President of the Muslim Students Federation, as a lieutenant and confidante of the Quaid-e-Azam, his contribution to the Pakistan Movement was, perhaps, next to the Quaid himself. His was a labour of love as he never asked for nor accepted any office in return.

It was such a joy to spend the night at his house and revive the memories of our student days in Lucknow (1928-32). His residence 'Butler Palace' was only a furlong away from our house at Radice Road. My brother, Masud, and I used to play tennis with him and his brother, Nabbu Mian.

A small club sprang up in the Butler Palace called 'The Dragon'. It had a membership of 12, which included Baqar Zaheer, son of Sir Wazir Hasan, Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court. Raja Amir Ahmed Khan was one of the finest persons I had the good fortune to meet. He dressed and lived very simply, ate vegetables and barley bread and was the best example of simple living and high thinking. His transformation from a premier Taluqdar of Oudh to a 'darwaish', reminded me of a prince who renounced his throne and became Mahatma Gautam Buddha. The Raja wrote 'marsias' and recited them in his sonorous voice.

It always gave me immense pleasure to meet Pakistanis outside Pakistan. To meet an old friend like Amir Ahmed Khan was like meeting a 'lost Joseph' -"Yusuf-e-gum-gashta'. Sometimes earlier, we had enjoyed meeting my friend Muhammad Ahmed Zuberi of "Dawn" and "Evening Star" and Mrs. Zuberi in a cafe in Paris. Zuberi's nikah became famous when the witty Syed Muhammad Jafari composed a poem for the occasion which contained the line:

'نگاہِ مردِ مومن سے بدل جاتی ہیں تقدیریں'

Much happier become the lots with a look of a 'true Muslim'.

Jafari's 'tasarruf' of the lines of Ghalib and Iqbal was unique.

I learnt later on that before Raja Sahib had left Karbala, he donated his house for a dispensary. His generosity knew no bounds.

We wanted to leave for Najaf in the morning, but Raja Sahib advised us to travel in the evening as the days were very hot. We spent the day revisiting the Rozas of Imam Husain and Hazrat Abbas.

We took a taxi and left for Najaf at 5:00 p.m. Although we covered a

distance of 40 miles, it took us 2.5 hours to arrive at our destination. There was no regular road. We drove in the desert without milestones. We got stuck in sand dunes at several places and at one place a tyre burst, producing the noise of a bullet. After the nightfall, the scene changed altogether. The hot wind gave place to cool breeze. The stars shone gracefully in the sky. The quarter moon bore a reddish colour. Suddenly, we spotted out three brilliant lights and the taxi driver told us that they were the lights of the Mausoleum of Hazrat Ali.

We thought that the Mausoleum was round the corner but our driver kept on driving at high speed for fifteen minutes more. As we approached Najaf, we passed by a mile-long graveyard where many devotees aspire to be buried. We had to cover 25 miles before reaching the grand gate of the great Mausoleum. At the gate of glittering gold erected by Nadir Shah we were received, to our great surprise, by a representative of the Governor of Najaf and Haji Syed Jaafar Kamoona. My considerate friend, Raja Sahib, had rung up the Governor of Najaf, who was his personal friend and Haji Syed Jaafar Kamoona, a Khuddam of the Mausoleum and told them that we were on our way to Najaf.

Haji Kamoona spoke Urdu fluently as he had lived in Lucknow and was a great admirer of Raja Sahib. As we entered the courtyard, we found it flooded with light. In every corner, groups of people were reciting 'Ziarat'.

Inside the Mausoleum, we saw crystal chandeliers of exquisite beauty presented by Kings, Rajas and Nawabs from time to time. The most prominent chandelier was presented by Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad State.

Haji Kamoona pointed out to a gold nosegay with six powerful bulbs which had recently been presented by Raja Amir Ahmed Khan. There are a number of rooms in the compound which are occupied by young students and old Mujtahids. Those who aspire to be 'Mujtahids', have to study under the guidance of some Ayatullah in Najaf.

At 10:00 p.m. we found that each room was lit with light. In each room, animated discussions were going on. The whole atmosphere exuded scholarship. Our Holy Prophet had said, "I am the city of knowledge and Ali is its gate." It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that, for centuries, people have been drinking deep at this gate of knowledge.

While Masud, my brother, passed through the same route to Najaf, he composed this verse:

مقامِ صبر پہ پہنچے رہِ رضا ہو کر
علیؑ کے در پہ گئے آج کربلا ہو کر

First I visited the mausoleum of Imam Raza,
Homage to Ali I paid, after visiting Karbala.

When I had the good fortune of paying my homage to one who was the greatest supporter of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) in his mission, whom the Holy Prophet selected amongst numerous candidates, for the hand of his beloved daughter, Hazrat Fatimah, who was the bravest of the brave in battlefield, who was the father of Hasan and Husain whom the Holy Prophet (S) called his own sons, who was asked by the Prophet to sleep in his bed on the night of his 'Migration' to Madina, when 40 swordsmen waited to murder the Holy Prophet, who was the first Imam and the fourth Caliph of Islam, I felt so elevated and uplifted that I composed this verse impromptu:

اُن کی معراج کہ وہ دوش نبیؐ تک پہنچے
میری معراج کہ میں بابِ علیؑ تک پہنچا

His ascension was when the Prophet raised him with exultation,
I reached the gates of Ali, it was my exaltation.

I recalled the verse of Nuruddin Abdul Rehman Jami, whose 'naats' in praise of the Holy Prophet (S) are well known:

Jami, if they ask you who was the leader of the Caravan of love,
Say 'Ali, Ali, Ali'.

I,recalled the tribute paid to Hazrat Ali by Muhammad Kamil Hatha, a well-known historian of Egypt who wrote:

> Each aspect of his life is so lofty and glorious that a study of one phase would make you feel that it was the best phase of his character and the most beautiful picture of his personality, while contemplation of another phase will enchant you more and you will come to the conclusion that no human being can attain that height, a third aspect will fascinate you equally and you will realise that before you is a personality of such great eminence that you cannot fully appreciate its greatness and you will feel that Ali was an Imam in battlefield, was an Imam in politics, was an Imam in ethics, in philosophy, in literature, in learning and in wisdom. It is not difficult for God to create such a person.

KARAKA'S TRIBUTES TO HAZRAT ALI

— D.F. Karaka a well known Indian journalist was my contemporary in Oxford. Karaka writes! I am the man to whom Hazrat Ali came in a dream. I must have uttered the word "YA ALI" over half a million times.

HOW A NON-MUSLIM was inspired by Hazrat Ali, is succinctly brought out by the well-known Indian journalist, D.F. Karaka. He was my contemporary in Oxford and had the distinction of being the first Indian to be elected as the President of the Oxford Union. How he came under the spell of Hazrat Ali, he has described it in his famous book entitled "Then Came Hazrat Ali". He wrote this book after his visits to the Imam's Mausoleum:

> My first visit to his tomb was after my recovery from a serious illness. It was to bow my head to him who had appeared in a dream to me many years earlier. In my dream, Hazrat Ali had revealed his face. He had put out his hand, taken mine into his and had drawn me unto him. It was a great dream. I remember it vividly as if it happened last night. I have never been a religious person: I do not conform to any laid down pattern of religion even now. I do believe in my God but I have all the flaws of a human being. I am at no perfection other than that which comes naturally to me. I believe that religion is not just a ceremony: it is essentially a state of mind. I believe prayer needs concentration, that it is the evidence of humility in man, it is a formula by which he tries to gather his soul. I am not a Muslim. I do not have to be anything other than I was born as. Ironically, my ancestors were refugees fleeing from the Arab invasion of old Persia, resisting conversion to Islam! Yet I am the man to whom Hazrat Ali came in a dream. I am able to say this with a lot of pride, even if it implies some arrogance now. This 'arrogance' is newly acquired. It does not mean that I lack humility, but after my recent visit to Najaf I have a clear idea of when and how I should be humble. In 1949, when I started my weekly, Current, I was very confused, unsure of what the future would hold for me. Through a religious Parsee lady, a friend of my mother - both of them are long since dead - there was a message for me. Relayed in Gujrati, it ended with the words, 'I am always there to help you. Gather courage'. 'Himmat

Pakar' were the words used. Who sent this message? The Parsee lady said it was a message from 'Bawa'. Who was Bawa? All knew then was that he was a very great spirit. It was only after a dream which I had five years later, did I realise that the person who had said he would always be my side was Hazrat Ali.

For many years Hazrat Ali remained somewhat of a fascinating stranger to me. I felt hesitant to approach him too often and was inclined to have him as a standby for emergencies and crisis. I was not aware then of what I could ask of him and what exactly was the meaning of his appearance in a dream. Now after eighteen years of a deep association with him and daily prayer, I feel an inexplicable closeness to him. On my earlier visit to Najaf I was conscious I was on a pilgrimage to the tomb of a great saint; this time as I stepped into the great mausoleum, I felt as if I was on a visit to my father. Without being presumptuous, that is how I now feel. It gives me a tremendous feeling of richness but it is a feeling which has not come to me on a silver platter. Since February this year, I must have uttered the words 'Ya Ali' over half a million times. This wazifa or invocation has become almost part of me. I utter it at every conscious step I take. Yet if I speak these words too loudly, he seems to chide me 'Why are you calling for me so loudly? I am always close at hand.'

That is Ali, my Ali. He is therefore all, but it needs a faith as blind and absolute as mine to keep close to him all the time. Logic and reason do not work in this relationship. I am fortunate in that I have a mental image carved out of a dream, to cling to, through the years.

When we came out of the mausoleum by midnight, both Syed Kamoona and the Governor's representative invited us to spend the night at their places. I thanked them for their kind offer and told them that we had decided to dedicate the remaining part of the night to the memory of the great Imam. Our taxi driver obliged us by keeping our company throughout the night.

Najaf is a big city and the shops were open even at that late hour. Syed Kamoona suggested that we should buy Aqeeq-e-Yamani, (a kind of precious stone) but our pockets were empty. It took us only fifteen minutes to reach Koofa. The courtyard of this mosque is very spacious; in one corner, a number of people were taking a very late dinner; in another corner some men, women and children were sleeping on mattresses.

As we entered the 'mehrab' (Arch) of the mosque, I went into the time tunnel, and visualised the scene on the 19th of Ramazan, 40 Hijri. The Imam was leading the morning prayers when the callous Ibne Muljim struck a blow

with a poisoned sword. The people offering prayer witnessed that ghastly sight when they raised their heads from the 'bow' and heard the Imam saying 'By God I have succeeded'. He died two days later.

As we stood in contemplation, I recalled two verses:

کسے را میسّر نہ شد ایں سعادت

بہ کعبہ ولادت، بہ مسجد شہادت

Who else has been so blessed?
To be born in Kaaba, in a mosque assassinated.

کعبے میں حیات اور مسجد میں ولادت

جو کچھ پایا خدا کے گھر سے پایا

Martyrdom in a mosque; Kaaba, his birth-place,
In each distinction, it was God's grace.

We offered prayers at Musalla-e-Muhammad (S), (place of prayer) Musalla-e-Adam, Musalla-e-Sajjad and Musalla-e-Adl. When I asked our guide the significance of the last Musalla, he said that it was from this spot that Hazrat Ali used to administer justice. We offered 'fateha' (prayer offered for the deliverence of the soul of the deceased) at the mazar of Hazrat Muslim which is nearby. We left Koofa at 2:00 a.m. and arrived at Kazmain at 5 :00 a.m. The road between Koofa and Hillay, a distance of about 70 miles, was terrible; our taxi rolled into ditches several times but the road between Hillay and Kazmain about 60 miles, was very good.

We offered our morning prayers at the Mausoleum of two Imams, Imam Musa Kazim, the sixth Imam and Imam Muhammad Taqi, the ninth Imam. This beautiful structure is situated in suburbs of Baghdad. It is decorated with ceramic tiles depicting plant-life, geometric shapes and verses from the Holy Quran in addition to ornamental mirrors and gold and silver plates. Two golden domes cover the tombs and are surrounded by four large and four small minarets. There are a number of silver and gold lamps and silk curtains hanging from the walls.

The arches and mouldings of the mausoleum are decorated with crystal and are covered with embellished silver. This mosque is a marvel of architecture and one of the largest Islamic edifices in engineering, spaciousness and beauty.

Imam Musa Kazim was leading a quiet life at Madina, imparting knowl-

edge to those who sought it, but the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad repeatedly called him for interrogation. When the Imam's replies were not in accordance with the wishes of the Caliph, he was imprisoned. It happened several times. He underwent the longest term of imprisonment among all our Imams. The Imam showed extraordinary patience and perseverance during his terms of imprisonment and earned the title of 'Al-Kazimiah', the one who subdues his anger.

Imam Musa Kazim died in prison and was buried in a cemetery outside Baghdad. The reigning Caliph thought that if he was buried outside Baghdad, people would forget him. Little did he know that a large and flourishing town would spring up around the Imam's grave by the name of Al-Kazimiah and that the succeeding generations would pay homage to his memory.

Caliph Mamoun-ul-Rashed was so much impressed by the knowledge and personality of Imam Muhammad Taqi that he gave his daughter's hand in marriage to the Imam, but Mutasim, the younger brother and successor of Mamoon, was a totally different man. He disliked Imam's influence over the learned men of his realm. He, therefore, invited Imam Muhammad Taqi to his house and mixed poison in his food. The Imam was dead in three days time and was buried by the side of his grandfather, Imam Musa Kazim.

HOME, SWEET HOME

ON 10TH AUGUST WE snatched a couple of hours sleep in the courtyard of Al-Kazimiah Mosque after which we took our breakfast in the company of our taxi driver in a local cafe. We then proceeded towards Baghdad.

The city of Baghdad gained great renown in the far distant past. It was located in the land of Nineveh and of Babylon. It became the land of 'Arabian Nights' and of 'Alf Laila', the tales surreptitiously related with the debauched life of most of the Omayyad and Abbaside rulers. After the advent of Islam, it became a seat of learning. Baghdad also became famous for its mosques and shrines.

We passed through the busy and bustling bazaars of Baghdad and admired the domes and minarets all the way. We visited the Al-Quadria Mosque and the Abu Hanifa Mosque. The former contains the tomb of Sheikh Mohiuddin Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, popularly known as Ghousul Azam. I had read a poem in my school days, which started with the verse:

غوثِ اعظم رضؓ، رہبرِ راہِ علو
قدس اللہ تعالیٰ سرّہٗ

Of the right path, Ghous-e-Azam is the treader,
May Allah's blessing be upon this leader.

and went to describe how as a young lad when he was going to Baghdad to acquire knowledge, a band of robbers looted the wealthy travellers of the caravan. One of the robbers asked him, more in joke than in seriousness, if he had any money. To his surprise, he replied in the affirmative. The robber thought that the boy was pulling his leg. He said, "You have nothing in your hand. How could you be carrying coins." The boy pointed out to his waist-coat, which had no pocket. The robber told the boy "Where is the money?" The boy replied that his mother had put the money inside the lining of the waist-coat. When the robber opened up the lining, the coins fell down. All the robbers were deeply impressed and moved by the truthfulness of the boy. They offered 'penitence', returned the money to those whom they had robbed and turned over a new leaf.

One of the distinguished descendants of Ghousul Azam was Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, who was Iraq's Ambassador to Pakistan. He was a good friend of mine and impressed all those who came across him by his piety and friendliness. He died in Karachi and was buried under a stately dome in Gulshan-e-Iqbal. His devotees have built a mosque and a school. Stanley Evans had said "Home is not where you want to live, but where you wish to die". on this criterion Pakistan became the home of the late Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani.

When we went to bid farewell to Mr. Akhtar Imam at the Pakistan Embassy, he was good enough to give us a delicious meal. Later, he dropped us at the airport.

At the airport, we met Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, then Member, Public Service Commission, who had gone to London to interview candidates for Pakistan's Superior Services. He was a very learned and cultured man.

Like us, he too had dropped down at Baghdad to perform "Ziarat" at Karbala and Najaf. When we exchanged notes, he remarked that the people of Koofa had not changed a bit since 61 Hijri.

I asked him how, He said that he had bought a pair of new shoes during his stay in London. As he entered the mosque of Koofa, he wanted to take his shoes in his arms when his guide told him that he should leave the shoe behind and called a boy and spoke to him in Arabic. Mr. Suhrawardy thought that he had

asked the boy to take good care of the shoes and felt relieved that he would not have to carry his shoes at the various "Musallas" where he had to offer prayers.

After he came back to the gate, the boy was gone and when he remonstrated the guide, he too slipped away, leaving him to cover the distance to the bazaar bare-footed. He pointed out the shabby shoe which he was wearing. He said he had to buy the shoe in the Koofa Market which he would discard as soon as he reached Karachi. Mr. Suhrawardy was a man of good taste. He was a poet too. He recited in the airport lounge, a poem of his entitled 'Foam of the Sea':

> Foam of the sea dissolving, remaking!
> Youth! Oh my youth! whither are thou flown?
> Far have they winged, the white birds of my dreaming
> And left me forlorn and alone,
> Ceaselessly aging and endlessly new
> Tenderness and warmth of the sea to the shore!
> The white birds have perished and are dead in their singing;
> To me they will come back no more.

We left Baghdad at 4:30 p.m. and touched Karachi Airport at 8:30 p.m. As we flew over Karachi, the city looked grand, the lights shone like stars and we were delighted to get back home and meet our near and dear ones at the Airport.

9

NAILS IN THE COFFIN OF DEMOCRACY

— Pakistan would prove an impregnable fort . Liaquat then raised his hand and showed his famous "Mukka" (Fist).

— "My fellow contrymen, I have neither wealth nor property, and I am glad that I do not possess these things which weaken one's faith. I have only my life which I had dedicated long ago to my people and country and when need arises, I assure you, that I will not lag behind anyone in shedding my blood for Pakistan." Liaquat Ali Khan.

— Z.A. Bhutto's letter from his death cell to Syed Hashim Raza dated March 20th, 1979.

SINCE MY LEAVE WAS to expire on 15th August, I called on the Establishment Secretary, Mr. Creagh Coen, to enquire about my next posting. He told me that the Nawab of Bahawalpur had asked for my services in place of Col. Dring, Chief Minister of Bahawalpur State, whose term had expired.

At the same time, the Government of Sind wanted me back as I belonged to the Sind Cadre. On the request of the Chief Minister of Sind, the Prime Minister had decided to revert me to the Sind Cadre. In the course of two years 1951-53, I held four assignments, Secretary Education, Health and Local-Self Government, Election Commissioner, Development Commissioner and Chief Secretary of Sind.

On 14th August, 1951, I attended a mammoth public meeting at Jehangir Park which was addressed by the Prime Minister, Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan. On that auspicious day of our Independence, he rendered an annual account of his administration and explained his foreign and domestic policies. The people and the press looked forward to this annual function with much interest and eagerness.

Liaquat was a seasoned speaker who spoke with sobriety, wit and humour. Unlike the general run of politicians, he never played on the sentiments of the people, he never indulged in rhetorics, nor did he make extravagant promises. He gave convincing reasons for his policies. He spoke in a language which was

understood and appreciated by the common man.

Liaquat's stature had grown considerably since the sudden death of the Quaid-e-Azam in September, 1948. The prestige which he enjoyed during the life-time of the Quaid as his right-hand man, increased progressively as he filled the void that had been created by the passing away of the Father of the Nation.

In the summer of 1951, when Indian troops had been despatched to the frontiers of the Punjab and Sind, as Defence Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan had posted our troops at all vantage points. It resulted in an eyeball confrontation of the two armies.

As war was apprehended any moment, people turned to Liaquat for solace and guidance. A very large crowd gathered at his residence - 10, Victoria Road, Karachi. He addressed them from his balcony. He reassured the people that Pakistan was ready to meet any challenge. Far from being 'an easy target' for any adversary, Pakistan would prove an impregnable fort. He then raised his hand and showed his famous 'Mukka' (fist) which thrilled the onlookers and became a symbol of determination and resistance. Liaquat's 'fist' became as famous as Churchill's 'V' sign.

To revert to the meeting at Jehangir Park, he spoke with confidence and candour, drawing repeated applause from his audience. When he raised his voice and said:

> My fellow countrymen, I have neither wealth nor property, and I am glad that I do not possess them for these things weaken one's faith. I have only my life which I had dedicated long ago to my people and country and when need arises, I assure you that I will not lag behind anyone in shedding my blood for Pakistan.

People went into a trance. They clapped vociferously, they danced and shouted 'Pakistan Zindabad', 'Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad' and 'Quaid-e-Millat Zindabad.' I have seldom seen a crowd so enthusiastic and hypnotized as on that occasion.

None realised at that time that Liaquat's words were prophetic and that a callous assassin would cut short his dedicated life in two months time, on October 16, at the Company Bagh, Rawalpindi.

The bullets that pierced Liaquat's heart, turned out to be nails in the coffin of democracy in the God-gifted State of Pakistan. Liaquat's last words found an echo in every patriotic Pakistani's ear "May God take care of Pakistan". Hafiz Jullundhari commented in the following verse on the ingratitude of those who conspired to kill him:

مُسلمانوں کا محسن تھا لیاقت
مُسلمانوں نے اُس کو مار ڈالا

A benefactor of Muslims, Liaquat was,
The Muslims killed him, a pity it was.

Had Liaquat's life not been cut short at the age of 56 and had he remained Prime Minister for 17 years like Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who died at the age of 75, the history of Pakistan would have taken an altogether different turn.

The conspiracy that led to the callous assassination of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was never unearthed. The democratic traditions which the Quaid-e-Azam and the Quaid-e-Millat had endeared, were thrown to the wind and our country became an arena of power politics. Thrice was Martial Law enforced too. Even today, sword of Martial Law is hanging over the heads of our politicians and people.

The undermentioned statement which shows the fate of Quaid-e-Millat's successors is nothing but a blot on our constitutional history:

Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan (14-8-1947 to 16-10-1951)	Assassinated.
Khawaja Nazimuddin (19-10-1951 to 17-4-1953)	Dismissed.
Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra (17-4-1953 to 11-8-1955)	Reverted to the post of Ambassador.
Chowdhary Muhammad Ali (11-8-1955 to 12-9-1956)	P.M. for 13 months. Renounced politics afterwards.
Mr. Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy (12-9-1956 to 11-10-1957)	P.M. for 13 months. Convicted under EBDO.
Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar (18-10-1957 to 11-12-1957)	P.M. for only 7 weeks.
Mr. Feroz Khan Noon (16-12-1957 to 7-10-1958)	Dismissed.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (14-8-1973 to 5-7-1977)	Executed.
Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo (23-3-1985 to 29-5-1988)	Dismissed.
Ms. Benazir Bhutto (2-12-1988 to 6-8-1990)	Prime Minister for 20 months. Dismissed.
Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi	Caretaker Prime Minister.

The above list will indicate that from the early years of the existence of Pakistan till very recently, how nails were put, one after the other, in the coffin of democracy.

CRISES AFTER CRISES:

After the general elections of 16th and 19th November, 1988, there has been a wind of change and a breath of fresh air in our country but the stifled atmosphere of dictatorship remained for 11 years. These elections were held in a manner which was as complimentary to the Chief Election Commissioner and his team as to the sagacity of the voters. As a result of the clear verdict of the people, a 35 year old lady - Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto - emerged as Prime Minister of Pakistan. This was a historic and breath-taking event as no lady had ever been elevated to Prime Ministership in any Muslim country. Her dynamic and charismatic father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was thrown in the middle of the night by his Chief of the Army Staff - General Ziaul Haq - who over-turned a democratic regime and declared Martial Law.

All those Generals who promulgated Martial Law in our country from time to time - Iskander Mirza, Muhammad Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Ziaul Haq - violated the oath of allegiance, which they had taken at the time of their appointment. In his address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta, on the 14th June, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam observed:

> One thing more, I am persuaded to say is that during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers, I discovered that they did not know the implications of the oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form: what is more important is the true spirit and the heart.
>
> But it is an important form and I would like to take the

opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:

> 'I solemnly affirm, in the presence of the Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan'. Mark the words Constitution and the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan, and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrollment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me.

As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like you to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion.

It reflects great credit on the qualities of head and heart of General Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of the Army Staff, who, instead of declaring Martial Law when the C-130 Plane of General Ziaul Haq crashed causing death of all on board including General Ziaul Haq, honoured the oath he had taken to defend the Constitution. He advised the armed forces to keep aloof from politics which he said was the sole domain of the politicians.

DAUGHTER OF THE EAST:

To revert to the last days of the late lamented Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the Rawalpindi Central Jail where inspite of the intolerable indignities heaped on him by his captors - mental as well as physical - he maintained his dignity and presence of mind. His wife, Begum Nusrat and his daughter Ms. Benazir had been detained for six weeks in Sehala after they had been detained for six months in Rawalpindi. They could see him only once a week and talk to him for an hour only. They were summoned for their last meeting 12 hours before his execution at 5 O'clock in the morning. Their heart-rending parting has been vividly described by Ms. Benazir in her autobiography "Daughter of the East". He was sitting on a mattress, the only furniture left in his cell. I quote from her book:

> The light inside the death cell is dim. I cannot see him clearly. Every other visit they have allowed us to sit together inside his cell.

But not today. My mother and I squeeze together at the bars of his door, talking to him in whispers.....'Time is up', the Superintendent says. 'Time is up'. I grip the bars. 'Please open up the cell', I ask him, 'I want to say good bye to my father'. The Superintendent refuses. 'Please', I say, 'My father is the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. I am his daughter. This is our last meeting. I want to hold him'. The Superintendent refuses. I try to reach my father through the bars. He is so thin, almost wasted away from malaria, dysentery, starvation. But he pulls himself erect and touches my hand. 'Tonight I will be free', he says, a glow suffusing his face. 'I will be joining my mother, my father. I am going back to the land of my ancestors in Larkana to become part of its soil, its scent, its air'.

Z.A. BHUTTO'S LETTER FROM HIS DEATH CELL

— In my youth I remember meeting our elegant Collector, whose cultured demeanour impressed my young mind.

IT WAS IN THIS dreadful atmosphere that he wrote a letter to me - perhaps his last letter from the death cell. He had been reading in 'Dawn' the correspondence between me and the late Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten. This letter was sent to me through Fakhri Begum, a relation of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, who told me in April, 1977, that the suit-case containing this letter was missing at the Karachi Airport. I was greatly disappointed at this news. Ten years later, I was delighted to receive the following letter from Benazir Bhutto:

May 5, 1987.

Dear Syed Hashim Raza Sahib,

The original letter was sent with Fakhri Begum. Her suitcase was stolen and the letter with it.

I have now relocated the carbon copy and enclose it for you.

I was sorry to have missed seeing you in Larkana.

sincerely,
Benazir Bhutto.

I reproduce the letter of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto:

March 20, 1979.

My dear Hashim Raza,

You have my admiration for the restful interest you are showing in the shattered mirror of memories of an age which seems to belong to another world.

In the solitude of my tiny cell, I have thought over these and other matters again and again in depth. As the Collector of Larkana, you were on cordial terms with my family and with the Khuhawars of Shahdadkot, more so with most others. In my youth I remember meeting our elegant Collector, whose cultured demeanour impressed my young mind.

Many years later, while staying with President Ayub Khan in Nanak House, annexe while the Government House of Dacca was being repaired, Ayub Khan was taken aback to find me vigorously aligned with General Azam Khan, the Governor of East Pakistan and not with him, on Syed Hashim Raza's appointment as Chief Secretary of that asundered Province.

If a tyrannical dictator like me had prevailed over the cacophony of his sycophants, today Lord Mountbatten would be addressing you as the former Governor of Sind in addition to the former Governor of East Pakistan in his correspondence with you.

Being militantly involved in the struggle for Pakistan in the revolutionary meaning of the word, from the days of Direct Action, I am not without my reservations on the role of the last Viceroy of undivided India. In the last eighteen months I have read and re-read considerable literature on the partition period. My experience in the politics of Pakistan, coupled with the benefit of thirty years of hindsight, have compelled me to broaden the perspective analytically. I suppose individuals placed in my present position tend to get generous and forgiving but let me assure you, that I am not becoming a victim of sentiment or nostalgia. My respect for history remains supreme.

Mountbatten followed the traditions of his predecessors and like them, the politics of his Government. In this respect, he was not an exception. Anyone, including Eden, on whom would have fallen the task of partitioning the Subcontinent by constitutional and parliamentary means, would have been exceptional and, perhaps, equally controversial. This was inherent in the objective conditions and inevitable on account of the constitutional, instead of revolutionary means used to effect the Great Divide. Duplicity and deception was a part and parcel of the decent approach.

Lord Mountbatten may have been the first Governor-General of divided India, but he was the last Viceroy of undivided India. He was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu. He had a responsibility to Imperial Britain, a responsibility which did not cease when Britain was not

Imperial any longer. Even after partition and independence, we have seen in Pakistan itself on no less than two occasions that an imposed authority, or shall we say democratically speaking, an alien authority has shown a high stake to preserve the power it is transferring. Voluntary transfer of total power is basically an illusion. By agreeing to a transfer of power from wrong hands into right hands without a struggle implies a compromise, a quid pro quo. This is the essence of a negotiated settlement in terms of external colonialism and military dictatorship.

If the mode of transfer of power from an external colonial authority or from an internal colonial Junta is a trial of wits, in contradistinction to a trial of strength, the margin of advantage invariably lies with the authority seized of power. In such a situation, it would be unrealistic for the element hankering for power on the cheap, and not blow by blow and measure for measure, to get its full pound of flesh. As long as the man needs the power, the power does not need the man. Perhaps this is why Gandhi, the prophet of non-violence to his admirers, said for God's sake, leave us to anarchy. If Mountbatten had not mellowed that spirit with melody, the boundaries may have been drawn by red rivers of blood and not by the red pencil of Radcliffe over a flock of wins.

It would not be fair to state emphatically, but I maintain that the chances of keeping East and West Pakistan together for some time longer would have been much better if the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan had not played 'politics' with Mujibur Rehman and with me in 1970-71 over the transfer of power. Yahya Khan kept jockeying for a position for himself and the military in the power to be transferred. This view is essentially upheld by the Hamoodur Rehman Commission and is not my prejudicial opinion. Tragically, the same sham-enigma is at play today in severed Pakistan with the difference that it is being done more crudely and cruelly. So much so, that I wonder anxiously over the fate of our fragile unity. In 1971, we lost more than Gurdaspur and Kashmir. In 1979 or 1980 we are likely to lose as much, if not more, than we lost nine years ago. I pray that my fears are unfounded but where were the Mountbattens and Radcliffes in 1971?

Britain had a stake in the Constitutional transfer of power and Mountbatten was 'politicising' to achieve it. The stake was the membership of India and Pakistan in the then British Commonwealth of Nations. At that time, Britain placed great sore on the Commonwealth. Her leaders thought that it would be a second best substitute for the Empire. This kind of thing, cranks like us call neo-colonialism. Mountbatten's game was fixed on that objective. He

was determined to get the consent of both Dominions to join the Commonwealth, and thereby retain strong links with Britain. In the event of failure to get Pakistan's association, he was tenaciously committed to getting that of India, the much larger Dominion. There was therefore more room for give-and-take with India than with Pakistan in a negotiated settlement. The personal factor of Mountbatten's Governor-Generalship should be considered, but it was not all that relevant when he could have remained a Super Governor-General of both Dominions. There must be something wrong with us if, until the night of August 14, 1947, we regarded him to be a great friend of the Muslims and of Pakistan, but the next morning we got up to discover that he had turned out to be a great villain. Our leadership was not that innocent or undiscerning as not to have made a proper assessment of the man responsible for effecting partition and in transferring power to us. With him lay the key to our destiny and that of generations to come. Our leaders held protracted negotiations with him. It would be unkind to infer that they did not take the full measure of the man. It would be an undeserved reflection on our leadership rather than a proof of the perfidy of the last British Viceroy.

Buttressed by the Commonwealth of Nations, the British thought that post-war Britain would become to America what Greece had been to Rome. Soon, the British were to find that they were dealing not with modern Romans but good old Italians. Even before the guns were silenced, the American oil interests began to chisel ruthlessly into the established British preserves in the Middle East. That is another story. I mention it in passing because world politics is again becoming dangerously greasy.

We have a tendency to very readily blame others for our own failings. We simply cannot reduce complex issues to block letters reading white and black. It might have been different if the slate had been wiped clean by the blood of revolution. In that supreme struggle there would have been no opportunity for sordid bargaining and backroom intrigues. It was unrealistic to expect an Imperial power to peacefully and willingly hand over her brightest jewel to four hundred million people without attempting to extract a price for the cushy transfer. Please do not think I am being blood-thirsty. The tragedy is that if even a quarter of the blood that was shed in the wake of the 'peaceful transfer' had been sacrificed before partition, we would have had a happier and a more stable equilibrium in the Subcontinent. The continuing tensions and uncertainties persist because the greater sacrifices came at the wrong time.

In the correspondence under reference, there is considerable

emphasis on 'British puberty' whatever it means in the political application. Mountbatten had a combination of British, German and Greek blood running in his veins, albeit all royal. Such a combination can be devastating, however no more devastating than the ordinary blood of an ordinary Englishman like Benjamin Disraeli, an outstanding Prime Minister. Disraeli and others like him, were known for their skill in politics not for puberty. There is the 'gentleman rogue' in the style of politics. The British politicians are its masters. You were the Private Secretary of the Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie. How was he rewarded for his services and may be 'puberty' when he became the Governor of the Punjab? Puberty is on the pulpit not in Parliament.

When I was a student at Oxford, my Law Tutor at Christ Church, Mr. Crant Bailey, gave a sumptuous banquet at the Savoy in honour of the Law Lords. He was very kind to give me a high place on the main table next to that of Cyril Radcliffe. Not having seen Radcliffe before, I did not know he was the man who had used the knife to partition the Sub-continent. When he found out that I was from Pakistan, he volunteered to explain at length the factors that influenced his Award. He mentioned the integrity of the intricate irrigation canals, the strategic importance of the Chittagong Hill tracts, the shrines of the Sikhs, Sialkot and Gurdaspur cumulatively not separately. He insisted that Gurdaspur was not maliciously awarded to India for the purpose of Kashmir.

After he had finished speaking, I told him that I was more concerned with the future although the past was relevant. I said to him that a great revolution of the people would come to right all the wrongs. I told him further that I was more concerned with the dawn of that day than with the sunset of a faded era. I have remained committed to that cause. It will not be the 'Freedom at Midnight' which Nehru got in Parliament. It will be the victory of the people at High Noon; I dreamed of the glorious victory as a boy on the banks of my beloved Indus. With all the vicissitudes of fortune, not for a moment have I ever lost the vision of that beautiful dream. In this context, neither Radcliffe nor Mountbatten matter. Whatever became of Gurdaspur irrespective of the motive, Kashmir would certainly have been a part of Pakistan in 1962 or latest by 1965. Now we stand to lose all at the rate at which events are moving towards a watershed. What is needed more than debating points of past failures is to give profound thought to the future. The British did not come to our land to do us a favour. Why should we think that they wanted to do us a favour by leaving it? Mountbatten was only an instrument. We were the tools. We stubbornly continue to remain tools

after a generation of independence.

Two small but important points before I close. My Father, whom you know very well was persuaded by the Quaid through their mutual friend and physician, Dr. Jal. R. Patel, to go to Junagarh and get its accession to Pakistan - come what may. There were many reasons for it. However, whereas the personal attachment of Jawaharlal Nehru to Kashmir has been blown out of proportion, the Quaid's personal attachment to Kathiawar has rarely, if at all, been mentioned.

Secondly, please remember we fought for Pakistan to get equality, not less equality, freedom, not less freedom, honour, not less honour, brotherhood not more discrimination. Where all the fears kindled of a united India are visited on our masses in Pakistan more acutely than our worst fears, there is then something brewing which no quantum of force will be able to resist. Nor can it be stopped by stopping me. I think the last Viceroy of India is related to Lord Braborne, the Governor of Bombay. Lord Braborne was a very close friend of my Father. Maybe at this moment, that is reason enough for me to tell you that I would like you one day to send a copy of this letter to Lord Mountbatten of Burma.

Yours very sincerely,
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

I had been deeply moved with the contents of the above letter in which Z.A. Bhutto elaborated on his beartfelt feelings as a true patriotic Pakistani. It reflects that Z.A. Bhutto genuinely loved his land and people and had an earnest desire to serve his homeland

When Ms. Benazir Bhutto was elected President of the Oxford Union in 1976, I had congratulated her father, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto and predicted that like him she would be the Prime Minister of Pakistan one day. It was a great honour to be elected President of the Oxford Union. The first Asian student to be elected President of Oxford Union was D.F. Karaka, a well known journalist and author of books like 'Nehru The Lotus Eater', 'Chunking Diary', 'I go West' Another Asian student who contested the presidentship of Oxford Union and lost was Bandranaike of Sri Lanka. But he became the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. Several Prime Ministers of England who had studied at Oxford, had been elected Presidents of the Oxford Union in their student days.

I am confident that the youthful Benazir will bring glory to Pakistan as Pitt, the younger, had done in England when he became the Prime Minister of England at that age of 24. In the British history, the two 'Pitts' are father and son: in the history of Pakistan, the two 'Bhuttos' are father and daughter.

THE DIM LIGHT OF A GREAT HOPE

— "Progress and peace —This is the double task that seems to have keen placed upon our shoulders in this moment of history." Liaquat Ali Khan
— "At the end of the tunnel, I saw the dim light of a great hope." Walter Lippmann.

LIAQUAT SUCCEEDED IN ENSHRINING the main principles of our Constitution in the Objectives Resolution which were followed in framing all future Constitutions of Pakistan. He succeeded in formulating the Liaquat-Nehru Pact which enabled the two Governments to safeguard the interests of the minorities in the two countries without regarding that procedure as an interference in their internal affairs. His fellow Oxonian, K.P.S. Menon, met him in the Government House, New Delhi, in July 1950, and gave this account of his meeting:

> My mind goes back to the days when he and I were together at Oxford. The last time I met him was in the Government House, New Delhi, in July 1950, when India and Pakistan were on the verge of war and the two Prime Ministers averted a tragedy. Liaquat walked up to me across the Darbar Hall and introduced me to a friend with the words 'K.P.S. was at Oxford with me or, he added banteringly but graciously, 'I should rather say I was with K.P.S.' and then he went on to relate how I got a First, won a scholarship, made such and such a speech. Those achievements of mine have already been forgotten but Liaquat's achievements in building up a state and fostering it in its first critical years will remain in man's memory to the end of time.
>
> Liaquat would not play to the gallery, whether at Oxford Union or the Indian Majlis. He did not pose as a super patriot. I shall always remember him as a kindly and friendly soul. He was first and foremost a gentleman.

When Liaquat Ali Khan and his sagacious as well as indefatigable wife, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, visited the United States of America and Canada in 1950, they made a tremendous impression on all those whom they came across. While addressing the U.S. Senate on May 4, 1950, the Prime Minister gave the background of the partition in the following words:

> Pakistan was founded by the indomitable will of a hundred million Muslims who felt that they were a nation too numerous and too distinct to be relegated forever to the unalterable position of a political minority, specially when, in the vast Sub-continent which was their homeland, there was enough room for two great nations - the Hindus and the Muslims - to enjoy peace and full sovereignty in their respective dominions. They believed that thus alone would the vast multitude of the followers of Islam be uninhibited in the development of their culture and free to follow their own way of life. Pakistan was founded so that millions of Muslims should be enabled to live according to their opinion and to worship God in freedom.

At the Town Hall of New York, the President of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States of America welcomed Liaquat in the following words:

> Mr. Prime Minister, we rejoice in your achievements. We are most deeply grateful for the example you are bringing and the lesson you are teaching. It is that when leaders are worthy of their people's trust, and when statesmen are equal to their responsibility, peace can still be had with freedom and honour.

Liaquat Ali Khan's reply contained the following observations:

> Progress and peace - this is the double task that seems to have been placed upon our shoulders in this moment of history and although we do not feel perplexed or confused, we are not a little daunted by the immensity of the assignment. Whether the world will be at peace or at war, is in the hands of great nations such as yours.
>
> Pakistan and India are two nations and states which have emerged as the successors from the partition of the British Empire in Asia. Canada and the United States are two nations and states which emerged as the successors from the partition of the British Empire in North America. The United States, like Pakistan, is the product of a rebellion which ended in the partition of an empire.

Walter Lippmann, a famous writer and columnist, present on the occasion, said:

> Perhaps he will recall the afternoon last November when he was kind enough to receive me in the library of his home in Karachi. I shall always remember it. I was impressed. I was moved. I saw for the first time some light at the end of that long tunnel through which

the peoples of Asia are working their way.
At the end of the tunnel I saw the dim light of a great hope.

After taking over charge of the Department of Education, Health and Local Self-Government on 16th August, 1951, I called on the Governor of Sind, Sheikh Din Muhammad. Prior to his appointment as Governor, he was Minister for Kashmir Affairs. He had served on the Boundary Commission of which Sir Cyril Radcliffe was the Chairman. He told me that Sir Cyril did not justify the confidence which the Quaid had reposed in his impartiality. His award was not judicial but it was more political. When I asked him why the important problem of division of the Punjab and Bengal had been left to a single arbitrator, he told me that the Quaid had asked for the services of three law-lords but H.M.G. regretted their inability to comply with his wishes. As the law-lords are usually old men, none agreed to work in the hot climate of India except Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

By allotting the Muslim majority District of Gurdaspur to India, Sir Cyril enabled India to grab three-fourth of the Muslim majority state of Kashmir. The Boundary Commission Award shocked the people of Pakistan. The Editor of Dawn, Altaf Husain, wrote a fiery editorial against Sir Cyril but the Quaid poured oil over troubled waters by stating:

The Boundary Award may be unjust but it is binding on us.

The Kashmir problem resulted in two wars between India and Pakistan and is still the main stumbling block in good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

Justice Sheikh Din Muhammad was an able and level-headed person. He was fond of poetry and used to keep a 'note-book' of his favourite verses. He dressed well and asked some of the Secretaries who went to see him in shirt and pant to go back and return in achkan or tie and coat. He was Judge of the Lahore High Court in the pre-partition days. He told me that he was Public Prosecutor of Gujranwala when he was raised to the Bench.

The Hindu and Anglo-Indian press criticized Din Muhammad's elevation to the Bench on the ground that he was a Vakil and not a Barrister. Sir Shadi Lal who was Chief Justice of Lahore High Court used to say that Barrister Judges were superior to Vakil Judges. Sir Shadi Lal, like the distinguished Sir Shah Suleman, Chief Justice of Alahabad High Court and Judge of the Federal Court of India, had appeared for the I.C.S. Competitive Examination in England and, fortunately for them, had failed to qualify after which they were called to the Bar. When Sheikh Din Muhammad retired from the Bench, those

very papers which had criticized his appointment, paid handsome tributes to him for his ability and impartiality. He told me that he used to work harder than his English and Hindu colleagues in order to justify his elevation to the Bench. He said that the standard of efficiency had gone down in Pakistan as there was no competition between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs any more. I recited a verse of Mirza Ruswa to support his point which he put down in his 'note-book':

سامنے اس کے نہ کہتے تھے پر اب کہتے ہیں
لذّتِ غم نہ رہی غیر کے مَر جانے سے

So long as he lived, I made no utterance,
In his death, sorrow has lost all substance.

'SERVANTS, NOT POLITICIANS'

— Khan Bahadur Ayub Khuhro an ardent Muslim leaguer and a pillar of the Sind Muslim League. I had known him since 1939.

THE CHIEF MINISTER OF Sind in 1951 was Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, one of the most prominent politicians of Sind. I had known him since 1939. He was an ardent Muslim Leaguer and a pillar of the Sind Muslim League. He was a member of the Working Committee of the League. I came in intimate contact with him when I was Collector of Larkana, his home district. He was then Revenue Minister of Sind. I recall an amusing incident in 1944.

On a Sunday morning when I was about to have my haircut by a barber who, like all barbers, was very talkative and boasted that he had been the Collector's barber for two decades, I got a note from Mr. Khuhro inquiring whether I could see him at his residence since a deputation had come to discuss some local problems. I asked the barber to wait till I returned. When I came back after half an hour, the barber remarked that he was greatly surprised that I should have responded to Mr. Khuhro's call on a Sunday. I told him that a Collector is on duty on all days not excluding Sundays and holidays. He said that that was not the case a decade and a half ago when Mr. Mac-Lachlan was the Collector of Larkana. At that time Mr. Khuhro was a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He came to the Collector's House on a Sunday morning and sent his visiting card. Mac-Lachlan told the peon who had brought the card:

> Tell Mr. Khuhro that I cannot see him since I have a previous appointment with my barber.

That barber was saddled with old legacy of treating the Collector as 'Mai Bap' (all in all).

Khuhro maintained good relations with all the Members of the I.C.S. I got along very well with him. There was only one instance when we differed. That was when I resigned from the Foodgrain Purchase Board, which comprised Khan Sahib Keher, then Secretary, Food Department, Aftab Kazi, then Secretary Finance; and myself in my capacity as Secretary, Education, Health and Local Government. F.G. Kharas was the Secretary of the Board.

The Board had been appointed to select agents from amongst a large number of applicants. In its first meeting, the Board decided to reappoint all those agents against whom there was no complaint from the public. The Secretary of the Board had prepared reports on the performance of all agents appointed in the previous year. This simplified the work of the Board, which went on smoothly till we came to consider the case of Ahmed Mian Soomro of Jacobabad. Kharas informed us that Ahmed Mian Soomro had worked satisfactorily during the last year and there had been no complaint against him and he deserved to be reappointed. I endorsed Kharas' recommendation. At this stage Khan Sahib Keher, Secretary, Department of Food, drew from his drawer a minute of the Food Minister, Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan, to the effect that Ahmed Mian Soomro should be black-listed. I argued that since there had been no complaint from the public, there was no justification to reject Ahmed Mian Soomro's request for reappointment. I stated that it was the function of the Board to make recommendations to the Minister after selecting candidates on merits and that the black-listing of a candidate before the Board had applied its mind to the merits of the case, was iniquitous. Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan held two portfolios, that of Food and Education, Health & Local Self-Government. I got on very well with Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan. He was a product of Aligarh, where he had a stormy career. He had been a very loyal Muslim Leaguer and an active worker of the Pakistan Movement. He had a pleasing personality. When the Minister received the minutes of the Board, he expressed his surprise and disappointment at my attitude and minuted as follows:

> It is obvious that some strong influence have been allowed to turn a blind eye on the merits of the case and persuade the Board to take such a decision which is obviously in conflict with Government order and militates against principles of even-handed justice and unbiased administration.'

When I read this minute, I submitted my resignation from the Board on the ground that the Minister had attributed a motive to my recommendation which was far from my mind. In the course of my service, I have never been influenced by anyone in arriving at my decision or recommendation. The Minister overlooked the fact that I had not been influenced by his minute. I never claimed infallible judgement, but I had the satisfaction of acting according to my conscience. When Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan brought my resignation to the notice of Mr. Khuhro, he called me to his chambers and remarked that my resignation amounted to non-cooperation. I argued that the Board could still function without me. My Department and the Department of Food were two separate entities and if the Minister wanted to appoint some other Secretary in my place, I had, by my resignation, afforded him an opportunity to do so. Mr. Khuhro was amused when I told him that my attitude amounted to cooperation with the Minister rather than non-cooperation! Mr. Khuhro desired that I should withdraw my resignation, but I expressed my inability to do so. The matter came up before the Sind Cabinet, who decided that the Board should be dissolved. The matter did not rest there. It became one of the issues before the Tribunal which the Governor-General of Pakistan had appointed to try Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan under the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act 1949, for misconduct by way of favouritism, wilful maladministration and abuse of official power. The Tribunal comprised Mr. Justice Constantine, Chief Judge of the Sind Chief Court, and Mr. Justice Muhammad Bachal, who submitted their report to the Governor-General.

An Extraordinary Issue of the Pakistan Gazette contained the order of the Governor-General of Pakistan, dated 11th May, 1954, disqualifying Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan for a period of 3 years. I quote from the report of the Tribunal:

> Mr. Raza, C.S.P., a former member of the I.C.S., took strong objection to the attribution of motives. Thereupon the Minister noted as follows: "I am surprised that Mr. S.H. Raza should have deemed it necessary to resign or to assume that what I had said in para 2 of my minute was a charge against any particular individual of the Board or collectively against the Board as a whole. Mr. Raza has to work on the Board as required by the Government orders under which the Board was constituted and I am not sure that any Secretary, who has been assigned any particular business under Government orders, can refuse to carry out such orders.
>
> Mr. Raza will be well advised to read my minute again and he will be satisfied that there is no cause for him or for any other member of the Board to take the view that he has taken.
>
> Mr. Raza persisted in requesting to be relieved from duty on the

> Board. On 28-12-1951, the Minister directed the Secretary to put up a Cabinet Memorandum for dissolution of the Board on the ground that it was superfluous.
>
> The Minister, when his orders were questioned, resorted to unjustifiable brow-beating of the Department or the Board. We cannot but commend Mr. Raza for taking a firm stand against such treatment, but members of a Provincial Service or other servants of a Central Service with less seniority are likely to be coerced by such treatment into minuting what they consider the Minister wishes and not what they consider proper.

Our civil servants and politicians have come in for a good deal of criticism these days. While the politicians can and do hit back, the civil servants have to keep their mouth shut. Bureaucracy has become an easy target for all and sundry. I would urge upon our civil servants to remember the inspiring words of the Quaid-e-Azam when he addressed the Gazetted Officers of Chittagong Division on the 25th March 1948. I quote from his speech:

> You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political or that political party; that is not your business. It is a business of politician to fight out their battle under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed. You, therefore, have nothing to do with this party or that party. You are civil servants. Whichever gets the majority, will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time-being as servants, not as politicians. How will you do that? The Government in power for the time being must also realise and understand their responsibilities that you are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our footsteps, but it is upto you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any minister or ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants. I hope it will not be so, but even if some of you have to suffer I hope it will not happen, I expect you to do so readily. We shall, of course, see that there is security for you and safeguards to you. If we find that it is in any way prejudicial to your interest, we shall find ways and means of giving you that security. Of course, you must be loyal to the Government that is in power.

THE GLORIOUS ERA OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

AMONG THE 'FOURTEEN POINTS' which the Quaid formulated in March, 1929, one was the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency. The British conquered Sind in 1843. Had Sind been made a separate province in 1843, the Hindus, who formed 90% of the population of Bombay Presidency, would not have dominated it completely till 1936.

Even after the separation of Sind, the Hindus continued to play a very prominent part in Sind politics. The Sind Assembly comprised 60 members - 35 Muslims, 22 Hindus and 3 Europeans. It was with the support of 22 Hindu M.L.As. that Allah Baksh Ministry worked till 1942. While the 22 Hindu M.L.As. worked as a solid bloc, the 35 Muslim members were divided into half a dozen factions and changed their loyalties from time to time.

The late Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, who was a very astute politician, was never defeated on the floor of the House. He renounced his titles of Khan Bahadur and O.B.E. in sympathy with the 'Quit India' campaign launched by the Indian National Congress in 1942. The Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, dismissed him for showing disrespect to the Crown.

It was after Mr. Allah Baksh's removal that the Muslim League Ministry was formed in Sind. Sind was the only province in the whole of India where two provincial elections were held in 1946 - one in March 1946 and the other in December 1946. The circumstances that necessitated the holding of two elections within a period of nine months were peculiar to Sind where the Hindu M.L.As. resented and lamented the departure of the late Mr. Allah Baksh and his supporters from the scene of power. They marshalled all their resources to defeat the Muslim League Ministry after the March, 1946, elections in which 28 Muslim Leaguers were elected. With the help of 7 Muslim (non-League) members in which Mr. G.M. Syed was included, they moved a No-confidence motion against the Ministry of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah who was the Chief Minister of Sind. The House was equally divided in support and opposition to Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, a very likable and seasoned elder politician of Sind. The Speaker of the Assembly was Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, a Muslim Leaguer; the Deputy Speaker was Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, a member of the Indian National Congress. It was the resigna-

tion of Syed Miran Muhammad Shah from the Speakership that saved the Muslim League Ministry. On the day when the No-confidence motion was to be moved, Syed Miran Muhammad Shah announced to a startled house that he had submitted his resignation to the Governor who had accepted it. He then stepped down and Miss Jethi Sipahimalani had to occupy the Speaker's chair to conduct the business of the House. That upset the apple cart of the Congress members and the No-confidence motion fizzled out.

Sir Francis Mudie accepted the recommendation of Sir Ghulam Husain to dissolve the Assembly and hold fresh elections since the Ministry could not function effectively with a very narrow majority. In the elections that were held in December, the Muslim League captured all the 35 Muslim seats. How the Muslim League had gone from strength to strength is evident from the fate of Mr. G.M. Syed in these two elections. He left the Muslim League in 1945, having been the President of Sind Provincial Muslim League, having moved the resolution in the Assembly in 1943 for the establishment of Pakistan and having been the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Muslim League Session held in Karachi in December, 1943. He had earned a reputation for integrity and was respected as an elder politician. He became very popular in the Muslim minority provinces when he advocated settlement of Muslims from these provinces in Sind after the communal riots in Bihar and Garhmukheshar (U.P.). He left the League when his list of nominees for the League ticket for the March, 1946, elections was not approved by the League High Command. He launched what he called Progressive Muslim League. Although he was elected an M.L.A. in March, 1946, he was defeated in December, 1946 elections by Kazi Akbar who contested the seat on Muslim League ticket.

It was Quaid-e-Azam, who put a new spirit in the All-India Muslim League which had been founded in 1906. The glorious period of the League was the decade 1937-47. The Quaid had won the hearts and the confidence of all the Muslims of India except a negligible faction. When the Chief Minister of undivided Bengal, Maulvi Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq, defied the Quaid and did not resign from the Defence Council of the Viceroy as decided by the League High Command, he was expelled from the League. Although he was a man of the masses, had the gift of the gab, had won all his elections, the moment he lost the confidence of the Quaid in 1941, he also lost the confidence of his constituency of Bakergunj which was also called Barisal.

Barisal was not connected by railway. There was a daily steamer service between Calcutta and Barisal. Maulvi Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq came in a steamer to his home town accompanied by the Home Secretary and the I.G. of Police. Mr. R.M. Hall who was S.P. of Barisal related this story to me in 1961,

when I was Chief Secretary of East Pakistan and he was a senior D.I.G. Nearly 10,000 citizens of Barisal town gathered at the landing maidan with black flags and banners captioned "Fazlul Haq go back". Maulvi Fazlul Haq called up Hall and District Magistrate of Barisal on the steamer and inquired whether they could persuade the crowd to disperse. They told him that they had been entreating the crowd for several hours to disperse without any success. He then asked them how the crowd could be dispersed. They replied that they would have to use force. They would have to lathi charge and might have to fire upon the crowd.

Maulvi Fazlul Haq did not want to create an ugly situation in his home-town. He thought it wise not to get down. He returned to Calcutta in the same steamer.

THE FIRST POST-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS IN SIND

TO REVERT TO THE 1945-46 elections for the Central and Provincial Assemblies. It were these elections which vindicated the Quaid's and the League's claim for Pakistan. In 1945, the Labour Party had polled about 60% votes in the General Elections of the U.K. If the Labour Government could be entitled to rule and speak on behalf of the people of the U.K., the Muslim League which won 453 out of 524 Central and Provincial seats (i.e. 86.45%) (it won all the 30 seats of the Central Assembly) was more justified in its claim to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India.

The Sind Legislative Assembly was dissolved on 29th December, 1951, when Section 92-A was applied to the Province.

The first post-independence elections were held in Sind in May, 1953. I was appointed Election Commissioner. Sheikh Din Muhammad had in the meantime been succeeded by Mian Aminuddin as Governor of Sind. Since there were no Ministers, my task was made smooth and I dealt directly with the Governor.

The elections were held on the basis of adult franchise. The electoral rolls were published on 15th September, 1952. The objections received were thoroughly scrutinised. The rolls were finally published on 15th January, 1953. The number of voters on the electoral rolls was 1,700,000. The total number of seats had been increased from 60 to 111 - 101 Muslim seats and 10 non-Muslim seats.

At a press conference, I stated that Government were determined to hold free and fair elections. The Government officials who had to deal with

elections, had been warned to remain strictly neutral. The Governor had delegated his authority to me to suspend Class I Officers against whom a prima facie case of partiality had been established. I suspended two Class I Officers who submitted their resignations instead of facing departmental enquiries. Impersonation is a corrupt practice and an election offence under Section 177 of the Pakistan Penal Code. This offence was made cognizable in Sind. Through my press conference, I issued a warning to all voters that those who would indulge in that malpractice would be arrested on-the-spot. I had been told that the Council of Scientific Research, Government of India, had prepared an indelible ink and that the formula had been devised by Dr. Salimuz Zaman Siddiqui, a distinguished scientist, who opted for Pakistan. I contacted him and requested him to convey the formula so that we might prepare the indelible ink. He said that he did not carry the formula in his head and suggested that we should ask the Government of India to let us have the formula. I wrote to our High Commissioner, who replied that although the Government of India did not wish to part with the formula, they had offered to let us have the quantity of the ink, which we required. We accepted their offer with thanks and received ink in sufficient quantity. That ink proved very effective. It could not be rubbed by any chemical and remained stuck to the thumb for at least a week.

I could not hold the elections on one day since we did not have enough officials and policemen to man all the Polling Stations. The elections had to be staggered from 4th to 10th May. Polling was held for Muslim constituencies and Ladies constituencies on the following day.

For the Upper Sind districts of Sukkur, Larkana and Dadu, polling took place on the 4th and 5th May; while that for the districts of Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Tharparkar and Thatta it was held on the 9th and 10th May. I made a rapid tour of the Polling Stations in the districts of Upper Sind on the 4th and 5th, Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Tharparkar on the 9th and Thatta District on the 10th. In that tour, I was accompanied by a party of experienced and alert newspaper correspondents. We found the polling very orderly and peaceful. The queues were well formed. Nearly 60% of the voters exercised their right of vote. I am glad to be able to write, in retrospect, that the arrangements went with a bang.

There were in all 890 Polling Stations, out of which 46 were situated in the Desert Division of Tharparkar District. We used coloured boxes for candidates which resulted in quick voting and reduced considerably the chances of bad votes. Only Gazetted Officers were appointed as Presiding Officers. The number of Gazetted Officers available for election duty was only 490. I had, therefore, to resort to the device of staggering the elections and holding them on different dates in the Upper Sind and Lower Sind Districts. It was on

account of this splitting up that we were able to depute the police from the Lower Sind Districts to the Upper Sind Districts and vice versa.

The result was that 1,550 policemen went from the Lower Sind Districts to the Upper Sind Districts and 1,697 policemen had to be deputed from the Upper Sind Districts to the Lower Sind Districts. We had to clear off on the 6th May 3,247 policemen, who had to be rushed to their places of duty in time for the polling on 9th May in Lower Sind. The Railway authorities expressed their inability to provide the requisite number of wagons. I contacted the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, who was good enough to lend two Military Block Rakes. These rakes had to come all the way from Rawalpindi.

The Polling Stations in the desert could only be reached by camel and it took some of the Presiding Officers as many as five days to reach their Polling Stations in the desert. We were lucky that the Presiding Officers reached every-where in time. Every Polling Station had a miniature police station attached to it with the usual complement of S.I., Head Constable and 8 to 10 constables. The counting was completed by 20th May.

When some of the correspondents showed me the statements of the successful candidates, I requested them to hold them up for some time and advised them to approach the defeated candidates and record their views on the way the elections were conducted. Half a dozen defeated candidates, who were regarded as prominent politicians, told the newsmen that they had no complaint against the Officers who conducted the elections. They complained against the voters who, they argued, did not exercise their right on merit!

Twelve candidates were elected unopposed, 10 Muslim Leaguers, one of Sind Awami Mahaz and one non-Muslim. I give their names for the students of history. (Names of Constituency, Candidate and Political Parties respectively):

1.	Shah Bunder	Mr. Muhammad Yusuf Khair Muhammad Chandio	Mulsim League
2.	Hyderabad City No.4.	Mr. Muhammad Akbar Abdul Qayoom Kazi	ML
3.	Hala North	Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Makhdoom Ghulam Muhammad Qureshi	ML
4.	Rohri West	Pir Ali Muhammad Shah Hamid Shah Rashdi	ML

5.	Rohri East	Mr. Shafqat Hussain Shah Atta Hussain Shah Musavi	ML
6.	Moro North	Haji Ghulam Rasool K.B. Haji Imam Bakhsh Khan Jatoi	ML
7.	Moro South	Haji Gul Muhammad Wali Muhammad Khero	ML
8.	Hyerabad Taluka South	Mir Haji Ali Ahmed Khan Mir Haji Nabi Bakhsh Khan Talpur	ML
9.	Mahal Kohistan	Mr. Sikander Khan Hamlani	ML
10.	Kandhkote West	Sardar Noor Muhammad Khan Bijrani	ML
11.	Sehwan	Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Shah Syed	Sind Awami Mahaz.
12.	Hyderabad South and Thatta General	Mr. Rupchand Seoomal	Independent

LAND OF MIRS & PIRS

— Mr. G.M. Syed had formed the Progressive Muslim League in 1945 elections.

EVEN THOUGH THE MUSLIM League had lost the momentum which it had gained during the Pakistan Movement under the matchless leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, it was still a political force to reckon with. Mr. Khuhro, who had been an ardent and loyal supporter of the Muslim League and called his party 'Sind League - Khuhro Group' on account of his differences with the Central Parliamentary Board on the allotment of tickets. In the same way, Mr. G.M. Syed had formed the Progressive Muslim League in 1945 elections.

The nomination papers of 302 candidates had been accepted by the Returning Officers. Their political affiliations were as below:

Independents	121
Muslim League	90
Sind Awami Mahaz	45
Sind League (Khuhro Group)	43
Hari Federation	2
Islam League	1

The successful candidates belonged to the following political parties:

Muslim League	78
Awami Mahaz	9
Sind League (Khuhro Group)	7
Muslim Independents	7
Non-Muslim Independents	10

The Muslim League M.L.As. were divided into the following groups:

Mir Ghulam Ali's Group	23
Pir Pagaro's Group	19
Kazi Fazlullah's Group	11
Pirzada Abdus Sattar's Group	9

Sind had been reputed to be the land of Mirs and Pirs. The Pirs are invariably Syeds. The daily 'Imroze' came out with the news that the new Assembly would comprise 43 Syeds and 32 Mirs. This was an exaggeration. My analysis showed that 21 Syeds and 7 Mirs were returned to the Assembly. I give their names again for the students of history:

1. Thatta: Syed Ali Asghar Shah, Syed Mehar Ali shah and Syed Ghulam Hyder Shah.

2. Hyderabad: Syed Mubarak Ali Shah, Syed Pir Haji Muhammad Zaman Shah, Pir Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman, Syed Muhammad Hasan Shah, Pir Ali Shah Jilani, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Mir Ali Nawaz Khan Talpur, Mir Baundeh Ali

		Khan Talpur and Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur.
3.	Nawabshah:	Syed Noor Muhammad Shah, Pir Quarban Ali Shah, Syed Hasan Bakhsh Shah, Syed Khair Shah, Syed Muhammad Shah and Syed Kararo Shah.
4.	Tharparkar:	Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah, Mr. A.F. Mir, Mr. Imam Bux Talpur, Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah Syed and Mir Ahmed Khan Talpur.
5.	Dadu:	Pir Saleh Shah, Mr. G.M. Syed and Mr. Gul Muhammad Shah.
6.	Sukkur:	Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi and Mr. Shafqat Hussain Massavi.
7.	Larkana:	Nil
8.	Upper Sind Fronteir:	Nil

Those who count in Sind politics are not only Pirs and Mirs but also Zamindars and Vaderas. The Haris dare not vote against the wishes of their Zamindars - such is the bane of a feudal society.

The success of the Muslim League was mainly due to the following factors:

(a) Selection by the Central Parliamentary Board of influential Zamindars.
(b) Support to the League of the Pirs, prominent among them being the Pir Pagaro, the Pir of Ranipur and the Pir of Gambat.
(c) The Prime Minister's tour of upper Sind and his exhortations in support of the Muslim League candidates.
(d) All the New Sindhis (Muhajir i.e. Refugees) voted for the Muslim League candidates. 7 Muhajir candidates were elected. Sheikh Abdul Majid, a veteran politician of the Khilafat fame, was defeated by a Muhajir candidate. In a statement to the press, he at tributed his defeat to Sindhi-Muhajir cleavage. He himself was above all parochial feelings and had helped several

refugees to secure business and jobs. Mr. Mubarak Ali Shah, a blind refugee leader, defeated Mir Rasul Bakhsh Talpur in spite of the propaganda that the former was a party to the firing at a refugee mob during Moharram riots in 1951, while the latter had gone to jail in support of the stand of refugees settled in Hyderabad city.

Some interesting features of these elections which came to my notice, are worth recording:

- A number of Muslim Leaguers helped non-Muslim Leaguers or Independent candidates.
- Most of the Muslim Leaguers won not because they had the Muslim League tickets but because of their personal influence.
- The anomaly of Muslim Leaguers working for non-Leaguers became most pronounced when Mr. Khair Shah contested from two Constituencies in Nawabshah District. He contested the Nawabshah Constituency as a candidate of the Sind Muslim League Khuhro Group while on the same day, he contested the Sakrand-Nawabshah Joint Constituency as a nominee of the Central Parliamentary Board. The Hari leaders met a great disappointment when the Haris voted for the Zamindar candidates instead of the candidates of their own class.
- An ex-Asstt. Public Prosecutor; Mir Salim, who was a candidate for the Assembly, had been arrested u/s 395 for causing the forcible removal of one of the ballot boxes from a polling station in Digri Taluka. It was alleged that at his instigation, a ballot box of his rival candidate was removed by his men who rushed to hand it over to a waiting jeep but were pursued. The ballot box was thrown in the Jamarou Canal from where it was recovered. Fortunately, the ballot papers were intact. Mir Salim was released, when he satisfied the Magistrate that he was not personally responsible for the removal of the missing ballot box.

I received a letter of thanks from the Government of Sind for the successful conduct of the Sind Legislative Assembly elections and for the valuable suggestions for future elections in Sind. A letter which I received from the Speaker of the Assembly, Aga Badruddin Ahmed, is worth reproduction. The contents were as follows:

Legal Department,
Sind Secretariat.

My dear Raza,

I am directed to convey to you this Government's thanks for the

successful conduct of the Sind Legislative Assembly Elections held in May last and for your valuable suggestions on future elections in Sind.

With best wishes,

Your sincerely,
Muhammad Hanif Siddiqui
Secretary to Government.

Speaker's Chambers,
Sind Legislative Assembly Buildings,
Bunder Road,
Karachi.

25th July, 1953.

My dear Raza Sahib,

A few days back I learnt about your transfer to Pakistan Government in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. This news indeed aroused in me certain sentiments and I cannot help communicating them to you. It is not an exaggeration to say that an Officer endowed with versatile capabilities such as you are, proves an asset to any Administration, wherever he is posted. Your noble work in this Province in various capacities fully testifies to the above fact. You have got long associations with the people of this Province and indeed the services rendered by you to Sind masses in your official position will have an everlasting place in your memory. Your last but not the least service to this Province as Election Commissioner by holding fair and impartial elections has left indelible mark in the heart of every adult of this Province. Sind is no doubt proud to demonstrate to the democratic countries as to how to elect their representatives to their legislatures in a most fair and free way. It is however an open secret that such an achievement was made possible, among other factors, due to your administrative abilities of the highest order.

Apart from your official position in this Province, owing to your literary tastes and pursuits, you have left deep impression on the men of letters of this Province. Your service to the Province as Vice Chairman of the Sind Adabi Board is not less commendable than that in your official capacities and I am indeed one of those admirers of yours who find in you a happy blend of the ablest Civilian Officer and a poet of outstanding merits.

This Province obviously could ill afford to spare you but as your service in the Central Government is equally of the benefit to this Province as to the Centre, we have nothing to urge against your transfer. I wish and pray that, consistent with your brilliant career, you

will acquit yourself well of the new appointment in the Central Government.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
(Aga Badruddin Ahmed)

DEMOCRACY'S BEST SAFEGUARDS

THE PRESS WHICH HAS always been very kind to me, made very favourable comments on the manner in which the elections were conducted. The doyen of our editors, Mr. Altaf Husain, wrote an editorial in the daily "Dawn" under the headline "Election Petitions" on December 5, 1953, which I reproduce:

> It was in May this year that the last general elections were held in Sind. Since then, according to our information, quite a few election petitions were filed by defeated candidates. There is nothing unusual about this. General elections are invariably followed by a spate of such election petitions. Whether there is in every case sufficient justifiable reason to challenge the validity of the election is altogether a different question, which can be answered only after a judicial verdict. The victorious party is at times apt to look upon this as a nuisance. But in parliamentary democracy it is an inalienable basic right of the individual, however inconvenient its exercise by one group may be to another. This right to challenge before an Election Tribunal the validity of an election is one of the best safeguards democracy provides against any possible aberrations in the exercise of electoral rights.
>
> What induces us to comment on this subject here is the fact that even at the end of more than six months, election tribunals have not been appointed in Sind to hear the pending petitions. It was unanimously admitted by the contesting parties that the last general election - which was also the first to be held in the Province on the basis of adult franchise was the freest and the fairest so far held in Sind. That it has been recognised as a model election, does not obviate the need to appoint Election Tribunals to decide these cases. The verdicts of Election Tribunals, even if they go against the sitting members of the party in power, serve to reinforce the people's faith in democracy and to enhance the prestige of the Government. This is the lesson to be learnt from the outcome of election petitions in the Frontier Province. There is no justification for delaying the appointment of Election Tribunals which is the prerogative of the Governor.

Although the new Governor of Sind had taken office long after the elections were over, even he has had more than four months' time to act.

Since our press gave wide publicity to the free and fair elections held in Sind in 1953, the Azad Kashmir Government asked for my services to hold District Board Elections in Azad Kashmir in 1954, but the Central Government did not spare me for that assignment. Here is a copy of the hand-out issued on the subject by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.

"MUZAFFARABAD,

Sept. 30, 1954:

It was authoritatively learnt here today that the Azad Kashmir Government was adopting legislation in connection with elections to District Boards and that the Act and rules would soon be published in the official gazette.

It was also learnt that the Azad Kashmir Government had requested the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs to secure the services of a senior officer from the Government of Pakistan to function as Election Commissioner. The Government of Pakistan have, it is understood, decided to place the services of Mr. Hashim Raza, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, at the disposal of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. Mr. Raza will be ushered into office as soon as his services are required by the Azad Kashmir Government.

It would be recalled that he has considerable experience of this type of work having been Election Commissioner in the last elections in Sind. All parties contesting the provincial elections paid tributes to the efficiency and impartiality with which Mr. Raza conducted elections in faction-ridden Sind.

It is understood that the work of preparation of electoral rolls will be taken up by the Azad Kashmir Government early next month.

Another veteran editor, Mr. H.M. Abbasi, wrote in his paper "Comment" on 12th December, 1954:

Then only recently it was Mr. Hashim Raza, who most loyally and efficiently served his Government in the capacity of Election Commissioner in Sind and incidentally this was the only provincial election in Pakistan against which the opposition parties had no complaints to make. Muslim League won this election and all parties

praised the impartiality of Syed Hashim Raza.

These complimentary press comments may have influenced the decision of the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, in selecting me as Joint Secretary-in-Charge of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The difference between a Joint Secretary and a Joint Secretary-in-Charge is that the former is not the head of the Ministry, while the latter is the head of the Ministry. The usual seniority for a Secretary of a Ministry is 22 years of service. If some one is appointed as Secretary before putting in 22 years of service, he is designated as Joint Secretary-in-Charge. At the time of my appointment to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in 1953, I had put in only 19 years of service. I succeeded Mr. S.M. Ikram, who too was Joint Secretary-in-Charge.

BOMBAY-SIND JOINT CADRE:

Although the province of Sind was separated from the Bombay Presidency in 1936, the cadre of the All-India Services like the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Forest Service and the Indian Service of Engineers remained joint till 1947. This was because Sind was a small province with 8 Districts only and it was not administratively practicable to have separate cadres for Sind for these Services.

The number of the I.C.S. on Bombay-Sind Cadre in 1947 was 131, of whom 60 were of British origin, the rest 71 were Indian: Out of 71 officers, 60 were non-Muslims and 11 Muslims. From among 11 Muslims, two opted out for India - Y.R. Parpia and M.G. Monani. The remaining 9 opted out for Pakistan and were assigned to the Sind Cadre. Of these 9, only one was a born Sindhi - A.G.N. Kazi, who was Governor of State Bank of Pakistan and is now the Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission - the remaining 8 came from different provinces of India, N.A. Faruqui, Nazir Ahmed, M.H. Sufi and M. Masud from the Punjab, R.A. Muhammadi from Hyderabad State, myself and Abdul Hamid Khan from the U.P. and Aga Shahi from Madras. Although the province of Sind produced many learned men, poets, writers, historians and philosophers in the past, yet during the British rule from 1843 to 1947 these were the Hindus who had dominated the intellectual scene and the Muslims remained backward in education. In 1947, there were 40 Sindhis who were members of the I.C.S. serving in various provinces of India. Of these 39 were Hindus, none of whom opted out for Sind, and only one was Muslim - A.G.N. Kazi.

Mr. N.A. Faruqui, 3 years my senior, was Chief Secretary when I was

reverted to the Sind Cadre in 1951. Before proceeding on leave, he invited Mr. R.A. Muhammadi, 2 years his Junior, and myself to his house and told us that he wanted to consult both of us prior to making a recommendation to the Government about his successor. Mr. Muhammadi was at that time Development Commissioner. He suggested my name since he did not want to leave unfinished the development schemes which he had initiated. So I took over as Chief Secretary. I reciprocated his gesture in suggesting his name when the Revenue Minister, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, was kind enough to offer me the senior-most post in the Sind Cadre - Revenue Commissioner for Sind. I thanked him for his consideration, but begged to be excused. I suggested that Mr. Muhammadi who was senior to me, and he should succeed Sir Sidney Ridley as Revenue Commissioner for Sind. Sir Sidney had opted out for Pakistan in 1947. He was a very able and popular officer. He was succeeded not by Mr. Muhammadi but by Mr. Nazir Ahmed, who was five years junior to Mr. Muhammadi!

Two young members of the I.C.S. were attached to me as Supernumerary Assistant Collectors when I was Collector of Larkana, to learn the art or science of administration - J.G. Kharas of 1943 batch and Aga Shahi of 1944 batch of the I.C.S. Both joined the Pakistan Foreign Service later and rose to high posts. Kharas retired as Ambassador and Aga Shahi as Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi whom I mentioned earlier, was an intellectual of a high calibre. He was a famous journalist and wielded a facile pen in English, Sindhi as well as Urdu. In his generous references to my humble services, he had predicted that I would be an Ambassador and Foreign Secretary in due course. Since I was not a member of the Pakistan Foreign Service, these jobs were not within my line of promotion. But I take delight in recording that two members of the I.C.S., whom I trained in Larkana when they were Supernumerary Assistant Collectors, J.G. Kharas (of 1943 batch) and Aga Shahi (1944 batch), joined the Foreign Service, the former served as Pakistan's Ambassador and the latter as Foreign Secretary, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and eventually as Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

After receiving the good wishes of Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, I rose to various positions, viz., Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan, Federal Secretary to the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works, Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Chief Secretary and Governor of East Pakistan. All these assignments were beyond my expectations.

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had three attached Depart-

ments:

(1) The Press Information Department.
(2) Radio Pakistan, and
(3) The Department of Advertising, Films and Publications.

The Press Information Department was headed by Col. Majid Malik, Principal Information Officer; Radio Pakistan by Z.A. Bokhari, Director General; and the Department of Advertising, Films and Publications by a Director. The last mentioned Department had once been headed by Mian Arshad Husain, who became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the regime of President Muhammad Ayub Khan.

I was lucky in getting a talented team to assist me in the discharge of my duties. My Deputy Secretaries were W.A. Sheikh, who later on became a Federal Secretary and Chairman of Islamabad Development Authority, and Syed Tayyab Husain of the Foreign Service of Pakistan, who later on became our Ambassador to Iran. Both Col. Majid Malik and Z.A. Bokhari were excellent Heads of their respective Departments and none of their successors attained the eminence which they had achieved.

10

FREEDOM OF PRESS

— 'If he had the choice between Government without Newspaper or Newspaper without Government, he would choose the later.' — Late President Thomas Jafferson
— 'History of a country depends on a strong and independent Press.' — Warren E. Burger, Former Chief Justice of U.S.A.
— 'Old nobility of France would have survived if they had known enough to become masters of printing material.' — Napoleon Bonaparte.
— 'News as the first draft of history.' — Ben Bardlee

THE FOURTH ESTATE IS a power to reckon with in all democratic countries. C.P. Scott distinguished between news and views by stating that news is sacred while comment is free. A favourite statement of Lord Northcliff was that the power of the Press is the power to suppress. The well-known columnist, Walter Lippmann, was of the view that the press should be the philosopher of the masses.

When a foreign head of the State complained to a Prime Minister of England against attacks on him in the English newspapers, he replied:

> There are two things over which we have no control, the English weather and the British Press.

While the Press in England was completely free, the Press in India was fully controlled. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Council of the Governor-General on March 28, 1919, in protest against the passage of the Rowlatt Bill. The Bill required abstention from certain acts such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets or attending meetings. It authorised the Government to demand security with or without sureties from anybody.

That Bill was meant to stamp out political terrorism. Mr. Jinnah could not tolerate the Bill which was a negation of the fundamental principles of law and

justice. It denied trial by jury to all those who were accused of political crimes or enmity to the Government. It curtailed further the freedom of the Press. How mindful was Mr. Jinnah of the right of the people and the Press is evident from the strong language of his letter of resignation to the Viceroy. He accused the Government of India of having "ruthlessly trampled upon the principles" for which Great Britain had claimed to have fought the First World War, and of having violated "the constitutional rights of the people when there is no real danger to the state, by an incompetent and over-fretful bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion." He dubbed the Imperial Legislative Council as a machine propelled by a foreign executive and since he could be of no use to his people in such a "dummy council", the only honourable course left to him was to submit his resignation.

The soft-spoken, courteous and considerate Englishman was transformed into an over-hearing and stiff-necked bureaucrat when he went out to Asia or Africa to rule over the people his armies had subdued. The Imperialist writer and poet, Rudyard Kipling, exhorted his countrymen to:

Take up the whiteman's burden
Send forth the best ye breed
To await in heavy harness
Your new caught sullen people
Half devil and half child.

The Victor of Waterloo, Lord Wellington, had learnt the art of war in India before he was lucky enough to defeat Napoleon Bonaparte. He used to say that he did not come across a single good-tempered Englishman east of Suez!

To revert to the restrictions imposed upon the press, during the Second World War the control of Government over the Press was further strengthened by the Defence of India Act. There was complete censorship over the news about the war. A system of 'Press advice' was established for better relationship between the Government and the Press. The Government of India appointed a Central Press Advisor and the Provincial Governments appointed Provincial Press Advisors. I was Provincial Press Advisor for Sind, an assignment which enabled me to establish cordial relations with the Press and it made me stand in good stead when I took charge of the Ministry of Information.

As the Provincial Press Advisor, I tried my utmost to uphold the freedom of Press. The instance as set by Muhammad Ali Jinnah acted as an inspiring force. A great champion of the freedom of press as he was, his precept always showed me light in conducting the affairs of the press as the Advisor. When

Quaid-e-Azam founded the daily "Dawn", he allowed maximum power of press and the important role which it plays in the modern society, he also believed in the healthy exercise of functions of the press.

FIVE INFORMATION MINISTERS IN THREE YEARS

— Mr. Shoaib Qureshi was the Son-in-Law of my school days Hero, Maulana Mumhammad Ali Jauhar.
— A.K. Brohi an intellectual giant described by former Prime Minister of Pakistan.

I TOOK OVER CHARGE of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting on 19th July, 1953, from Sheikh Muhammad Ikram. Both of us had joined the Bombay Cadre of the I.C.S. - he in 1933, and I in 1934. He was a research-minded scholar and was the author of a number of books, including one on Mirza Ghalib. He visited Delhi, Rampur, Lucknow and Calcutta in quest of material for his book on Ghalib. Delhi was Ghalib's home, the Nawab of Rampur was his patron. Ghalib respected some of the learned men of Lucknow, he had to visit Calcutta as it was the capital of India at that time and he had to meet a number of officials there to get his pension renewed which had been abruptly discontinued after the holocaust of 1857.

Ikram told me an amusing story about his visit to Lucknow which used to be my home-town till 1947 when I migrated to Pakistan. It was known as a city of gardens and palaces, of culture and etiquette. Ikram did not take a taxi from the Charbagh Station to the Carlton Hotel as he wanted to see the city in a leisurely manner. He hired a tonga and asked the tongawala to take him by the longest route. Since it was his first visit to Lucknow, he asked the tongawala whenever he passed by an impressive building the purpose, the cost and the age of the building. The tongawala gave very brief replies and Ikram got the impression that he did not welcome his queries. When he arrived at the hotel, he told the tongawala that he had expected far greater courtesy than he had experienced. The tongawala replied:

> Sir, I am not a guide. You can not imagine how restrained has been my behaviour! I was composing a ghazal for a Mushaira tonight. Whenever I composed a line, you put a question. I answered the question, but forgot the line.

Ikram realised that the boot was on the other leg. He apologised to the

tongawala for spoiling his ghazal and added:

ہم الزام اُن کو دیتے تھے قصور اپنا نکل آیا

Whereas I put him to blame: guilty I was, what a shame!

The tongawala returned a grateful smile.

When I called on the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, he told me how the information media operated in Canada and the U.S.A., where he had been our High Commissioner and Ambassador respectively. He wanted us to work on those lines.

My Minister, Mr. Shoaib Qureshi, had been a front-rank journalist and a keen politician. He had edited 'Young India', 'Independent' and a pan-Islamic paper published in Switzerland. He had taken part in Khilafat Movement and was prosecuted for seditious writings in 1922. Since he was a family friend and since he was the son-in-law of my school days hero, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, we got on very well. When he was appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Iraq, he was succeeded by Mr. A.K. Brohi, an eminent lawyer and thinker, who had once been described as an intellectual giant by Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra.

When Brohi resigned, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur took over the portfolio of Information and Broadcasting. He was a perfect gentleman and had earned the distinction of being the first graduate among the Talpurs. In the course of three years, I had to deal with five Ministers. I enjoyed working with them, as there was mutual trust between us. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur was succeeded by Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan of Cambellpur who, in turn, was succeeded by Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi. Like Mr. Shoaib Qureshi, Mr. Rashidi was a very experienced editor and a remarkable politician. He was an old friend. I had known him ever since my arrival in Sind in 1939. As Advisor to Sir Abdullah Haroon, he had played a prominent part in advancing the cause of the Muslims of Sind. He had edited the weekly "Muslim Voice" which was the only English paper in pre-partition days that supported the cause of Muslims.

In those days, the English dailies of Karachi, "Sind Observer" and "Daily Gazette", were the mouthpiece of Hindu interests. Sindhi dailies too supported the Hindu cause except the "Al-Wahid" which advanced the cause of the Muslim League. Two Urdu dailies "Nizam" and "Hayat" too supported the stand of the Muslim League. Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi helped in drafting the resolution that was passed on October 10, 1938, at the Sind Muslim League Conference, Karachi, under the presidentship of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, which demanded partition of

India into two federations, Muslim and non-Muslim. That resolution was in fact, a precursor of the Pakistan Resolution that was passed at Lahore on the 23rd March, 1940.

There is a letter which I received from Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi when he was our Ambassador in The Philippines and I was the Commissioner of Hyderabad Division. The letter is dated 23rd March, 1958. It is an interesting letter and worth quoting in full:

> My dear Raza Sahib,
>
> It was most gracious of you to have remembered me and given me all these interesting news. As I am writing this, a telegraphic message has been coming in which says that Mir Ghulam Ali has re-signed and that once again there is a crisis on. How grateful I feel to Allah for having given me this respite and kept me out of that cauldron? But the earth is round and who knows I may have to give up this exile and return home sooner than expected. At the moment, I am happy to be out of it all. If you become a Minister, you should be able to do some solid work and leave behind some impression on history. Of what good is a ministership if it means that for the sake of 1900 rupees and a Police Guard of Honour, and a little flag on your car, you should sacrifice your peace of mind, your dignity and your principles? I remained a minister so long I felt I was doing some work - these district hospitals, the Liaquat Medical College, buildings at Makli, cancellation of Jagirs - all that happened and was planned and sanctioned in my time. Later, when I found that I had merely to function as a clerk and was not in a position to do anything substantial, I resigned and undertook this exile which means remaining out of focus so long as this clash between the old and new orders continues.
>
> I quite realise your difficulties about the arrears. I was the first Revenue Minister to realise that over 5 crores were in arrears in Hyderabad and Mirpur Khas alone. I took drastic steps and put in civil jail even my own uncle. The result was that there was an uproar among the Zamindars but I could realise over 3 crore in one year; it was after I left that the arrears again mounted. But I am quite sure that, with your tact and firmness, you would be able to accomplish what I had left unaccomplished. I am not flattering you. But there is hardly another person in Pakistan who fully knows your merits and your real value. I have known you since the days you were in charge of the Press during the War; I saw you how tactfully you announced the execution of Pir Pagaro without having aroused any repercussions; I saw you carrying on Karachi Administration in the days of the 1947 holocaust in the teeth of Sindhi opposition; I saw how you

met the first challenge of mass migrations from India and of the influx into Karachi; I saw you carrying on your work and your administration honestly, justly and firmly during the time of the Hindu domination in Sind; I saw your conduction of Sind elections (you being the only Election Officer whose services and impartiality were admired in Parliament by all parties); I also saw you managing with tremendous efficiency and effect the Central Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. And although you have had to pass through one crisis only to fall into the vortex of yet another and this has been the story of your career throughout these years, nobody has ever doubted your honesty of purpose, your motives, your impartiality and your efficiency. Even those whom you could not accommodate, in the course of your duties, did not feel hurt. Such has been your tact. It is not only here that I am expressing these feelings of mine. I have placed all these things, and many more which I need not disclose here, on your record when you left my ministry and I was called upon to give my remarks on your confidential record. I have written there that someday you will become our Foreign Secretary and later our Ambassador and it is in those positions alone that you will eventually fulfill your destiny. You will see that happening some day, whether I am alive or not.

This all was by the bye. I am certain that in Hyderabad you will succeed. Nobody will doubt your sincerity. Everyone will understand you and help you. Of that I am certain.

I think I must now conclude this lengthy letter of mine and await your kind reply. I am just going to the Airport to receive the President of Viet Nam, so goodbye.

With respects from both of us to Begum Sahiba and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
(Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi)

ACTION TAKEN AGAINST DAILY 'MUSALMAN'

— One day Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman Editor of Jang rang me up and asked me whether Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra had married his Private Secretary Miss Aliya, a good looking talented lady who hailed from Lebanon.

AFTER THE WAR, THE Defence of India Act was replaced by the Maintenance of Public Safety Act. Since the Ministry of the Interior administered this Act, action against newspapers too was taken by the Ministry in con-

sultation with the Ministry of Information. I am glad to be able to reflect that no action was taken under the Maintenance of Public Safety Act against any newspaper during the time of my tenure.

The Press and Publications Ordinance of 1963 was promulgated seven years after I left the Ministry. The only paper against which I had to initiate executive action was an Urdu daily of Karachi - "Musalman". This action was not taken under the Public Safety Act, but at the instance of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra.

Before he was nominated Prime Minister of Pakistan by Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra had served as our Ambassador to Burma, High Commissioner to Canada, and Ambassador to the U.S.A. From Washington he brought with him a good-looking and talented lady secretary, Miss Aliya, who hailed from Lebanon and had migrated to Canada. One day Mir Khalilur Rehman, Editor of "Jang" rang me up and asked me whether Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra had married his Private Secretary, Miss Aliya.

I was taken aback at this query and asked Mir Khalilur Rehman who had conveyed that news to him. He said that "Musalman" was printed in the "Jang" Press and a special one-page issue of the paper had carried the news that the Prime Minister had married his Secretary. Mir Khalilur Rehman told me that he had held up the 1,000 copies of the issue till he verified the correctness of the news.

On my request, he sent a copy of the issue by a special messenger. I rang up the Prime Minister and told him that I would like to see him forthwith on an urgent matter but when he was all alone. He asked me what the matter was. I replied that I could not discuss it over the phone. He said 'come alone' and when I entered his room, his Secretary, Miss Aliya, was in his room with some papers. He asked me about the urgent business that took me to him and before I replied to his query I said:

'Sir, I had requested you to see me alone.'

He said, 'But I am alone.'

I said, 'You are not alone.'

At this, Miss Aliya quietly left the room and I showed him the copy of 'Musalman'.

He asked me to read it. The gist of the news was that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, married his Secretary Miss Aliya at a simple ceremony last night at the Prime Minister's House. Only a few near relations were present. Maulana Ehtishamul Haq Thanvi performed the Nikah in his sonorous voice and prayed for the happiness of the newly-married couple. The sum of 'meher' (dower) was very modest. "Musalman" offered its

felicitations to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra expressed his shock and annoyance at the news. He said it was totally baseless and asked me to take immediate action against the Editor of "Musalman". I said that what "Musalman" had written amounted to defamation, but since there had been no dissemination of the defamatory news, the charge of defamation could not be brought home. I told him that since the editor had printed a news item concerning the Head of the Pakistan Government without verifying its truth, I would withdraw his accreditation card and would not allot him the monthly quota of newsprint for his paper. There was an acute shortage of newsprint in those days. The Prime Minister asked me to leave the copy of the paper with him as he wanted to discuss this matter with his Law Minister, Mr. A.K. Brohi. He did not pursue the matter as Mr. Brohi advised him not to file a defamatory suit. On my return from the Prime Minister's House, I rang up Mir Khalilur Rehman and told him that since the news was totally false, he should not part with the remaining 999 copies of the paper and should advise the Editor to see me.

The Editor came in the evening. I told him that since he had printed a news which was false and also vexatious to the Prime Minister, I was constrained to withdraw his accredition card and not to allot any further quota of newsprint to his paper. He heard what the Prime Minister had told me without any visible emotion. He did not put forth any excuses. He did not protest at the action I indicated to him. When I offered to buy all the 999 copies (the price was only one Anna per copy) he said he did not want any amount and requested me to destroy those copies. "Musalman" had meagre circulation and ceased publication when its newsprint stock ended after a couple of weeks.

A few months later when Reuters carried the news that Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra married Miss Aliya at Beirut and paid the 'meher' money in foreign exchange, the Editor of "Musalman" came to see me and said that he had published the news of the marriage between the Prime Minister and his Secretary in Karachi not to defame the Prime Minister but to defend his relationship with his Secretary. He had heard the gossip about their relationship from Pakistani as well as foreign correspondents and printed the news of the Nikah to put a stop to ugly gossip. When I remarked that a false news could not be justified on any ground, he quoted the dictum of the sage and poet, Muslehuddin S'aadi of Iran:

دروغِ مصلحت آمیز بہ از راستی فتنہ انگیز

Better than truth is that false-hood which deadens a dispute.

I remarked that even if one could concede his claim that the news which was published in the Musalman was ' دروغِ مصلحت آمیز ', ('false-hood for the sake of expediency') how could the news of the actual marriage at Beirut which was carried by the Reuters be described as' راستیِ فتنہ انگیز ', ('errant truth'). He referred to the payment of the sum of meher in foreign exchange. He said 'would the State Bank of Pakistan give me foreign exchange for payment of 'dower' if I married outside Pakistan?' My reply was that Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra was our Ambassador in three countries from 1947 to 1953 and must have spent the foreign exchange earned by him. At long last we agreed to differ.

EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS:

We had a galaxy of editors in the early days of Pakistan - Mr. Altaf Hussain of 'Dawn', Maulana Akram Khan of 'Azad', Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi of 'Sind Observer', Mir Khalilur Rehman and Syed Muhammad Taqi of 'Jang', Mr. Din Muhammad Wafai of 'Al-Wahid', Mr. Sardar Ali Sabri and Mr. Umar Faruqui of 'Anjam', Syed Hasan Riaz 'Manshoor', Mr. Fakhre Matri of 'Millat' Maulana Is-mail Zabih, Mr. Zafar Niazi, Mr. Muhammad Ahmed Zuberi of 'Star', Mr. Z.A. Suleri of 'Evening News', Manik Mian of "Ittefaq", Mr. H.M. Abbasi of 'Comment', Mr. Badurddin and Mr. Mohsin Ali of 'Morning News' S. Farid Jaffary and Shafiq Brelvi.

The talented journalists of those days whom I recall were Moazzam Ali, (now Adviser to the President), Ashiq Ahmed, Muhammad Ashir, Zamir Siddiqui, Sultan Ahmed, Asrar Ahmed, Manzarul Hasan, Iqbal Burney, Shamim Ahmed, Mukhtar Zaman, Najibullah, S.R. Ghauri, Mustafa Hyder, Tufail Ahmed, Jamali Sahee Niazi, Athar Ali, Gurdas Wadhani, M.B. Khalid, Abrar Siddiqi, Absar Rizvi, Khaliq Naziri and Waris Ishaque. Rais Amrohvi's quatrains and Majeed Lahori's columns in the Jang had a universal appeal. My relations with the editors and journalists were very cordial.

PRESS DECLARATION WITHOUT TEARS

SYED FAKHRUDDIN MATRI WHO attained fame as Fakhre Matri had the same passion for Pakistan as Mr. Altaf Husain had. But they differed in many ways. While Mr. Altaf Husain always looked serious and absorbed in his thoughts, Mr. Fakhre Matri appeared invariably relaxed and in good humour.

I seldom heard Mr. Altaf Husain laughing, but Mr. Fakhre Matri's laughter

was infectious among his friends. He was the life and soul of parties, cheerful, amusing and smiling all the time. While Mr. Altaf Husain concentrated on merely writing leading articles as there was Mr. Azhar Barlas, a full-fledged Manager of Dawn in Delhi, Mr. Fakhre Matri was the Proprietor, Editor and Manager of Millat, a Gujrati Daily which he launched in pre-partition days to further the cause of the Muslim League. He was an active member of Muslim League and an ardent supporter of Pakistan, in the attainment of which he had complete faith. After his migration to Karachi in 1947, he continued to edit Millat (Gujrati), founded an evening paper of English called 'Leader' and an Urdu daily named 'Hurriyat'. He had a good command over Gujrati, Urdu and English languages. My first association with Fakhre Matri goes back to 1947, when I was Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi.

One of my functions was to sanction Press Declarations and since a number of editors migrated to Karachi along with their newspapers, I had issued instructions that after an editor had produced a copy of his paper published in India, he should be given Declaration for its publication in Pakistan without the prescribed formal enquiries.

FAKHRE MATRI:

One day a gentleman came with a copy of daily 'Millat' Gujrati printed in Bombay Province and applied for Declaration to print this paper in Karachi. He obtained the necessary permission to publish it in Karachi. An hour later, Mr. Fakhre Matri applied for its declaration. When I told him that a gentleman had already been given permission to publish Millat, he wanted to see his application. I showed it to him and he said that the person who had obtained declaration earlier had done so fraudulently as he had nothing to do with Millat and had forged a copy showing his own name as Editor. Mr. Fakhre Matri asked me to verify this fact from Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer, who had migrated to Pakistan from Poona. He was a Member of the Central Assembly of India and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Mr. Ahmed Jaffer confirmed what Mr. Fakhre Matri had told me. I cancelled the earlier declaration and directed the police to trace the phony editor. He was not traced as he had obviously given a false name.

I received a letter from Mr. Fakhre Matri on 30th January, 1951, which I reproduce below:

> Dear Mr. Raza,
>
> I am enclosing herewith a cutting of my today's leading article captioned "Administrator of Karachi" for your information and

record.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Fakhre Matri
Editor Millat Daily.

Even though Mr. Fakhre Matri in his leading article had been over-generous in his estimate of my humble services, it will be demeaning on my part not to reproduce it. The Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan (languages Branch), sent me a cutting with the following observations:

> The 'Millat', a Gujrati daily of Karachi, dated January 30, 1951, commenting on the report (an obvious misunderstanding. I proceeded on leave in April, 1951, and retired in 1966) that Mr. Hashim Raza is going on leave "prior to retirement", says:
>
> By the services rendered for the last two years, Mr. Hashim Raza, the Karachi Administrator, has not only proved himself a sensible and tactful administrator, but has also enhanced the prestige of the Government by discharging his responsibilities as the real representative of the people. His responsibilities are in fact greater than even those of Prime Minister. Persons who are carrying on propaganda against him are none, but those who have failed to get from him the benefits they did not deserve.
>
> In view of the onerous duties of the Karachi Administrator, he should be endowed with sufficient powers and receive full cooperation from the Centre.

The paper concluded by saying that the real intention of these lines was to pay an appropriate tribute to the deserving official.

When I relinquished charge as Administrator of Karachi in April, 1951, I received another letter from Mr. Fakhre Matri, which is as follows:

Karachi, dt. 28th
April, 1951.

Dear Mr. Raza,

I take immense pleasure to enclose herewith cuttings of yesterday's Editorial (Farewell to the efficient) and today's report of the farewell party.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fakhre Matri
Editor Millat Daily.

When I felicitated Fakhre Matri on the appearance of the "Leader" from Karachi, I told him that as a student I used to read the "Leader" of Allahabad edited by a distinguished journalist and freedom fighter, C.Y. Chintamani, who became Minister of Education in the U.P. in 1920s. The "Pioneer" of Allahabad was the spokesman of the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian community. Chintamani launched the "Leader" with a memorable sentence "The Pioneer's task is over. The Leader now takes over."

Fakhre Matri was the pioneer of short editorials. It may sound paradoxical, but it is fact that it takes more time and energy to write a short editorial than a long one. I am reminded of Voltaire's letter to a friend:

> Since I have no time to write a short letter, I have decided to write a long one.

Among our Ambassadors and High Commissioners who briefed us from time to time, I found Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan the most impressive. He was then our High Commissioner in New Delhi. He had a towering personality to which he added a flowing turban. He had a keen sense of humour and related very amusing anecdotes. His fund of 'Sikh' stories was unlimited.

Since he came from Jehlum, one would have thought that the Sikhs who had lost their heads at the partition of the Punjab, would be hostile or at least indifferent to him. Instead of that, they made him the chief guest at the Roshan Ara Club, when they celebrated the birthday of Guru Nanak. They invited all the prominent people of Delhi and the members of the Diplomatic Corps at that annual function. Raja Ghazanfar Ali addressed them in chaste Punjabi and when he referred to the delicate subject of partition of the Punjab, he said something which brought the greatest applause. The Sikhs stood up to a man, clapped and clapped, and some of them embraced him to the astonishment of the members of the diplomatic corps, who had heard that the Sikh regarded the Muslims of the Punjab as their greatest enemy. The High Commissioner of the United Kingdom asked him after he had finished his speech what the sentence was which made him so popular with his audience, he said:

> I told them that there were many things common between us including our 'himaqat'! (follies).

During my tenure in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, I cultivated friendship of all editors, the two who impressed me most were Mr. Altaf Husain of "Dawn" and Mr. Fakhre Matri of "Millat"

ALTAF HUSAIN:

I recall the day when Mr. Altaf Husain called on me at my official residence 'Ashiana' opposite Karachi Gymkhana, when I was the Administrator of Pakistan's First Federal Capital. He was residing at that time in an old building opposite 'Seafield', Victoria Road, now known as Abdullah Haroon Road. That building was later on pulled down and the late Dr. Shaukat Haroon built a new house on the old site. Mr. Altaf Husain was occupying the upper flat and he had to share the lower flat with an official of the C.I.D. He told me that he wanted a change as he did not feel comfortable in his flat.

It was the time when there was a battle for houses in Karachi. This city had residential accommodation in 1947 only for four lakh of people. When it became the capital of the new dominion of Pakistan; refugees started flocking to it from all parts of India. They came in trains via Khokrapar and by air from various airports of India. Within two years, the population of the city doubled itself.

I told Mr. Altaf Husain that it was very difficult to find a vacant house or flat in those circumstances. I remarked that if he or his correspondents could come across any place which was nominally occupied, I would be glad to assist him in securing it. He replied that only the Rent Controller and his Assistants could deliver the goods. I remarked that the Rent Controller of Karachi had asked me to relieve him of his job since he was surrounded by applicants for accommodation day and night and there was no vacant accommodation to allot.

However, I promised that I would make further enquiries and a fortnight later when we met, I made Mr. Altaf Husain a proposition. I told him that a house at Bleak House Road was likely to fall vacant, but there was a condition for its allotment. He inquired which house it was and what the condition of allotment was. I told him that Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar who was occupying that house was to take over as Governor of West Punjab from Sir Francis Mudie and if Mr. Altaf Husain succeeded him as a Minister of the Central Government, he could get that house.

"Are you trying to pull my leg, Mr. Administrator?" asked Mr. Altaf Husain.

I replied, "How dare I do that when I know that the Quaid-e-Azam held you in the greatest esteem. I was merely trying to solve a problem which you had set."

Mr. Altaf Husain replied, "I have declined not once but twice the offer to join the Central Cabinet," and when I asked him the reason, he replied, "There are 10 Ministers in the Central Government, but there is only one Altaf

Husain."

Later on, when a Hindu family decided to migrate to India, the Rent Controller allotted a spacious ground floor on Mirza Qaleech Beg Road, opposite Nishtar Park, to Mr. Altaf Husain and I was happy when I became the Chief Settlement Commissioner in 1959 to transfer the house permanently to him in settlement of his claim.

The two names which will always be associated with Dawn are those of the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Mr. Altaf Husain. Mr. Altaf Husain raised Dawn from the level of a newspaper to that of an institution. Before he became the Editor of Dawn, his writings in the Statesman of Calcutta under the pseudo name 'Shahed' had attracted the attention of the Quaid-e-Azam. Since he enjoyed the esteem of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and all his colleagues, he was in a much better position than other editors to know the Government mind. He had a forceful pen and did not spare any one who did not come up to his expectations. Those who did not respect him at least feared him. His biting criticism of the leaders of India made him a 'betenoire' of the Indian Press.

At one time, Mr. Krishna Menon, then Defence Minister of India, was his main target. I wonder whether he read all that Mr. Altaf Husain wrote about him; but if he did, he must have known in his heart of hearts that Mr. Altaf Husain was the one man who paid him back in his own coin.

I recall a reception given by Sir Robert Menzies, then Prime Minister of Australia, on the 13th December, 1962, at Canberra, in honour of the Delegates of the Fifth Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. It was held at Melbourne from the 24th November to the 8th December, 1962. This Regional Conference which meets at an interval of 5 years, was attended by the representatives of McMahon, then Minister for Labour and National Service and later on Prime Minister of Australia. He was elected Chairman of the Conference and I was elected Vice Chairman. When Mr. McMahon introduced me to Sir Robert Menzies as 'a Government Delegate from Pakistan', Sir Robert in his characteristic affable manner remarked:

"You and your countrymen would be very happy to learn that at long last Mr. Krishna Menon has been removed from the Indian Cabinet."

I replied in the affirmative adding, "I hope that he will be succeeded by a Defence Minister who will not be inimical to Pakistan."

Sir Robert joined me in this hope but made this observation, "Don't you agree that as a quid pro quo, Mr. Altaf Husain should cease to be the Editor of Dawn?"

My reply was, "Sir, it is easier to remove a Minister from the Cabinet than the Editor of a newspaper. One can't think of Dawn without Mr. Altaf Husain."

I was surprised when Mr. Altaf Husain joined the Cabinet of Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1965. Two years earlier, he had severely criticised the promulgation of the Press & Publications Ordinance and had joined the countrywide one-day strike of newspapers to protest against the curbs imposed by this Ordinance. The notice of this strike in Dawn was unique. On Dawn's front page in bold lines appeared these words:

There will be no Dawn tomorrow

When I met him after he had assumed charge as a Minister of the same Cabinet which had approved of the promulgation of this Ordinance, I asked him why he did not join Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's Cabinet and had joined Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan's Cabinet. He replied.

"I was middle-aged then, I am an old man now".

I concluded that he found the responsibilities of an Editor more onerous than those of a Minister.

Mr. Altaf Husain was a patriotic person. He had written that inter-provincial rivalries would weaken Pakistan. He wrote a thought-provoking editorial on this subject under the caption 'A grand scheme', in which he proposed to abolish the Provincial Governments and to have only one Government for East as well as West Pakistan.He suggested that the two Wings should be subdivided into several administrative units. The proposal did not receive the attention which it deserved. Mr. Fazlur Rehman, another patriot, told me that Mr. Altaf Husain's grand scheme was the only answer to the insatiable desire of the provinces to have more and more power at the expense of the Central Government.

Had Mr. Altaf Husain's proposals been acted upon, Pakistan would not have been dismembered in 1971. If the remaining Pakistan is to be preserved and strengthened, the grand scheme of Mr. Altaf Husain deserves to be implemented by our rulers.

Mr. Altaf Husain kept a critical eye on all administrative steps and criticised all those who, in his view, had deviated from the path of public service. It was, therefore, a matter of gratification for me when I read an editorial in Dawn in its issue of 5th December, 1953 under the caption 'Election Petitions', in which he had described the elections to the Sind Assembly conducted by me in May, 1953, as the "freest and the fairest so far held in Sind" and "a model election". I reproduce the editorial to show in what manner Mr. Altaf Husain had criticised the delay in the appointment of Election Tribunals:

It was in May this year that the last general elections were held

in Sind. Since then, according to our information, quite a few election petitions were filed by defeated candidates. There is nothing unusual about this. General elections are invariably followed by a spate of such election petitions. Whether there is in every case sufficient justifiable reason to challenge the validity of the election is altogether a different question which can be answered only after a judicial verdict. The victorious party is at times apt to look upon this as a nuisance. But in parliamentary democracy, it is an inalienable basic right of the individual, however, inconvenient its exercise by one group may be to another. This right to challenge before an Election Tribunal the validity of an election is one of the best safeguards democracy provides against any possible aberration in the exercise of electoral rights.

What induces us to comment on this subject here is the fact that even at the end of more than six months Election Tribunals have not been appointed in Sind to hear the pending petitions. It was unanimously admitted by all the contesting parties that the last general election, which was also the first to be held in the province on the basis of adult franchise, was the freest so far held in Sind. That it has been recognised as a model election does not obviate the need to appoint Election Tribunals to decide these cases. The verdicts of Election Tribunals, even if they go against the sitting members of the party in power, serve to reinforce the people's faith in democracy and to enhance the prestige of the Government. This is the lesson to be learnt from the outcome of election petitions in the Frontier Province. There is no justification for delaying the appointment of Election Tribunals which is the prerogative of the Governor. Although the new Governor of Sind had taken office long after the elections were over, even he has had more than four months' time to act.

IAN STEPHENS:

Among my visitors during 1953-56, the two who left a deep impression on my mind, were Ian Stephens, Fellow of the Kings College, Cambridge, and Professor Ahmed Shah Bokhari. Ian Stephens started his career as a Public Relations Officer in the Government of India and then switched over to journalism. In 1942, he succeeded Arthur Moore as editor of the "Statesman", Calcutta. That was a very prestigious paper, which at one time had been regarded as the mouth-piece of the Government of India. By 1942, however, it gave expression to the points of view of the Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. The point of view of the Muslim League was forcefully

expressed in a fortnightly column by "Shahed".

Ian Stephens did not know for a long time whose contribution it was. It was none other than that of Altaf Husain, who was at that time an employee of the Government of Bengal and could not reveal his identity since he was a Government servant. The Quaid liked the contributions of "Shahed" and when the Muslim League leaders of Bengal told him that "Shahed" was Altaf Husain, he called him and offered him the post of Editor of Dawn. Altaf Husain resigned his Government service and joined Dawn as successor to Pothan Joseph.

Ian Stephens continued to edit "Statesman" after August, 1947. When he criticised India's wrongful acquisition of Kashmir, he was advised by Lord Mountbatten to do in Rome as the Romans do. He told me that when he visited the Governor-General's House after Independence, he found the atmosphere totally different from that of the Viceroy's House. Mountbatten had identified himself completely with the Indian point of view on Kashmir and other controversial issues between Pakistan and India. Ian Stephens did not toe the line laid down by Mountbatten; he resigned his job and went home.

In 1952, he published "Horned Moon", a very readable book on Pakistan. He joined as Historian, Government of Pakistan, G.H.Q., Rawalpindi. He dropped into my office whenever he visited Karachi. In 1977, he wrote another admirable book on Pakistan entitled "Unmade Journey". I met him last in December, 1976, at the Birth Centenary Celebrations of the Quaid-e-Azam in Islamabad. He read an excellent paper which has been published in Vol.I of the compilation "World Scholars on Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah", published by Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad., 1979. Here is a quotation from his address:

> And whatever we may think of the Mountbatten propaganda put across by Lappierre and Collins, we must award the two authors high praise for having ferreted out the facts about that plate, presumably from Dr. Patel himself, it is hard to think what other source there could have been. And I, before writing "Horned Moon" in 1942, had consulted two of Mr. Jinnah's subsequent doctors, both Pakistanis: Drs. Ilahi Bux and Riaz Ali shah. They had known nothing of any long established tuberculosis. Only Jinnah himself knew and his old friend and confidant in Bombay. And historians may now confidently assert that, had India's Congress Party leaders learned the truth, during those 14 relevant months before August, 1947, the Subcontinents' destiny might have been quite different: they would have delayed, instead of helping to accelerate the course of history; and Pakistan might then never have been born, or else have been

smothered at birth.

The biography of the Quaid written by Hector Bolitho did not click, I wonder why our Government selected Hector Bolitho who had never met the Quaid. Ian Stephens had known the Quaid very well in the pre-partition days. He had what he described as a "talk of outstanding interest and intimacy" with the Quaid in February, 1948, at the Governor-General's House, Karachi. He would have done full justice to the task.

Another British journalist who could have delivered the goods was Beverly Nicholas, whom Ian Stephens described in his paper as "a writer now almost forgotten, had experienced something like a revelation, during his first interview with Jinnah - vividly describing it, afterwards, in his book 'Verdict on India'" The chapter devoted to his meeting with the Quaid was entitled "Dialogue with a Giant".

It pained me when I came to know about the death of Ian, but I read with great interest an excellent article, "A friend of Pakistan is dead", by Mr. Yusuf Saeed. He has beautifully covered Ian's career and his love for Pakistan in the undermentioned paragraphs, I quote:

> I had known Ian since 1942, when I was in Calcutta, but during my stay in Delhi in 1946-47, I came to know him intimately and admired his stirling qualities as a journalist. Mountbatten disliked him for his independent views and ticked him off on some editorial which he had written. Thereupon, Ian replied, "Sir, The Statesman is owned by the British public and is not the property of the Governor-General of India." The Congress equally disliked him.
>
> During the Kashmir operations, Ian's sympathies lay with Pakistan and he made it known that Mountbatten was directing the operations.
>
> It is little known that he wanted to bring out an edition of The Statesman from Karachi, but his plan somehow was thwarted by Mountbatten. Ian was never regarded as part of the Raj.
>
> His first major book, "The Horned Moon" was partially written in my house when he stayed with us off and on for three months.
>
> During my visits to U.K., I always went to see him at his house in Cambridge and for hours we discussed the partition of the Sub-continent and the personalities involved. Once he told me that he had kept some very sensitive papers in the bank which would be published after his death.
>
> I can say without hesitation that no foreign journalist, over the years, supported the cause of Pakistan as he did. Not only he was a great admirer of the Quaid-e-Azam, but he also truly loved Pakistan.

MIAN IFTIKHARUDDIN REFUSED THE PRESS COMMISSION CHAIRMANSHIP

MAJID MALIK, HIS DEPUTY Freddy Douglas and our Information Officers had established very friendly relations with the editors as well as the journalists. The Information Officers, like our journalists, were of a high calibre: Mirza Ali Azhar Barlas, Aslam Siddiqui, Syed Ahmed, Mujahid Kazmi, Muhammad Jafari, Ziaul Hasan Moosavi, Samad Shahin, Aslam Ali, Kemal Faruki, Ziauddin Kirmani, Afzal Siddiqui, Amanullah Sardar, Ghani Erabi, M.I. Butt and Khalid Ali.

When I visited the Press Room, I found some journalists and sometimes even editors talking, arguing and discussing the burning topics of the day with Majeed Malik or Douglas in a friendly manner.

Majeed Malik was on friendly terms with Professor Ahmed Shah Bokhari, Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, Abdul Majeed Salik and Hameed Nizami. He had a subtle sense of humour. He told me that when he suggested to Professor Bokhari, better known in literary circles as Patras, that he should publish his works under the title 'Sahi Bokhari', Bokhari promptly replied "Why don't you publish your verses and call them 'Kalam Majeed'"!

On the eve of my transfer from the Ministry, Majeed Malik wrote a letter to me which I reproduce:

> Now that you are about to relinquish charge as Joint Secretary, Ministry of Information, may I offer you my most cordial thanks for all the understanding, sympathy and assistance I have personally received from you during the last two and a half years? It was an excellent partnership, if I may so describe it, and I assure you that I am deeply sorry that this association has had to come to an end sooner than I had hoped for.
>
> However, I am glad that you are going to a more congenial environment to perform duties and functions which offer better scope for your administrative talent and for the innate urge in you to work for public weal.
>
> I wish you recurring success and the best of luck in your new work, and I pray that you may be vouchsafed a long period of

devoted service to Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
(Majeed Malik)

Malik Tajuddin was running the Associated Press of Pakistan which was known as the official news agency. The other news agency, United Press of Pakistan, was founded in 1948, by one of the pioneers of Muslim journalism in the Sub-continent, Syed Abdul Hafiz. It was registered in 1949, but did not receive due recognition from Government till 1953, when I took over charge of the Ministry. It broke the monopoly of the A.P.P. and emerged as a reliable news agency owing to the hard work put in by the late Syed Abdul Hafiz and his two energetic sons, Qutubuddin Aziz and Mahmudul Aziz. The former was Minister for Information in our Embassy in London, the latter has taken the place of his father as Managing Director of the U.P.P.

The number of Press photographers increased four-fold, like the population of Karachi, from 1947 to 1956. The quality of photographs improved considerably. Z.D. Burney of the Press Information Department made a name on account of his artistic photographs.

When the Government decided to appoint a Press Commission, I suggested that Mian Iftikharuddin might be appointed its Chairman. He was a Member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He owned the Pakistan Times and Imroze, both were opposition papers. My objective in proposing his name was to ensure that the Press Commission enjoyed the confidence of all sections of the Press. My Minister approved the proposal.

Mian Iftikharuddin had gone to London for a check-up. I sent off a cable to him offering him the assignment. He sent a cable of thanks and regretted his inability to accept our offer owing to ill health. The mantle of Chairmanship fell on Mr. Justice Khursheeduz Zaman, an Aligarian and an ex-Judge of the Lahore High Court, who enjoyed a reputation of integrity and independence. Mr. Ali Jawad was appointed full-time Secretary of the Commission. He had opted out for Pakistan in 1947, when he was Deputy Principal Information Officer to the Government of India. He was a seasoned journalist having served as Assistant Editor of the "Pioneer" of Lucknow when Desmond Young was its Editor. Desmond Young became Central Press Adviser to the Government of India during the War. He wrote a book on Field Marshal Rommel, which was filmed under the title "The Desert Fox".

I suggested a list of members which included the names of Mr. Altaf Husain and Mr. Z.A. Suleri. Both of them were the Heads of two rival newspaper organisations. Mr. Altaf Husain told me that he was unable to accept our offer and suggested the name of his Assistant, Mr. M.A. Zuberi, in

his place. When I made the offer to Mr. Suleri, he inquired whether Mr. Altaf Husain had suggested the name of Mr. Zuberi. He said he too would nominate his Assistant.

The members of the Press Commission were to be nominated in consultation with the Ministry of the Interior. The Minister of the Interior was Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq. Both Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi and Mr. Fazlul Haq were keen to have Mr. Altaf Husain as well as Mr. Suleri on the Commission.

A meeting was arranged in Mr. Fazlul Haq's room which was attended by Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, Mr. Altaf Husain and Mr. Suleri. It appeared that Mr. Altaf Husain and Mr. Suleri were not on talking terms and when they started talking, they exchanged hot words. In order to avert an ugly situation, Mr. Fazlul Haq declared the meeting closed. After Altaf Husain and Suleri had left the room, he told Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi that he would try to bring about an understanding between them within a week's time.

My Minister asked me to remain in touch with Mr. Fazlul Haq. I saw him after a week. He regretted that he could not find time to intervene and asked me to see him after another week. That time he invited me to his residence at Seafield Road, Karachi.

Over a cup of tea, he related several incidents of his eventful life. Fazlul Haq was in a relaxed and reminiscent mood. He began by saying that, like Quaid-e-Azam, he practised law, was a Magistrate for some time and was a member of the first Round Table Conference. He took part in the Khilafat Movement and was Mayor of Calcutta. When he was Chief Minister of Bengal, he said his main effort was to raise the educational standard of the Muslims of Bengal. He told me that he never lost an election to local, provincial or central bodies.

After listening to him for an hour, I reminded him of the meeting in his room in connection with his promise to tackle Altaf Husain and Suleri's problem and persuade them to work together in the interest of the press, he said: "I know Altaf Husain very well, but who is Suleri?" Since he was 81 in 1955, I concluded that his memory must be failing. I thanked him for giving me an hour of his precious time and reported the whole conversation to my Minister, who remarked that:

> Maulvi Fazlul Haq has a very convenient memory, he remembers what he wishes to remember, he forgets what he wants to forget!

The report of the Press Commission was submitted after I had left the Ministry. The Commission did full justice to the task entrusted to it.

RADIO PAKISTAN BAN ON AKBAR ALLAHABADI

SYED MUSLIM RIZVI, A grandson of the famous Urdu poet, Akbar Allahabadi, complained to me that Radio Pakistan never broadcast the verses of Akbar Allahabadi. I asked Bokhari whether it was a fact and he confirmed what Syed Muslim Rizvi had told me. I asked Bokhari how he could ignore a poet like Akbar Allahabadi, who did so much to revive Islamic values, who is ranked in the category of Hali and Shibli and whom Allama Iqbal respected as a moral preceptor.

Bokhari retorted that, left to himself, he would never have ignored Akbar Allahabadi but he had to do so under the orders of the Ministry. When I asked for a copy of the orders, he said there were no written instructions, but only oral orders. He went on to say that it was the view of the Minister, Khawaja Shahabuddin that Akbar was not a progressive poet, that he was opposed to Western and female education and that he had made fun of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan by saying:

وہ بھلا کس کی بات مانے ہیں
بھائی سیّد تو کچھ دِوانے ہیں

Whosoever be, to none he listens,
Syed is in fact out of sense.

I told Bokhari that Akbar Allahabadi had composed thousands of verses on all topics, that his main objective was to warn Muslim youngmen against the pitfalls of Western society and to exhort them to become true Muslims. I took the matter up with my Minister, Mr. Shoaib Qureshi, in the presence of Zulfiqar Ali Bokhari. I agreed that such verses as the one on Sir Syed, Purdah and female education, which Khawaja Shahabuddin considered to be retrogressive should be ignored, but verses like the following deserved to be given wide publicity through Radio Pakistan:

کیا شان ترے جلال میں ہے
ہر وقت زمانہ حال میں ہے

Thy glory is how magnificent!
Each moment, time is in the present.

بتوں کے پہلے بنے تھے بندے مسوں کے اب بنے ہیں خادم
ہمیں ہر عہد میں مشکل ہوا ہے باخدا ہونا

Madonna's slaves they are now, idol-worshippers were they,
Difficult has been indeed for us to be God-worshippers.

ہم آہ بھی کرتے ہیں تو ہو جاتے ہیں بدنام
وہ قتل بھی کرتے ہیں تو چرچا نہیں ہوتا

For a single sob, I'm subjected to accusation,
No mouse stirs, even for the assassination.

Even though Akbar Allahabadi had differences with Sir Syed not on the need for education, but on the system of education, I feel that Akbar Allahabadi was sometimes very harsh on Sir Syed, but the fact remains that he admired Sir Syed's efforts to advance the cause of the Muslims of India. When Sir Syed died, Akbar Allahabadi paid handsome tributes to his works and personality in verses like these:

کہے جو چاہے کوئی میں تو یہ کہتا ہوں اے اکبر
خدا بخشے بہت سی خوبیاں تھیں مرنے والے میں

Whatever one may say, but I say O Akbar!
The deceased was a man of many qualities.

ہماری باتیں ہی باتیں ہیں سیّد کام کرتا تھا

We are men of mere words, Syed was a man of action.

The Minister agreed that the oral ban imposed by his predecessor on the verses of Akbar Allahabadi, should be removed.

Akbar Allahabadi deserves much more attention on our part than has been paid to him so far.

An experienced journalist, Muhammad Sarfaraz, was appointed Director

of News. He had an efficient team of news-casters like Aslam Azhar and Shakil Ahmed. Muhammad Sarfaraz became the Chief-Editor of 'Pakistan Times' when the management of that paper was taken over by Government during the regime of President Ayub. He was serving the U.N. when he died in Amman. Aslam Azhar succeeded Bokhari as the General Manager of Karachi Centre of Pakistan Television.

There was a regular feature of religious broadcasts from Radio Pakistan - the day always started with recitation from the Holy Quran and Dars-e-Majeed given by Maulana Ehtishamul Haq Thanvi. His voice was ideal for broadcasting. His 'dars' was much appreciated. Hameed Naseem was also good at religious broadcasts.

Ansar Nasri who hailed from a well-known literary family of Delhi, was able to bring to the mike many literary figures of India who had migrated to Karachi. Raz Moradabadi, himself a good poet, brought a number of promising poets to the mike.

Zafar Hasan was put Incharge of the Music Section of Radio Pakistan. He had extensive knowledge of music and was able to train and induct singers who became famous in later years. Zafar Hasan was ably assisted by Rafiq Ghaznavi, a well-known music composer. The Karachi Station had the distinction of obtaining the services of Ustad Bundu Khan, one of the best Sitar-players of the Sub-continent, and Mehdi Hasan, one of the finest Ghazal singers.

RADIO PAKISTAN

THE TUNE OF OUR National Anthem was approved by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's Cabinet, the words were approved by Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra's Cabinet. The tune composed by Ahmed B. Chagla was approved in 1948, but the words were approved five years later in January, 1954.

Radio Pakistan was entrusted with the task of inviting poets to write our national anthem synchronizing their words with the tune which had already been approved. In response to the appeal of the Director General, more than 70 poets forwarded their compositions.

A committee was appointed to scrutinize them under the Chairmanship of my predecessor, S.M. Ikram. It recommended that the compositions of Hafiz Jullundhari and Zulfiqar Ali Bokhari comprising 3 stanzas each merited consideration of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister asked me to bring up the recordings of both the compositions before the Cabinet which met at the Prime

Minister's House, Kutchery Road, under a 'shamiana' (tent). My Minister, Mr. Shoaib Qureshi, briefed his colleagues who heard both the compositions. I told them that Hafiz Jullundhari had seen me a few hours before the Cabinet Meeting and had asked for fresh recordings as his stanzas had been recited by a poor singer while Bokhari's stanzas had been sung by the best singer of Radio Pakistan. Bokhari was not present at the meeting, but I contended the assertion of Hafiz Jullundhari.

The Cabinet, after hearing both the voices, did not find any substance in Hafiz Jullundhari's complaint, but since some of his colleagues had shown preference for Bokhari's stanzas, the Prime Minister suggested that the first and third stanzas of Hafiz Jullundhari and the second stanza of Bokhari should form our national anthem. I submitted that it could only be done if both Hafiz Jullundhari and Bokhari agreed to that admixture.

I was asked to ring up both of them and report their reactions. None of them agreed to the via media suggested by the Prime Minister. When I reported back to the Cabinet, it took a unanimous decision to adopt Hafiz Jullundhari's stanzas, which now form our national anthem.

Miss Jinnah used to give her message to the nation through Radio Pakistan every year on the death anniversary of her most distinguished brother on the 11th September. Hers used to be a very frank talk. She often criticised the Government of the day. The script of every talk on the Radio was forwarded to the Station Director in advance and when Bokhari received the script of her broadcast for 11th September, 1951, he submitted it to the Prime Minister, who directed the Ministries of Information and Interior to vet it. The Heads of these Ministries were S.M. Ikram and G. Ahmed respectively.

Some sentences of the script were considered to be very damaging to the Government of the day, but none could dare approach Miss Jinnah to get them modified. Bokhari was asked to insert a tick tick sound when Miss Jinnah read those sentences. When Miss Jinnah returned to the Flagstaff House after delivering her talk, some of her admirers told her that they could not follow some of her sentences.

She concluded that there had been a deliberate attempt to interfere with her talk and made a public statement condemning the subterfuge adopted by Radio Pakistan. She said, she would never broadcast again. She gave no talk on 11th September, 1952. It came as a great disappointment to the general public who revered her and admired her frank talk.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra was anxious that Miss Jinnah should be requested to give her message through radio on 11th September, 1953. He asked me to assure her that the lapse of the year 1951 would not be repeated.

I told him that Miss Jinnah was a very determined lady and could not be

persuaded to change her mind unless we showed her the consideration which was her due. "What do you propose", the Prime Minister asked me. I replied "She should be exempted from giving her script in advance." The Prime Minister agreed. I called on her, offered her apology for the mishap that occurred in the past and requested her to resume her broadcast. She declined.

Since she had been kind to me in the past, I was encouraged to press my request. I said:

"Mohtarama, your annoyance against the Government is justified, but why should you punish the people of Pakistan, who are most anxious to hear your voice? Whenever you speak, they feel as if the Quaid-e-Azam is speaking to them."

"What is the guarantee," she asked me, "that Radio Pakistan will not misbehave?"

Since I had anticipated her objection, I had obtained from the Prime Minister the guarantee that no one would see her draft talk which would remain in her pocket till she faced the mike. When I explained this to her, she relented and agreed to go on the air on 11th September, 1953. People were jubilant when they heard her.

I conducted Miss Jinnah to the Radio Station from the Flagstaff House on three occasions - September 11, 1953, 1954 & 1955.

PRIME MINISTER'S MONTHLY BROADCASTS:

This feature was introduced by Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, but was not followed by any of his successors. The fireside chat of President Roosevelt became famous during the Second World War and our third Prime Minister wanted to follow suit. All the Ministries were directed to send material for his talk which was consolidated in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. We had to give a draft for his consideration on the 25th of every month.

It was prepared with meticulous care. The Prime Minister urged upon all of us to present new ideas and it was not an easy task. In one of his broadcasts he stated that he intended to change the rule of the road from left to right as was the case in the U.S.A., Canada and many European countries. His argument was that if we imported vehicles with steering wheels on the left side they would be cheaper than the vehicles which we were importing then with steering wheels on the right side; hence the need to change the rule of the road from left to right. That novel idea was received by the public and the press with much scepticism. The Prime Minister convened a conference of Home Ministers and Transport Commissioner to thrash out the matter in detail. I met Hatch Barnwell, my old I.C.S. colleague of Oxford, at that conference. He was

then Transport Commissioner of East Bengal. He had told me once that he had a conscientious objection to flying.

I was under the impression that he had come by air from Dacca. I told him, "I am glad that you have given up your objection to flying".

He said, "No, I have not come by air. I have come by train and will go back to Dacca by train."

It meant that he would be travelling a whole week in train in order to attend a one-day conference in Karachi. The consensus in that conference was that if the rule was changed it would cause a lot of inconvenience to all those who were concerned with traffic.

One of the Transport Commissioners made a telling point. He said, while it might be possible to train our motor car drivers, rickshaw drivers and tonga drivers, it would be impossible to change the habits of bullocks, donkeys and camels who had been used for centuries to keep the left of the road!

DIRECTORATE OF ADVERTISING, FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS

THE THIRD WING OF the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was the Directorate of Advertising, Films and Publications. When I took over in 1953, Majid Malik was the Head of this Directorate in addition to his own duties as the Principal Information Officer. He was succeeded by Aziz Ahmed, a well-known writer of Urdu fiction.

Since all Government advertisements were centralized in that Directorate, it enjoyed a measure of patronage which was the envy of other sections of the Ministry. At the same time, it was vulnerable to complaints from editors and managers of newspapers and magazines who felt that they deserved more advertisements than were given to them. An Audit Bureau of Circulation was established to ascertain the actual number of printed copies of newspapers and magazines and also to apportion advertisements according to the prestige enjoyed by the newspapers and magazines amongst the readers. Nevertheless, it was not possible to satisfy the demand of every newspaper for advertisements and our effort was to satisfy the largest number of papers.

The quality of the documentaries, weekly "Khabarnamas" (news bulletins) and films produced by the Directorate improved progressively till they could give us films like "The Story of Pakistan", "River Indus" and "Mirza Ghalib". These films could compete with the best films made in other countries. I would like to commend the services of Khalique Ibrahim Khalique and S.M. Aga.

Our publications earned encomiums among the discernible reader. "Mah-e-Nau" was published in Urdu, Bengali, Persian and Arabic. The Urdu "Mah-e-Nau" got a very good start when the well-known writer and critic, Professor Viqar Azeem, became its first editor. His successors were equally distinguished writers like Professor Muhammad Hasan Askari and Rafiq Khawar.

The Persian "Mah-e-Nau" got an equally good start when Professor Ali Shabbar became its editor. Our Arabic magazine "Al-Wai" gained popularity in the Arab world. "Nai Zindigi" (Sindhi) and "Abbaseen" (Pushto) were ably edited by Abdul Waheed and Ghulam Qadir respectively. "The Pakistan Quarterly" was well edited by A.N. Qutub and Amjad Ali. The total number of publications of the D.A.F.P. was over 300 per year. The Directorate was fortunate in securing the services of talented persons like Abdul Qayyum, G.G. Fareed, Jalaluddin Ahmed, Sayud Ahmed, A.B. Rajput, Shanul Haq Haqqi, M.R. Siddiqui, Quratul Ain Haider, Nasir Shamsie, Yaqub Dadashi and Musarrat Taimuri.

A Government servant has to serve wherever he is posted but if I had been asked to choose my Ministry, I would have opted out for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. While I was a student, I had toyed with the idea of becoming a journalist. In my college days, I had enjoyed the company of writers and poets of Lucknow. I had attended some memorable Mushairas where I had heard the most prominent poets of the time - Hasrat Mohani, Josh Malihabadi, Dil Shah Jahanpuri, Saail Dehlavi, Arzoo Lucknavi, Mirza Yaas Yagana Changezi, Baikhud Mohani, Aziz Lucknavi, Saqib Lucknavi, Asghar Gondavi, Jigar Moradabadi, Raza Ali Wahshat, Hafeez Jullundhari, Azizul Hasan Majzoob, Zaffar Ali Khan, Asar, Aasi, Siraj, Hakim Ashufta, Aley Raza, Zareef Lucknavi, Qadeer Majaz, Akhtar Sheerani, Raghupati Sahay Firaq Gorakhpuri, Anand Narain Mulla, Amar Nath Saher Dehlavi, Gopi Nath Amn Lucknavi and Jagat Mohan Lal Ravaan of Unao.

My interest in journalism was stimulated when I discussed the burning topics of the day with stalwarts like Mr. Altaf Husain, Syed Hasan Riaz, Syed Rais Ahmed Jaffari, Maulana Akram Khan and Manik Mian. It was good to exchange news and views daily with working journalists who dropped in to say 'how do you do' to me. I enjoyed the visits of artists like Muhammad Abdur Rehman Chughtai and Zainul Abedin; writers like Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik, Shahid Ahmed Dehlavi, Maulana Raziqul Khairi, Sehba Lucknavi, Zafar Niazi, Mumtaz Sheerin, Majid Lahori, Rais Amrohvi and Syed Muhammad Taqi. I made it a point to attend the Mushairas of Radio Pakistan where I met prominent poets and discussed classic and modern poetry with them.

Chughtai was a painter of international repute. He developed a style of his own. His 'Muraqqa-e-Ghalib' and 'Muraqqa-e-Iqbal' contained some very

attractive paintings based on the verses of the two great poets - Ghalib and Iqbal. There was a great demand for his etchings and paintings. He sent one to me with the enclosed letter. While thanking him for his gift, I quoted Mirza Ghalib's line:

بے طلب دیں تو مزا اس میں سوا ملتا ہے

'Much greater are the joys of unsolicited gifts.'

Among the pleasant duties entrusted to me in this Ministry were the Press Conferences held by the Prime Ministers and the visiting Heads of States or Governments, our Ambassadors and High Commissioners who visited Karachi on duty, Press Delegations, writers and columnists from other countries.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra used to hold Press Conferences at the Airport on his departure and return from foreign countries. I recall two Press Conferences convened by Chowdhary Muhammad Ali as Prime Minister - one on 1st October, 1955, and the other on 26th November, 1955. The latter was known as the All-Parties Kashmir Conference, which was an important and crowded Conference. After recitation from the Holy Quran, Khawaja Abdur Rahim moved a resolution to observe two minutes silence in the memory of those who laid down their lives in the struggle for liberation of Kashmir. That Conference generated a lot of interest in the unresolved problem of Kashmir and every speaker emphasised on the need to resuscitate the question of Kashmir in the United Nations.

I recall a Press Conference which was addressed by Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, on the nationalization of Suez Canal. Sir Robert was explaining the attitudes of the Governments of the U.K. and France on the nationalization of the Suez Canal by President Nasser. Since the people of Pakistan supported President Nasser and opposed the policies of the British and French Governments, Sir Robert had to face many awkward questions. I was impressed by his frank answers and his sense of humour. He started off the Press Conference by greeting the journalists present and asking them to fire off! Another conference which lingers in my mind is the one addressed by Wing Commander Gamal Salem, Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt, on 20th September, 1955. Since the people of Pakistan supported the stand of Egypt, he had an easy time in answering questions from our journalists.

Among the V.I.Ps., whom I met were Dag Hammarskjoeld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was enroute to Peking on 2nd January, 1955, the Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations; Professor

Ahmed Shah Bokhari, who accompanied Dag Hammarskjoeld to Peking; Ian Stephens, an ex-Editor of Statesman who has written excellent books on Pakistan; Professor Rushbrook Williams and his wife, who were very good friends of Pakistan; Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, then High Commissioner of Pakistan to India; Col. A.S.B. Shah, then Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan; Dr. Noel F. Hall, Principal, Administrative Staff College, Henley-on-Thames, who gave a talk to our civil servants on public administration; Harold E. Stassen, Director, F.O.A., United States; Harold Lamb, a historian; Mrs. Robert Low Baccon and Sheppard Jones of the United States, and a number of editors from Iran, Burma and Indonesia.

The only occasion on which Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra declined to meet the press at the airport on return from abroad was the evening of the 23rd October, 1954. As soon as he alighted from the plane flanked by Colonel Iskander Mirza, then Defence Secretary, and General Muhammad Ayub Khan, C-in-C of the Army, I delivered to him a letter which Mr. A.K. Brohi had given to me. It was a letter of his resignation from the Cabinet. The Prime Minister put the letter in his pocket without reading it. He must have been sorry to lose Mr. Brohi's services because he rated him very high. He seemed to be in a great hurry to leave for the Governor-General's House. When the pressmen surrounded him, he said he had nothing to tell them and went straight to the Governor-General's House. I followed him and saw him going into Mr. Ghulam Muhammad's bed-room accompanied by Col. Iskander Mirza, General Muhammad Ayub Khan and Aziz Ahmed, Secretary-General to the Government of Pakistan.

It was obvious to me that the Head of State and the Head of Government were going to take some important decision which I would have to convey to the press. I waited in the room of the Secretary to the Governor-General till midnight when Aziz Ahmed came to tell me that I was not needed any longer as no communication would be made to the press that night.

When I reached home, my wife told me that Mr. Altaf Husain had rung me up twice and desired that I should ring him up at the Prime Minister's House. I wondered why Mr. Altaf Husain was not at his desk and was in the Prime Minister's House. When I rang him up he asked me "Has Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra been detained at the Governor-General's House and is he safe?"

He said he was making that query at the instance of Begum Muhammad Ali Bogra. I told him that I had left the Governor-General's House at midnight. I presumed the Prime Minister was all right. I asked him why there was any apprehension with regard to his safety. He said that there were all sorts of ugly rumours in the city; hence the anxiety of Begum Muhammad Ali Bogra about the safety of her husband.

11

DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

— The Sudden dissolution of the constituent Assembly of Pakistan of which Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the first President came as a shock to the people of Pakistan.

— Maulvi Tamizuddin the then President of the Constituent Assembly, took a stand in 1954 that the Governor General had no authority to dissolve the Assembly.

ON 24TH OCTOBER, 1955, Aziz Ahmed rang me up and desired that I and Majeed Malik should meet him in his office. He told us that the Governor-General had decided to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. An Extraordinary Gazette was going to be issued to that effect. The announcement was to be made by Radio Pakistan at 1:00 p.m. We drafted a Press Note which was to be issued simultaneously.

The sudden dismissal of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan of which Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the first President came as a shock to the people of Pakistan. Maulvi Tamizuddin, the then President of the Constituent Assembly, took the stand in 1954 that the Governor-General had no authority to dismiss the Assembly and therefore filed a writ petition in the Chief Court of Sind against the orders of the Governor-General. The petition was heard by Sir George Constantine, Chief Judge and Mr. Justice Muhammad Bachal who accepted Maulvi Tamizuddin's appeal and declared the order of the Governor-General ultra vires of the Constitution.

The decision of the Chief Court was hailed by a vast majority of people except the followers of Mr. Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maulvi Fazlul Haq who had organised United Front election campaign against the Muslim League Government of East Pakistan. In the Provincial Elections of March, 1954, the United Front routed the ruling Muslim League Party. Only (9) nine Muslim Leaguers were returned to the Assembly. Mr. Fazlul Quadir Chowdhary was elected as an Independent candidate since he had been denied the

Muslim League ticket. He joined the Muslim League Assembly Party whose strength rose to (10) ten, the minimum number that was then required to form a party in the Assembly. There was such a feeling of animosity against the Muslim League that Mr. Fazlul Quadir Chowdhary might have lost the election on the Muslim League ticket just as Mr. Nurul Amin, the Chief Minister of the Province, lost his seat to a student leader of Mymensingh.

The Governor-General appealed to the Supreme Court against the orders of the Sind Chief Court. The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the Chief Court. The Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Munir, wrote the majority judgement upholding the orders of dissolution passed by the Governor-General. Mr. Justice Cornelius wrote a dissenting judgement upholding the decision of the Sind Chief Court and Maulvi Tamizuddin's stand.

In that case, the decision of Mr. Justice Munir did not command that respect with which his judgements were usually received. Some advocates who considered him the best legal brain of his time told me that in the case of Tamizuddin versus Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Munir's verdict was based more on executive than on judicial considerations.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan enabled the Governor-General to rule the country with an iron hand. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad initiated the trend towards authoritarianism which culminated eventually in the promulgation of Martial Law between the night of 7th and 8th October, 1958. The observations of Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, form part of our constitutional history. I quote:

> Munir C.J. - A victorious revolution or a successful *coup d' etat* was an internationally recognised legal method of changing the Constitution. If the territory and the people remain substantially the same, there is under modern juristic doctrine no change in the corpus or international entity of the State and the revolutionary Government and the valid Government Constitution of the State.
>
> A victorious revolution itself becomes a law-creating fact because thereafter its own legality is judged not by reference to the annulled Constitution but by reference to its own success.

To revert to the stormy night between 23rd & 24th October, 1954. What transpired at the meeting in the Governor-General's bedroom which lasted for 6 hours and which was attended by Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, Col. Iskander Mirza, General Ayub Khan and Mr. Aziz Ahmed had not been publicly disclosed by any of the participants. It is obvious that Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was determined to dissolve the Constituent Assembly since it had resolved on 21st September, 1954 that:

(a) The Governor-General shall have no power to dismiss the Prime Minister.
(b) Section 92-A under which the Governor-General could dismiss the Provincial Ministries should be repealed.

On the day when the Constituent Assembly took these decisions, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was not in Karachi. He had gone on a tour of Azad Kashmir which he cut short as soon as he was informed of these amendments to the Constitution. On return, he called Sir Edward Nelson, Secretary, Department of Law, and directed him not to bring those amendments on the Statute Book.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra had in the meantime left Karachi and gone abroad. The prime movers of those amendments were Messrs. Fazlul Rehman and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, but Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, being the leader of the House, had acquiesced in the passing of those amendments. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad who was solely responsible for Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra's appointment as Prime Minister could well have uttered 'Et tu Brutus'.

The fact that the meeting lasted for 6 hours established the presumption that Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra was reluctant to comply with the wishes of the Governor-General, otherwise he would have left the Governor-General's House within half an hour. Whether he capitulated on account of persuasion or threat, is a matter of speculation. Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer who was a member of the Constituent Assembly told me that the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly was a bolt from the blue. On hearing the news, he rushed to the Prime Minister's House and asked him why he had agreed to the dismissal of the Assembly. Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra told him that he had been told by General Ayub Khan that if he did not agree to the dissolution of the Assembly, the only alternative was to declare Martial Law. Mr. Ahmed Jaffer, an ardent parliamentarian, visited his colleagues with a view to organise public opinion against the dissolution of the Assembly. They were staying at Somerset House which had already been surrounded by military trucks. None of them was prepared to cross Mr. Ghulam Muhammad's path. Only Moulvi Tamizuddin ran the gauntlet. When he lost his case in the Supreme Court, I called on him, complimented him for his courage and recited the following couplet:

شکست و فتح نصیبوں سے ہے، ولے اے میر
مقابلہ تو دلِ ناتواں نے خوب کیا

O Mir victory and defeat depended on fate,
But my feeble heart faced the ordeals best.

MAULVI TAMIZUDDIN AHMED KHAN:

Maulvi Tamizuddin Ahmed Khan (1889-1963) was in the forefront of freedom movement. He was an advocate of Faridpur. He joined the Muslim League in 1915. He took part in the Non-Cooperation Movement and was a member of All-India Congress and Khilafat Committees. In 1923, he was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment. As a political prisoner in Faridpur Jail, he refused to bow to the British Deputy Commissioner who paid his periodical visit to the District Prison. The prisoners, political as well as criminal, used to stand in a line with their history sheets round their necks. It was the practice that every prisoner used to bow when the Deputy Commissioner passed by him. When Maulvi Tamizuddin ignored this drill and stood straight, the D.C. was taken aback. He asked Maulvi Tamizuddin why he did not bow down. Pat came his reply, "I only bow down before God". The Deputy Commissioner had to pocket what he considered his insult.

Maulvi Tamizuddin was elected to serve on all tiers of local self-government. He was Vice-Chairman of Faridpur Municipality and Chairman Faridpur District Local Board. He was elected thrice as a member of Bengal Legislative Council, was twice a Minister in Bengal Cabinet i.e. from 1938 to 1941 and from 1943 to 1945. He was elected as a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1946 on Muslim League ticket.

Tamizuddin achieved even greater glory in post-partition period. He was elected Deputy President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 23rd February, 1948, at the time when Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the President of the Constituent Assembly. After the Quaid's death, he was elected President of the Constituent Assembly. When Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Constituent Assembly in October, 1954, Maulvi Tamizuddin disputed the right of the Governor General to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and the Chief Court of Sind upheld his plea. Subsequently, the Federal Court rejected his plea by a majority verdict. He was totally opposed to authoritarian rule. It was only when President Muhammad Ayub Khan had withdrawn Martial Law that he reverted to politics and was unanimously elected Speaker of the National Assembly in 1962.

'MUHAFIZ-E-MILLAT' WAS GARLANDED AT DARBAR HALL

— Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was the person who had sown the seeds of hatred and enmity between the two wings of the country. This hatred resulted in the emergence of Bangladesh.

THERE IS A SAYING in Persian:

گُربہ کُشتن روزِ اوّل

Nip the evil in the bud

Had the members of the Constituent Assembly taken a stand when Mr. Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin and had they refused to recognise the nominee of the Governor-General, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, as the leader of the House, there was every likelihood the course of our Constitutional history would have taken a different turn. At the time of his dismissal, Khawaja Nazimuddin enjoyed the support of 67 out of 80 members of the Assembly. Those who sat on the opposition benches were 12 members of the Congress Party - all Hindus and one Independent - Mian Iftikharuddin.

In the parliamentary form of Government, it is only the Parliament or Assembly which can remove the Prime Minister by passing a no-confidence motion against him. In democratic countries, Prime Ministers have submitted their resignations when they have failed to get their budgets passed by the House.

The budget presented by the Ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin in March, 1954, had been passed by the Assembly. There was no justification whatsoever to dismiss him a few days later on the 17th April. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad behaved as if he was the Viceroy and Governor-General of India who could remove a member of his Executive Council at his wish. Autocratic in temperament and malicious at heart, he took measures which suited to his whim and caprice. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad certainly created a bad history. Because of his wrong actions, Pakistan has suffered a lot; she is still suffering in many ways.

Since he had acted unconstitutionally, the Muslim League Assembly Party should have expressed its resentment against the high-handed action of Mr.

Ghulam Muhammad in dismissing Khawaja Nazimuddin. But not a mouse stirred! The Muslim League Members of the Assembly readily accepted the nominee of the Governor-General as their leader. What was more deplorable, was the attitude of the Pakistan Muslim League of which Khawaja Nazimuddin was the President. It was the duty of the office-bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League to condemn the action of the Governor-General in the strongest possible terms. But, instead of that, they elected Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra as their President in place of the straight-forward and God-fearing Khawaja Nazimuddin who left the scene quietly. To add insult to the injury, the Treasurer of the Pakistan Muslim League and President Karachi City Muslim League, Mr. A.M. Quraishi, took a deputation of the citizens to the Governor-General, garlanded him and conferred on him the title of "Muhafiz-e-Millat"(the Saviour of Nation). Mr. Ghulam Muhammad received the deputation in the Darbar Hall and thanked his admirers in an emotion-choked voice. Little did the dictator know that time what repercussions his foolish, whimsical and arbitrary acts were likely to create in the due course of history. In fact, Ghulam Muhammad was the person who had sown the seeds of hatred and enmity between the two wings of the country. This hatred resulted in the emergence of Bangladesh.

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad had earned good reputation as a Member of the Indian Railway Accounts Service, as a Finance Minister of Hyderabad State and as a Director of the Tatas. He had prepared an economic uplift plan in 1944 for the Indian Muslims at the instance of Quaid-e-Azam. He expressed his support to the Pakistan Movement of the Muslim League when he renounced his knighthood in 1946. He earned the appreciation of the Quaid-e-Azam when he presented his first and balanced budget as Finance Minister of the Government of Pakistan. Had he rested on his oars and not indulged in politics, he could have left a good name in our history. But by his rash actions as Governor-General, he obstructed our way to democracy. All those who praised, supported and flattered him should also share the blame. How beautifully our talented poet Rais Amrohvi described these unfortunate events in our history in his verses:

شاہی کا ہو طریق کہ جمہوریت کی راہ
سرکار صدرِ قوم و وطن ہوں کہ بادشاہ
ہم بندگانِ خاص کے لب پر جہاں پناہ
ایسے بھی واہ واہ ہے ویسے بھی واہ واہ

Whether it be monarchy or democracy,
His Majesty's government it be, or President's rule,
We, the elites, praise your Lordship with hypocrisy,
And justify you in both ways, how do we befool?

PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL UPHEAVALS

— The treatment meted out to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the Rawalpindi Jail was callous and inhuman.
— The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakisatan which was promulgated on 14th August 1973 went to pieces after 7th July, 1977.
— Just as flower cannot bloom in the desert, so political parties cannot flourish in a dictatorship.

IN HIS MESSAGE ON the first anniversary of Pakistan - 14th August, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam had observed:

> One year is a brief period in the history of a State for finally assessing its progress or predicting its future. But the way in which tremendous difficulties have been overcome, and solid progress recorded during the last twelve months, gives a firm basis for optimism. In the administrative field, we had to start from scratch, at the centre. And in the West Punjab, at the very inception of our State, we had to face very nearly a breakdown of administrative machinery. But I am glad to say that we have successfully dealt with all threats to our solidarity, and on some major questions of the day, the Pakistan Government has displayed not only its determination but its capacity to deal effectively with the various world problems that have arisen from time to time.
>
> Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you good speed!
>
> Pakistan Zindabad.

Alas! we failed to come up to the Quaid's expectations! We could not build Pakistan as he had envisaged. On the contrary, we could not even retain the Pakistan which he and his right hand man, Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan built so assiduously. History will record that in 1971 we were guilty of causing 'Khayanat' (violation) in his 'Amanat' (Trust). The emergence of Bangladesh was the greatest blow to the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. India's armed forces walked through East Pakistan without any resistance from our armed

forces. We had been spending 60% of our hard earned revenues to maintain our Armed Forces whose duty it was to guard the frontiers of Pakistan. We had been told by Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan that the defence of East Pakistan lay in West Pakistan. This theory was completely debunked at the fall of Dacca.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan was the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief of our country. He had been given two extensions in his tenure as C-in-C. The Government of India did not give a single day's extension to any of its C-in-Cs. General Ayub did not earn the highest military rank of Field Marshal in any battle-field. This prestigious rank was conferred on him by a resolution of his Cabinet Colleagues.

The top Pakistani Commander in East Pakistan, General Niazi, had boasted that the Indian Forces would enter East Pakistan over his dead body. If he had been a Japanese General, he would have committed "Hara-kiri" instead of gleefully presenting arms to General Arora. It was the darkest chapter in the history of Islam when 92,000 Muslims were taken prisoners by Hindu soldiers. The Hamood-ur-Rehman Commission Report, which analysed the causes of our shameful defeat in East Pakistan, did not see the light of the day. It is a great pity that the reports of several tribunals appointed by Government to enquire into the grave public matters were not made public, like the tribunals appointed to enquire into the causes of the Ojhri Camp disaster and the explosion of C-130 plane in the air on 17th August, 1988, as a result of which 37 persons were killed including the President of Pakistan, 4 senior Generals of Pakistan Army and the American Ambassador to Pakistan, Arnold Raphael.

India stole a march over us in constitution-making. The Constituent Assembly of India succeeded in framing a Constitution in December, 1949. India was declared a Republic on 26th January, 1950. This date was chosen to commemorate the date on which the Indian National Congress had passed a resolution for independence in Lahore in 1930. The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was dissolved in 1954 on the ground that it failed to frame a Constitution during a period of 7 years. That was the specious reason given by the Governor-General, Malik Ghulam Muhammad, who dissolved it. The real reason was that the Constituent Assembly had at long last framed a Constitution which was never made public. In this Constitution the power of the Governor General to appoint or dismiss the Prime Minister was done away with. The two members of the Assembly who took the most prominent part in making this provision were Mr. Fazlur Rehman, a Minister from East Pakistan, and Mr. M.H. Gazdar of West Pakistan who was Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. The President of the Constituent Assembly Maulvi Tamizuddin

Khan sought judicial verdict on the dissolution of the Assembly. The Chief Court of Sind of which Sir George Constantine was the Chief Judge gave its verdict in favour of Maulvi Tamizuddin, but the Federal Court over which Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir presided gave a majority verdict in favour of the Governor-General. The Federal Court Judge who wrote a dissenting judgement upholding the verdict of the Sind Chief Court, was Mr. Justice A.R. Cornelius, Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir had the reputation of being an eminent jurist but his decision in favour of the Governor-General was considered by the silent majority of Pakistanis as more of a political than a judicial pronouncement. Chief Justice Munir came to the rescue of another autocrat - General Muhammad Ayub Khan who declared Martial Law over the entire territory of Pakistan on 8th October, 1958, by observing that a victorious revolution itself becomes a law creating fact.

With the diabolical assassination of our first Prime Minister, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on 16th October, 1961, ended our progress towards constitutional and democratic government. The dismissal of his successor, Khawaja Nazimuddin by Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad was a *coup d' etat* which was followed by another *coup d' etat* when he dismissed the Constituent Assembly. The people of Pakistan in general and the Muslim League in particular remained silent spectators of this metamorphosis. The civilian *coup d' etat* was a precursor of the military *coup d' etat* in October, 1958. It has been our misfortune to endure three martial law periods comprising in all 13 years, from 1958 to 1985 - Martial Law declared by General Muhammad Ayub Khan on 8th October, 1958, and withdrawn on June 8, 1962, Martial Law declared by General Muhammad Yahya Khan on 25th March, 1969, and withdrawn on 13th August, 1973, and Martial law declared by General Muhammad Ziaul Haq on 7th July, 1977, withdrawn on 30th December, 1985.

The treatment meted out to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the Rawalpindi Jail was callous and inhuman. His distinguished daughter, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, has in her admirable book "Daughter of the East" described how she and her mother were rushed from the outlandish Police Training Camp at Sihala to say farewell to him on the eve of his execution. They were prevented from entering his cell. They had to clutch the prison bars to have his last glimpse. He was sitting on the floor on a mattress. The words of Benazir Bhutto are worth quoting:

> His face was the face of a pearl. He had the glow of a martyr's face. I felt my father's noose round my neck.

Across the bars of his cell, he told his favourite daughter Benazir:

> You are my jewel. You always have been.

The agony of Begum Nusrat Bhutto and of Benazir is beyond description. When late Bhutto was informed that he would be executed the next morning, the 4th April, he told the person who conveyed this terrible news to him:

> Make arrangements for me to have a bath. The world is beautiful and I want to leave it clean.

In his last hours, he soared to the same height as the great Socrates who had refused to listen to the entreaties of his admirers who intended to smuggle him out of the prison. To quote the words of Benazir:

> Zia had let it be known that he would entertain a plea for clemency only from my father or from us. My father had forbidden it.

The decision of the Supreme Court which found him guilty of accessory before the murder was not unanimous, four for and three against. The Court pronounced the sentence of death with a narrow majority but at the same time recommended that the sentence of death should be commuted to life imprisonment. The President did not accept this recommendation. The wise Persian poet, Saadi, had said:

"رموز مملکتِ خویش خسرواں دانند"

Only the rulers know what is best for them.

Better Bhutto dead than Bhutto alive!

The rule of General Ziaul Haq was nasty, brutish and long over 11 years. Inspite of appeals from several Heads of States he did not exercise his prerogative of mercy to spare the life of a matchless leader who had founded a party that swept the polls in December, 1970, who had negotiated a settlement with India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for the release of over 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war, without offering any quid pro quo, who succeeded in framing a new Constitution in 1973 with the concurrence of his political opponents, through his hard work, singleness of purpose and charm.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan which was promulgated on 14th August, 1973, went to pieces after 7th July, 1977, when General Ziaul Haq assumed power as Chief Martial Law Administrator. He redrafted and tinkered with it as he liked. His promise to hold elections within three months of assumption of power but it remained unfulfilled. When he held elections in 1985, they were conducted on a non-party basis. The Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled in 1988 that the holding of non-party elections militated against the fundamental rights of voters to elect parties of their choice.

Just as General Muhammad Ayub Khan was forced by circumstances to terminate the Martial Law and to hold elections under a Constitution which was exclusively his handiwork, General Muhammad Ziaul Haq had to hold elections, even though on a non-party basis in 1985. After the several amendments which he made from time to time in the Constitution of 1973, it looked like a jigsaw puzzle.

The objective of these amendments was to concentrate all powers in the person of the President. The straightforward Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo, had to agree to the 8th amendment before General Muhammad Ziaul Haq withdrew his Martial Law on 30th December, 1985.

I quote from the postscript of "Daughter of the East":

> As we approach the November Elections, Pakistan is at the crossroads of democracy and continued dictatorship. The people of Pakistan are crying out for self-determination. Their voice is Pakistan People's Party and Zia knows it. After eleven and half years, Zia is still unable to hold free and impartial elections for fear that PPP will sweep them.
>
> Just as a flower cannot bloom in the desert, so political parties cannot flourish in a dictatorship. That political parties have managed to survive and flourish despite the draconian measures taken against them is a tribute to those who gave their lives for democracy and to the people of Pakistan who realise that their rights can be restored and protected only if they band together in a national party. We are the conscience of the country, the future and the hope. Our day, I know, will come.

After the sudden death of General Muhammad Ziaul Haq in the plane crash, he was succeeded by the President of the Senate, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan. In a broadcast to the nation, the new President said that he would hold elections as scheduled. These elections too would have been held on a non-party basis had the Supreme Court of Pakistan not directed otherwise on the petition of Begum Benazir Bhutto.

FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY:

Winston Churchill who had been described by Field Marshal Montgomery as the greatest Englishman of all time observed 'It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.'

There was a wind of change in our political scene when the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Justice S.A. Nusrat, announced that elections for the 237 seats of the National Assembly would be held on 16th November, 1988, and for the 506 seats of our four Provincial Assemblies on 19th November. These elections were conducted in an exemplary manner. That they were free and fair was the unanimous verdict of our voters as well as the outsiders who came to watch and report on these elections.

When the 35 year old Harvard and Oxford-educated daughter of the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto took oath of office as Prime Minister at Islamabad on 2nd December, 1988, the old order changed completely and a new era commenced. The rejoicing was universal. Peoples' faith in democracy was restored and every one felt elated . As for my own feelings, I recalled the line of Wordsworth:

Bliss was it in the dawn to be alive.

I was reminded of the glorious days of Pakistan Movement when every one looked forward to better days.

Although young in years, Benazir Bhutto is fully equipped to face the challenge of the high office. She repeated the distinction of being the first girl student to become the President of the Oxford Union (1977) when she became the first lady Prime Minister of a Muslim country in December, 1988.

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto is fully capable of discharging the onerous duties that lie ahead of her. She learnt her first lessons of politics from her own father. She accompanied him to India when he signed an agreement with the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Simla on July 3, 1972. She received her education in the best universities of the world - Harvard and Oxford. Her political education was completed in the long and solitary confinement in Sukkur Jail and Karachi Central Jail, which made her woman of steel. God has given her inexhaustible energy. Her determination to succeed is evident from the answer she gave to Richard Gwyn of Canada when he listed the problems that faced her - violence, crime, an unresponsive bureaucracy, corruption, illiteracy and the Kalashinkov culture. She replied:

> Well, you must be knowing that the problems are awesome, but it is important not to become awe-struck. For the Government, there is a clear goal that we want to reach. Therefore, the problems must be faced.

The Prime Minister had the courage to deviate from her father's resolve to produce an atom bomb and publicly declared that her nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes only. I reproduce the question put by Richard Gwyn on this subject and her reply:

> NUCLEAR WEAPONS: You have said that programme is for peaceful purposes and the world must accept the word of democratic government. Why do you not translate your word into a deed and sign the NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty)?
>
> ANSWER: Pakistan since its inception has had a sense of competition with India. So a nation's self-respect and pride get involved. While personally some of us may not feel as strongly, there are others who do feel this discriminatory treatment should not be meted out.
>
> So we propose a regional solution on the nuclear issue. We would very much like to keep our own region free of nuclear weapons. We are prepared to explore this question with India. It is not possible for my Government to take a unilateral step. It is this sense of competition which is always the snag.
>
> Now, while some people in the West may not understand a democratic government responds to a great degree to the pressures of public opinion upon it. We must take this into account until there is a greater sense of ease of peace with India until tension is resolved.

Every patriotic Pakistani should wish her God speed.

12

URDU POETRY IS OUR HYDE PARK

— Zulfikar Ali Bokhari was a talented man, a first class Broadcaster, a fine actor, reputable poet, a connoisseur of music and a dominant table-talker.

THE MOUTH-PIECE OF the Nazi Germany - the Third Reich - was Joseph Goebells and the main vehicle of his propaganda was radio. Goebells was an unscrupulous propagandist but his views on propaganda are worth noticing. "Propaganda", he said, "does not need to be clever, but it must be successful. Propaganda is a difficult and noble act, therefore it calls for genius. The greatest, by that I mean the most successful, propagandists in history were Christ, Muhammad and Zorastar."

Geobells' use of the word "Propagandists" for the teachings of the prophets is misleading but what he meant was the effect of their teachings on human mind. Michael H. Hart has brought this point clearly and succinctly in his admirable book "The 100", which contains a ranking of the most influential persons in history. The first six in his list are as follows:

1. Muhammad (peace be upon him)
2. Isaac Newton
3. Jesus Christ
4. Buddha
5. Confucius
6. St. Paul.

He has put Cyrus the Great at No. 86 and Zorastar at 89. While comparing the effect of the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and those of Prophet Jesus Christ, he wrote:

> The influence of Muhammad on Islam has been larger than the combined influence of Jesus Christ and St. Paul on Christianity. On the purely religious level, then, it seems likely that Muhammad

> (peace be upon him) has been as influential in human history as Jesus Christ.
>
> Muhammad, unlike Jesus, was a secular as well as religious leader. As the driving force behind the Arab conquest, he may well rank as the most influential political leader of all time. It is this unparalleled combination of secular and religious influence which, I feel, entitles Muhammad to be considered the most influential single person in human history.

It is obvious that we have failed to disseminate the message and teachings of our Prophet. But better late than never. In the Third World to which we belong, the most effective media for dissemination of knowledge and news is radio.

Radio Pakistan, Karachi, like other institutions of the newly-established Central Government of Pakistan, started from scratch on 14th August, 1947. The All-India Radio had a network of stations all over the country but Pakistan inherited only three stations - Lahore, Dacca and Peshawar. The Government of India had been toying with the idea of opening a Radio Station in Karachi, but failed to do so. It is to the credit of Zulfiqar Ali Bokhari and his associates that Radio Pakistan started functioning from a barrack in the Intelligence School on the dawn of our Independence.

When Bokhari approached me and suggested that two buildings should be requisitioned to house the Headquarters and the station of Radio Pakistan, I requisitioned a spacious building at M.A. Jinnah Road for the Headquarters of Radio Pakistan. I, in my capacity as Collector of Karachi, requested the President of the District Local Board, Karachi, to spare their building for a nation-building media. He was good enough to do so and generous enough to sell it to Radio Pakistan at the actual price of the land and building. Additions and alterations were made to this building from time to time to take the shape of the present Broadcasting House at M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi.

A new Radio Station was opened in Hyderabad in August, 1955. I am happy to note that in the area which was known as West Pakistan till 1971 and which formed the whole of Pakistan after that fateful year, there are now 18 Radio Stations as against 2 in 1947.

Zulfiqar Ali Bokhari was a talented man. He was a first class broadcaster, a fine actor, a reputable poet, a connoisseur of music and a dominant table-talker. He was on very friendly terms with all the artists, writers, poets and prominent social figures. He was able to secure the services of eminent men of letters for Radio Pakistan like Arzoo Lucknavi and Abdul Majid Salik for educating the young generation of poets and writers who participated in the programmes of Radio Pakistan.

When I was incharge of the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting a deputation of 'progressive' writers and poets called on me and complained that they had been deliberately excluded from taking part in the 'muzakiras' (symposium) and 'mushairas' (recitation of poetry) of Radio Pakistan. I promised to look into their complaint and suggested that they should see me again after a couple of days. When I inquired of Bokhari the reasons for excluding them, he sent me their scripts and poems which contained blatant Communist propaganda. Bokhari described them as 'Surkhas' (Communists). When they met me again, I told them that Radio Pakistan could not broadcast any matter which was opposed to the ideology of Islam and Pakistan. They contended that their writings and poems were not Communist propaganda but were aimed at highlighting the social evils with a view to eradicate them. I told them that they could do so provided they did not use extreme and abusive language. I told them that Urdu poetry was our 'Hyde Park' in which our poets ventilated grievances against the times which were actually grievances against the rulers of the day. I quoted a verse of Ustad Qamar Jalalvi which had been broadcast in one of the Mushairas of Radio Pakistan:

دن میں بھٹک رہے ہیں جو منزل کے واسطے
یہ لوگ کیا کریں گے اگر رات ہوگئی

For a goal, those groping in day light,
If night falls, what shall be their plight?

I told them if they could compose verse of that type, I would ensure their participation in the programmes of Radio Pakistan. They never came back to me.

Bokhari had made a list of prominent poets who had migrated to Pakistan from all parts of India and invited them, by turns, to recite their verses in the monthly Mushairas of Radio Pakistan. It enabled the listeners to hear such distinguished poets as Josh Malihabadi, Semaab Akbarabadi, Hafeez Julundhari, Hadi Machchlishahri, Syed Ale Raza, Qamar Jalalvi, Nazar Hyderabadi, Iram Lucknavi, Adeeb Saharanpuri, Dr. Yawar Abbas, Rana Akbarabadi, Saba Akbarabadi, Iqbal Safipuri, Mahshar Badayuni, Hafiz Hoshiarpuri, Raghib Muradabadi and Tabish Dehlavi.

PATRAS, A VERSATILE GENUIS

AHMED SHAH BOKHARI ADDRESSED us in the Committee Room of the P.I.D. in his inimitable style, relating his experiences as the Controller of All-India Radio and as our Permanent Representative in the United Nations. He also acted as Under-Secretary to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

His pronunciation of English was perfect. When I was studying in Oxford, Professor Firth of the London University gave us lectures on phonetics every week. Since he had served in India, he pointed out to us the common mistakes made by Indians who spoke English. I asked him once if he had heard any Indian speaking faultless English. He replied, 'Only one ¬ Professor Ahmed Shah Bokhari'. Like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Bokhari had equal command over English as well as Urdu. His Urdu articles had been compiled in a book named *'Patras Key Mazameen'* (Articles of Patras). That book alone placed him in the front rank writers of Urdu prose. His wit and humour reminded me of the style of Mark Twain. His letters in Urdu to Abdul Majeed Salik, Maulana Ghulam Rasul Meher, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Syed Imtiaz Ali Taj, Abdur-Rehman Chughtai, Hakim Yusuf Hasan, Kalimur Rehman, Hamid Ali Khan, Abdul Qadir Rashk, Begum Amena Majeed Malik, Begum Faiz and Muniza Faiz make very interesting reading and remind me of the style of Mirza Ghalib's letters. These letters have been published under the title *'Patras Kay Khutoot'*.

This compilation also contains the only letter he wrote to me from Paris on 23rd November, 1954. I have treasured it as a memento. I liked his writing to me in Urdu and not in English. Individualistic was his hand-writing and artistic was his style. To quote Buffon, a French writer, 'Style is man'. The letter which he wrote to his numerous friends and pupils were published in 'Naqoosh' in a special number on Ahmed Shah Bokhari.

He told us that when he was our Permanent Representative to the United Nations he made two requests to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Both were turned down. He wanted to replace his Chevrolet car by Buick or Cadillac as all his colleagues had been provided by their Governments with prestigious cars. He was informed that he should not envy his colleagues and get reconciled to his Chevrolet. The official chauffeur who drove him from his

residence to the U.N. building and vice versa, 50 miles each day, used to reach his residence in his Buick car. Once he told him "Don't you find the springs of the Chevrolet very hard. Why don't you ask for a Buick or Cadillac."

His request to buy a T.V. set was not entertained either. An Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote to him and added gratuitously, that if he was so keen to possess a T.V. set, he could buy it for himself.

When the Kashmir problem was under discussion in the Security Council, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Chowdhari Sir Zafrullah Khan, had to make frequent trips to New York, and as our Permanent Representative, Bokhari had to receive him at the airport and to see him off. Normally, he was the first to greet him when he alighted from the plane but once it so happened that as soon as he got down, a dozen press correspondents surrounded him. Bokhari stepped aside. After Sir Zafrullah had finished answering questions, he looked for Bokhari, spotted him out and inquired, "How do you do Ahmed Shah?" Bokhari replied, "Sir, fit as a second fiddle."

When Bokhari was invited to give a talk on Kashmir to the students of Columbia University, he got a large audience comprising American, British, Indian and Pakistani students. He explained the background of partition and said that the Sub-continent was partitioned, broadly speaking, on the principle that the majority Hindu areas formed Hindustan and the majority Muslim areas formed Pakistan. Generally speaking, this policy was implemented except in the case of the State of Jammu and Kashmir where the Muslims formed three-fourth majority and yet three-fourth of the State was under forcible occupation of India.

He observed that Pakistan did not expect India to hand over the occupied Kashmir on a platter. Pakistan merely wanted implementation of the decision of the Security Council to hold a plebiscite in the entire State to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiri people whether they wanted to accede to India or to Pakistan. India had agreed to the plebiscite but resiled from its commitment later on. The Security Council had appointed Admiral Nimitz to hold the plebiscite. He waited in vain to commence his task but India would not budge an inch from its stand and he died without discharging the task assigned to him. Bokhari stated that the people of Kashmir had geographical, historic, cultural, economic and linguistic links with the people of Pakistan.

A Kashmiri Hindu student got up to controvert Bokhari's statement. He said "I come from Srinagar. I do not want to accede to Pakistan". Bokhari in his reply welcomed the presence of this Kashmiri student and said "You have in this free country stated your views and indicated your preference. I accept your right but you should accept the right of other Kashmiris to state their preference; and if the majority holds the same view as you have expressed, we

have no case." He turned the table on the Kashmiri student.

His speeches in the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations were of a high calibre and deserve to be published. He represented Pakistan at an International Broadcasting Committee which met in Mexico to allot high Frequency Waves. It was attended by representatives of 70 countries and, when a Working Committee of 15 delegates was appointed, Pakistan was included in it, thanks to the contributions of Bokhari and Engineer Riaz Ahmed of Radio Pakistan.

While Bokhari was in Mexico, he was asked by our Government to study the system of education in Mexico which, like Pakistan, was a developing country. The result was his report entitled 'Adult Literacy in Mexico', which has been published. He translated two classics in Urdu 'The Story of Mankind' and one of Anatole France's novel entitled *'Misr Ki Raqqasa'*. He wanted to write a book on Urdu Theatre. In one of his letters to Salik, he commented on Mulk Raj Anand's book entitled 'Indian Theatre', which I quote:

> The get-up of this book is impressive but the contents show a strong mixture of ignorance and prejudice. He has praised Andhra Theatre and Bengali Theatre but has condemned Hindustani Theatre in crude language. He has described Khawaja Ahmed Abbas and Prithivi Raj Kapoor as pioneers of Indian Theatre. He has described Aga Hashr as a hack-writer and a third-rate poetaster. He has dismissed Aga Hashr's contributions in three or four lines. I was infuriated when I read his trash about Aga Hashr. I have been requesting Imtiaz (Ali Taj) and inviting him to collaborate with me in writing a book on Urdu Theatre, both in English and Urdu. After us, no one would be able to undertake this task. No one has devoted his youth to this pastime as we have done. But Imtiaz made no response. He has been so much absorbed in film-making that his literary values have evaporated. I cannot discharge this task alone without his help.

Bokhari accompanied Dag Hammarskjoeld to Peking in 1955. I met them at the Karachi Airport where Hammarskjoeld described to the pressmen the purpose of his visit to Peking - the first by the Secretary-General. On his return from Peking, Bokhari spent a few days in Karachi. At the numerous lunches, tea parties and dinners, he was the cynosure of all eyes. At one of the dinners, his hostess put two roast partridges in his plate. Bokhari told his hostess that he could only take of half a partridge. The hostess observed "The partridges will be wasted if you don't eat them." Bokhari retorted "Madam, you are thinking of your waste. I am thinking of my waist."

At another dinner party, the talk revolved round Urdu poetry. Some

praised Ghalib, others Anees and Iqbal. One of those present said that his favourite poet was Zauq. Bokhari asked him in a surprised tone 'Was Zauq a poet?' and when he was told that Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad in his *'Aab-e-Hayat'* raised him to the sky, Bokhari remarked "Azad did so because he was a dutiful pupil of Zauq."-Whenever he read Zauq's lines such as:

نام منظور ہے تو فیض کے اسباب بنا
پُل بنا، چاہ بنا، مسجد و تالاب بنا

Serve humanity, if you wish to earn a name,
There are in fact many ways, to attain lasting fame.

he thought that he was an Executive Engineer!

At one of the parties he commended Aga Hashr for his contribution to the Indian Theatre and criticised Mulk Raj Anand for his prejudice against Aga Hashr. I quoted Mirza Yaas Yagana's verse which he appreciated immensely:

نکالے حُسن میں سو عیب، عیب میں سو حُسن
خیال ہی تو ہے، جیسا بندھے، جدھر گزرے

One may perceive ugliness in beauty; facets of beauty in ugliness,
The soaring thought knows no constraint; it wanders whither it likes.

Bokhari presided over a Mushaira held in the K.G.A. Ground, where a large crowd gathered to listen to him. Other poets were also present but Bokhari was a great source of attraction. He made witty and humorous remarks in introducing the poets. When Shaukat Thanvi came to recite his ghazal, Bokhari remarked "I have been Shaukat Thanvi's admirer for the last two decades (he was actually his boss when Shaukat Thanvi was Song Publicity Organiser of All-India Radio in U.P. and Khan Bahadur Hafiz Jullundhari was Chief Song Publicity Organiser) but he has never told me to which *'Thana'* he belongs!"

In that Mushaira I sat next to Begum Josh, in the front row. She was very articulate in commenting on the verses she heard. When her husband, Josh Malihabadi, recited his poem *'Dukhtar-e-Maikada'*, with great zest and added that he had actually seen the beauty which he was describing, Begum Josh said in a loud voice, "How can anyone believe you! You told me that you had imagined the beauty and now you say that you had seen her!" The pindrop

silence that followed this remark was broken by Bokhari's appeal to Begum Josh in the undermentioned words:

"Mohtarma," he said "May I remind you of the advice of Iqbal:

اچھا ہے دل کے پاس رہے پاسبانِ عقل
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے

Better it is if heart with mind is saddled,
But at times, let it be unbridled.

Josh was greatly relieved at Bokhari's intervention and the audience roared with laughter.

As said earlier, Professor Bokhari (1898-1958) was one of the most fascinating persons with whom I came into contact during my official career. He was one of those for whom Surur Barabankvi had said:

جن سے مل کر زندگی سے عشق ہو جائے وہ لوگ
آپ نے شاید نہ دیکھے ہوں مگر ایسے بھی ہیں

When you associate with them, life looks meaningful,
You may not have known them, but there are such people.

I met him first in December, 1942, at a Publicity conference convened by the Government of India in New Delhi. The Chairman of the Conference was Sir Frederick Pickle, I.C.S. It was attended by representatives of all the 11 provinces of India. I represented Sind at that Conference. My good friends, Muhammad Wahajuddin Abbasi and Muhammad Azfar represented U.P. and Bihar respectively. Bokhari attended the Conference in his capacity as Controller of All-India Radio. We had a long agenda to dispose of. It took us two days to finish our deliberations. The Congress had given the call for 'Quit India'.

The representative of the N.W.F.P. related an amusing story. At a luncheon party at Government House, Peshawar, the chief Minister, Dr. Khan Sahib tried to pull the leg of the Governor, Sir George Cunningham by asking him "Your Excellency when do you propose to quit?" Sir George hoisted Dr. Khan Sahib with his own petard and replied "I am prepared to leave any day,

but I will have to take your wife with me". Dr. Khan Sahib's wife was an English lady.

Bokhari's contributions on various items were witty and refreshing and broke the tedium of our deliberations. When we discussed how to counteract the propaganda of Dr. Goebells and the Berlin Radio broadcasts in English (Lord Ha Ha) as well as in Urdu, Bokhari remarked that the best way to do so was for the British Government to promise transfer of power to Indians after the War in unequivocal terms and to suppress high-handed actions on the part of Patwaris and Sub-Inspectors.

Bokhari related a conversation which he had overheard at the Delhi Railway Station, where some villagers were awaiting a belated train. One of them asked the other "Who is this Hitler and what are his misdeeds?" He replied "He is a very unscrupulous man. He has created a reign of terror in Germany. He has put in jail innocent people. He abuses them and beats them and has made life hell for them." upon which one of the villagers remarked "Oh, then he is exactly like our Sub-Inspector!"

It was a treat to spend a few days in his company when he visited Karachi in the first week of November, 1954. He had a number of friends and admirers in Karachi. Some of them were his pupils when he taught at the Government College Lahore, and those who had worked with him in the All-India Radio. Among his friends, he was delighted to meet his old companions, Abdul Majeed Salik and Majeed Malik. His younger brother, Zulfiqar Bokhari, was at that time Director-General of Radio Pakistan. When the two brothers were serving in the All-India radio, the elder as Controller of A.I.R., and the younger as Station Director, Bombay, a common friend asked him what distinguished him from his younger brother and got the reply, "I am Sahi Bokhari". Some people described the B.B.C. as Bokhari Brothers Corporation. Zulfiqar Bokhari used to broadcast in Urdu from the B.B.C. in the War days.

13

THE JOB THAT GAVE ME THE GREATEST SATISFACTION

— The Ancestors of the ruling family of Bahawalpur were descendents of the Abbasi Caliphs of Baghdad.
— Like Mir Osman Ali Khan, the last ruler of the premier state of Hyderabad Deccan, Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan was a patron of Urdu language. The court language of the State was Urdu.

THE JOB THAT GAVE me the greatest satisfaction during my 32 years of public service was that of Commissioner, Bahawalpur Division. The State of Bahawalpur was the Premier State of Pakistan, comprising the Districts of Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan. This State was merged into One Unit in 1955. The Bahawalpur Division was larger than the Bahawalpur State since two districts of Southern Punjab-Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan were transferred from Multan Division to Bahawalpur Division.

The District of Dera Ghazi Khan was upgraded in 1983 and thus it became the Headquarters of Dera Ghazi Khan Division. The addition of Dera Ghazi Khan District to the Bahawalpur Division was very welcome since Fort Monro, a hill station 6680 ft. above sea level, provided a relief to those who could get away from the burning plains in summer.

The area of Bahawalpur State was 15,000 square miles of which 9880 square miles comprised the desert of Cholistan. According to the census of 1881, the population of the State was 573,494: out of that Muslims were 480,247; Hindus 91,272; Sikhs 1,678; Jains 254; Christians 13 and Parsis 3. The average density was 38 persons per square miles. The population of the State increased to 32 lakhs according to the census of 1951.

The ancestors of the ruling family of Bahawalpur were descendants of the Abbasi Caliphs of Baghdad. When some of the Abbasis migrated from Iraq to Sind and Bahawalpur, the descendants of Amir Kalhoro settled in Sind while those of Amir Daud Khan settled in Bahawalpur. The State of Bahawalpur was founded in 1727 and Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan was its first ruler. He died

in 1745 and was succeeded by Amir Muhammad Bahawal Khan, who founded the city of Bahawalpur. It was during the reign of Nawab Bahawal Khan II that the State attained fame for its good administration. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II conferred on him the title of Nusrat Jang and Hafizul-Mulk. Amir Shah Muhammad of Afghanistan awarded him the title of Mukhlisud-Daula.

The last ruler of Bahawalpur state bore the same name as its first ruler. He was Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V. He was a very enlightened and sagacious ruler. He was the son of Nawab Mubarak Khan who was known as Nawab Bahawal Khan V. Sir Sadiq ruled from 1903 to 1907. He died in Aden on his way to Bahawalpur after performing Hajj. Since his son was only 3 years old at that time, a Council of Regency was appointed by the Viceroy. Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan assumed the charge of the State in 1924. He was educated at Aitchison College Lahore, and attained fame as a just ruler. He could be called the maker of modern Bahawalpur. Like his predecessors, he contributed liberally to the Muslim institutions like Aligarh University, Anjuman Himayatùl-Islam, Darul-Uloom Nadwa, Deoband and Jamia-Millia. He was the founder of Jamia-Abbasia, Sadiq Public School and Sadiq Reading Library in the city of Bahawalpur. His historic and everlasting contribution to the prosperity of the people of the State was the Sutlej Valley Project. The four headworks of this Project covered a large area of the State and converted arid lands into green fields.

Like Mir Osman Ali Khan, the last ruler of the premier state of Hyderabad Deccan, Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan was a patron of Urdu language. The court language of the State was Urdu. The judges of the High Court wrote their judgements in Urdu. He had the foresight to separate the judiciary from the executive branch of the administration. He had great affection for the Quaid-e-Azam who accepted his hospitality and stayed at one time at Malir in Nawab Sahib's residence. Miss Fatimah Jinnah once told me that the Quaid regarded Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan as his personal friend - a distinction which few could claim.

He was a very patriotic Pakistani. He had conveyed his decision to the Quaid-e-Azam to accede the State to Pakistan long before 14th August, 1947.

Douglas Fell was the Prime Minister of Kalat State in August, 1947. He was my contemporary in Oxford. Before he joined the Indian Political Service, he was serving, like me, on the Bombay Cadre of the I.C.S. We both belonged to the 1934 batch. When he called on me at the Governor's House, Karachi, after 14th August, 1947, I asked him when Kalat was going to accede to Pakistan. He remarked that I should have asked him whether Kalat was going to accede to Pakistan. I was taken aback at his assertion and asked,

"You do not mean to say that Kalat may accede to India."

He said "No, I did not mean that but Kalat has the option not to accede to any of the two Dominions but to have direct relations with H.M.G. It may become the Dominion of Kalat."

I said that although Mountbatten had mentioned earlier the possibility of direct relationship of the 601 States with H.M.G. it was most unlikely and he had later retracted from the offer and advised the rulers to accede to one of the two Dominions. Fell remarked that Mountbatten had not categorically withdrawn the offer of direct relationship with H.M.G. and that was why he was going to Delhi to meet Mountbatten and to discuss the possibility of forming the Dominion of Kalat.

I told Fell that it would, in my view, be an exercise in futility. Douglas Fell left Kalat after some time and the Khan of Kalat acceded his State to Pakistan. It appeared to me that Douglas Fell and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, who in late Z.A. Bhutto's regime became Governor of Baluchistan, were on the same wavelength when the latter told Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer in Moscow that he was studying the proposal of converting Baluchistan into a Socialist Republic of Baluchistan.

After the late Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, he visited Moscow with a party of 100 on a goodwill mission. The party included Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. When Mr. Bhutto left Moscow for London after a couple of days, all his companions accompanied him to London except Nawab Akbar Bugti. Mr. E.H. Jaffer asked Nawab Bugti at the Moscow airport why he was staying behind and got the staggering reply "How do you like the emergence of the Socialist Republic of Baluchistan?" This reply shocked Mr. Ahmed Jaffer just as Douglas Fell's idea of Dominion of Kalat had shocked me.

To revert to my estimate of Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan, he not only unhesitatingly and enthusiastically acceded the State of Bahawalpur to Pakistan but tried to persuade the Maharajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur to accede to Pakistan. The state of Jodhpur was contiguous to Pakistan and the state of Jaipur was contiguous to Jodhpur. Both the Maharajas were personal friends of the late Nawab. They mentioned to him that the Minister-in-charge of Indian States, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, known as the iron man of the Congress, had been very rude to them when they had asked him what safeguards they could expect from the new Government of India. He had told them that rulers of the Indian States had sucked the blood of their subjects for centuries and they should thank the Government of India for ensuring their personal safety and property. They requested the late Nawab to arrange their meeting with the Quaid-e-Azam which he was glad to do. The Quaid-e-Azam received them courteously and assured them that if they acceded to Pakistan, they could

expect not only a fair but generous treatment. They were completely satisfied with their talks with the Quaid-e-Azam but before they could exercise their choice of accession, they were summoned by the Viceroy, at the instance of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, and were pressurised by him to accede to India. This episode has been described by V.P. Menon, Secretary-in-charge of the Ministry of States in his memoirs. Of all the Indian officials, Menon was closest to Mountbatten who appointed him his Constitutional Adviser. It was Menon's draft of the Indian Independence Act. 1947, which he drafted in consultation with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that was presented to H.M.G,. by Mountbatten. Menon got his prize when he was appointed Governor of Orissa.

In 1955, when the four provinces of West Pakistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan were integrated into one province, the late Nawab readily responded to the request of General Iskander Mirza, then Governor-General of Pakistan, to merge his state into One Unit. He merely wanted postponement upto March 1956, when he would have completed 50 years of his reign. Before the idea of One Unit was conceived, the late Nawab had invited Queen Elizabeth to the Golden Jubilee of his reign in March, 1956, and she had acceded to his request.

General Iskander Mirza told the Nawab that if the formation of the Unit was delayed beyond October, 1955, it might not be formed at all, since the opposition to One Unit would gather strength and create many complications. The Nawab did not press his request for postponement and the State of Bahawalpur was merged into the Province of West Pakistan in October, 1955. Years later, when Queen Elizabeth visited Pakistan as Head of the Common-Wealth, the Nawab requested the President of Pakistan, Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan, to include a visit of the Queen to Bahawalpur. He felt deeply hurt when his request was not complied with and the President of Pakistan did include a visit to a former State in the programme of the Queen. That State was not Bahawalpur. It was Swat. The Ruler of Swat was a 'relative*' of Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan.

THE NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR

I WAS TRANSFERRED IN September, 1957, as Commissioner, Hyderabad Division. Nawab Sahib was in London in those days and he sent me this telegram:

* The son of the Ruler of Swat was the son-in-law of General Ayub Khan.

London
21st September, 1957.

Syed & Begum Hashim Raza,
Commissioner,
Hyderabad Division.

Deeply grieved at your leaving us and we look forward to meeting you both on our return. Allah's blessing. Sincerest good wishes.

Sadiq Muhammad Khan,
Amir of Bahawalpur.

In July, 1961, when I was appointed Governor of East Pakistan, he sent me a cable:

London
4th July, 1961.

His Excellency Syed Hashim Raza,
Governor, East Pakistan.

My good friend! heartiest congratulations. Allah's blessings. Deepest affection.

Sadiq Muhammad Khan.

In January, 1966, the Nawab sent the following cable in reply to my Eid Greetings:

Sadiqgarh Palace,
23rd January, 1966.

Our very good friends! how very charming of you to remember us on Eid. We warmly reciprocate these kind sentiments. Will you be in Karachi any day between 27th of this month and 4th of February. Our very best wishes Allah's blessings, health and happiness.

Sadiq Muhammad.

I was in Dacca between the 27th January and 24th of February 1966, in connection with the National Assembly Winter Session. I cabled to him that I would not be able to meet him in Karachi but would have pleasure in meeting him at the Dera Nawab Sahib Station on his return from England.

I was very sorry to learn in Rawalpindi from the papers of 25th May, 1966, that he had breathed his last in London. I broadcast a talk on his life and time from Radio Pakistan the same night. I reached Dera Nawab Sahib by train in time to attend his funeral on 28th May. The atmosphere at the Station and at

the Parade Ground where his funeral prayer was offered, was full of genuine grief for the departed soul. Thousands of people gathered to bid him good-bye. His dead body was carried on a gun-carriage wrapped in the Pakistan Flag to his ancestral graveyard in Derawar. I recorded my own sentiments in the following verses which I reproduce:

کیا آج دل کا حال ہوا کچھ نہ پوچھئے
کیسی بدل گئی ہے فضا کچھ نہ پوچھئے

Today, heart is so grief-stricken,words cannot speak,
Today, in sorrow the atmosphere is sunken, words cannot speak.

رنگین پیرہن کی جگہ دامنِ کفن
شیون کی ہر طرف سے صدا کچھ نہ پوچھئے

Shroud there is in place of colourful garments,
Such lamentations are raised to heaven, words cannot speak.

کل تک جہاں بہار کے نغمے ہوا میں تھے
اب ہر طرف خزاں کی ندا، کچھ نہ پوچھئے

Till yesterday, where spring's gaiety reigned supreme,
Today, autumn has set a gloom to deepen, words cannot speak.

صادق کے دوستوں کے لیے ہجرِ دائمی
مایوسیوں کی آب و ہوا کچھ نہ پوچھئے

Separation, sorrow, sufferings for Sadiq's friends,
Life has become so barren, words cannot speak.

اِک پیکرِ جمیل تھا سو خوبیوں کے ساتھ
دل کی صفات اس سے سوا کچھ نہ پوچھئے

A monument of virtue, a replica of grace he was,
A beacon-light, to enlighten, words cannot speak.

When I returned to Rawalpindi, I received the undermentioned telegram

from Colonel Said Ahmed Hashmi, who had served the late Nawab with devotion and affection as his Minister-in-Waiting.

Sadiqgarh Palace,
2nd June, 1966.

Heart-felt thanks for your personal attendance after undertaking a long journey to attend Namaz-e-Janaza of my Royal Master late Alahazrat Amir Bahawalpur. Thanks for your valued press publication. He dearly valued your friendship. Regards.

Colonel Hashmi,
Minister in Waiting.

I got the same cooperation from the people as from the Nawab of Bahawalpur. At a Press Conference which was attended by all prominent editors and journalists, I stated that they could criticise the administration in the interest of better administration, they could point out irregularities committed by officials, they could recommend measures to improve relationship between administration and the public and they could suggest ways and means of bettering the lot of the common man.

The Nawa-e-Waqt commented on my Press Conference and I quote:

The new Commissioner of Bahawalpur has arrived. He was greeted at the station by Government officials, newspaper proprietors, political leaders and the 'awam' (people). It was surprising to note that the public which had never greeted any Minister in the past had gathered in such large numbers. In the days of the Chief Ministership of Makhdoomzada Syed Hasan Mahmood, the stories of his reception at the station were mere propaganda. The fact was that he was received at the Railway Station only by his henchmen, the officials and those who were hired at the sum of one or two rupees each. Mr. Hashim Raza held his Press Conference at the very next day of his arrival. Practically all editors and journalists of Bahawalpur attended the Conference. He made the following points:

(1) The Press is the Fourth State of a country and democracy flourishes through newspapers.
(2) He will welcome healthy and meaningful criticism and will groom the press to the best of his ability.
(3) He will expect the newspapers to refer to him sensational and erratic news items before publication to enable him to

collect and convey them the real facts after which they could use the material as they liked.

Mr. Hashim Raza spoke at length at trends of modern journalism. He also remarked that our mushroom 'mushairas' were not doing any service to literature or poetry. Unless their standard is raised, they will do more harm than good.

In response to his appeal for understanding and cooperation, Mr. Ali Ahmed Rifat, Proprietor of 'Sutlej'; Manzoor Ahmed, Proprietor of 'Zam Zam'; and Waliullah Ahad, Proprietor of 'Kainat' assured him that the newspapers of Bahawalpur will cooperate with him as far as possible and express the hope that he too will reciprocate their good will.

During my 20 months stay in Bahawalpur, I received full cooperation from the press. The newspapers exaggerated my achievements and played down my shortcomings.

The Press In Bahawalpur rendered significant service to Urdu Journalism. The first Urdu newspaper - *'Sadiqul-Akhbar'* - was published in Bahawalpur in 1966. It was an officially sponsored paper. In 1938, Brigadier Syed Nazir Ali Shah took out a monthly magazine called *'Raud-e-Sutlej'*. Later on, it was converted into a weekly and was edited by Ali Ahmed Rifat.

In 1945, Hayat Tareen started a weekly called *'Insaf'* which supported the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement. In 1946, two other weeklies were taken out - *'Paigham'* by Lala Devi Dayal and *'Kainat'* by Waliullah Ahad. In 1970 the weekly *'Kainat'* was converted into a daily. Waliullah Ahad's brother, Allama Arshad, was a prominent politician and was the leader of opposition in Punjab Assembly.

The post-independence period witnessed the emergence of a large number of weeklies. The weekly *'Ilham'* of Delhi was edited by Syed Masud Hasan Shahab. When he migrated to Bahawalpur, he revived *'Ilham'* in 1948. The weekly has maintained a high literary standard. It had also been edited by Tabish Alwari. He was a member of the Punjab Assembly.

Hakim Mohiuddin Shaan took out a weekly - *'Parwaz'* - in 1948. M. Dilshad Kalanchvi took out a weekly for children and named it *'Jugnoo'*. Papers like *'Khatoon'* and *'Sada-e-Niswan'* advanced the cause of women in our society. One after the other appeared Syed Ahmed Nawaz Shah Gardezi's biweekly *'Jamhoor'*, Abdul Hameed Sehrai's *'Bebak'*, Muhammad Ali Darwesh's *'Al-Imam'*, Iqbal Ahmed Siddiqui's weekly *'Sunehra Des'*, Allama Manzoor Ahmed's weekly *'Zam-Zam'*, Hayat Meruthi's 'Aftab-e-Awam' from Khanpur, Muhammad Rafiq Khan's weekly 'Rafiq', Amjad

Qureshi's weekly *'Sahafat'*, Gulzar Ahmed Naseem's weekly *'Sayadat'*, which has recently been converted into a daily.

The first daily newspaper - *'Rahbar'* - was published by Aminuddin. At present (1984) five daily papers are published in Bahawalpur - *'Kainat'*, *'Rahbar'*, *'Sayadat'*, *'Maghribi Pakistan'* and *'Dastur'*.

Apart from the daily and weekly newspapers, a number of monthly magazines of literary merit enhanced readers' interest in Urdu literature. One such magazine was *'Nakhlistan-e-Adan'* which was first published in 1912 and contained contributions from the teachers and students of Sadiq Egerton College. This magazine published several special numbers including one on the life and times of Allama Iqbal during his life time. It celebrated its diamond jubilee in 1972 which contained articles from its ex-students like Khalid Akhtar, Muhammad Kazim and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi.

Syed Mubarak Ali Shah Gilani's three monthly *'Lala-e-Sehra'* published from Sanjorpore, Tehsil Sadiqabad, contained contributions from writers and poets like Aga Hashr Kashmiri, Josh Malihabadi, Hakim Azad Ansari, Akhtar Sheerani, N.M. Rashid, Najibabadi, Jigar Moradabadi, Asghar Gondvi, Riaz Khairabadi, Hairat Shah Warsi and Ravish Siddiqui. This magazine did not last long but so long as it lasted, it attained considerable fame as a literary journal.

Some other monthly magazines came out from Bahawalpur but were short-lived. A literary magazine *'Al-Zubair'* was sponsored by the Urdu Academy, Bahawalpur, in 1959 and has been coming out regularly since then. It enjoys high reputation throughout Pakistan. It has published special issues like *'Ghair Mulki Afsaney Number'*, *'Apbiti Number'*, *'Tahrik Azadi Number'*, *'Adabi Maarkey Number'*, *'Ghalib Number'*, *'Asnaf-e-Adab Number'*, and *'Bahawalpur Number'*. It is being ably edited by Syed Masud Hasan Shahab.

A VERY IMPRESSIVE PRIVATE LIBRARY

— The Derawar Mosque of Marble is a thing of beauty, an exact replica of the Moti Masjid of the Red fort of Delhi

I WAS EXPECTED TO assume charge of Bahawalpur Division on 15th October, 1955, but since there was some delay in the selection of my successor, I had to postpone my departure till the end of January, 1956, when Aga Abdul Hamid was appointed as Joint Secretary-in-Charge of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

I arrived at Bahawalpur Station on 1st February, 1956, by Khyber Mail early in the morning. The reception which the friendly people of Bahawalpur accorded to me at the station, was very heartening. I took over charge of Bahawalpur Division from Mr. A.R. Khan, who had been appointed as a Member of the Board of Revenue. He was a senior member of the bureaucracy, having held important assignments like Chief Commissioner of the Federal Capital and Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior. He was, like me, an ex-student of the Canning College, Lucknow. He was assigned, like me, to the Bombay Cadre of the I.C.S. Later on, he became a Judge of the High Court, Lahore. In October, 1955, he was Chief Advisor to the Ruler of Bahawalpur State. Mr. A.R. Khan briefed me at *'Sadarat Manzil'* for an hour after which I left for Sadiqgarh Palace where the late Nawab lived.

I arrived at the Palace at 10:00 a.m. The Nawab greeted me by embracing me in an affable manner and said:

'بڑی دیر کی مہرباں آتے آتے'

Belated as it is, but your arrival is welcome

I replied, "Sir, the first thing which I did after taking over charge was to leave for Dera Nawab Sahib. It took me half an hour to cover the distance between Bahawalpur and Dera Nawab Sahib."

He laughed and said, "I am not referring to your arrival this morning. I am referring to the year 1951 when I asked for your services in place of my Prime Minister, Col. Dring. The Government of Pakistan regretted their inability to spare you for Bahawalpur on the ground that you are a Sind Civilian and the Government of Sind wanted you back."I told him that I felt flattered at his move which I had learnt from newspapers.

I told the Nawab that he should treat me as he treated his Prime Ministers and give me the benefit of his guidance and advice. He readily acceded to my request and told me who was who in the State. He took me to his private library within the Palace premises. The number and the quality of the books in English, Persian and Urdu languages were very impressive. He showed me some rare manuscripts. When I left Sadiqgarh Palace after lunch, I was well briefed about the problems and personalities of the State. I availed of his kind offer to consult him whenever I felt the need for it.

He used to spend six months in Pakistan with his wife and children and six months in England with the other wife, an English lady of gracious bearing. He asked me to visit Derawar Fort situated on the edge of Cholistan. It was the Fort

in which the Nawabs of Bahawalpur used to be crowned before the official crowning ceremony in Bahawalpur Palace. He gave orders that I should be shown his ancestral graveyard which was situated in Derawar. It was neatly kept, covered with rectangular structure of marble. The straight wall on one side had a circular projection containing a grave. I asked the attendant whose grave it was. He told me that it was the grave of one of the Begums of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan. When she died, a letter was found under her pillow addressed to the Nawab Sahib in which she thanked her husband for giving her the greatest pleasure in the world by fulfilling all her wishes; her last request was that she should be buried at his feet in the family graveyard. The kind-hearted Nawab acceded to her request and hence the Circular Projection in the wall at the place reserved for his own grave.

The Derawar mosque of marble is a thing of beauty, an exact replica of the Moti Masjid of the Red Fort of Delhi. The undermentioned three letters which he wrote to me, are specimens of his kind nature:

25th March, 1956.

My dear friend,

To begin with, I feel very guilty not having written earlier but I understand that Colonel Hashmi has already approached you with my message.

It would give Her Highness and myself much pleasure if you and Begum Sahiba would give us the pleasure of your company to dinner on the 27th at 8:30 p.m.

Incidently, this month completes the 50th Anniversary of my recognition as a successor to the throne of my illustrious ancestors and, though not enjoying full sovereign powers today; yet as a humble citizen of our beloved country and enjoying the same privileges as heretofore, I feel that this historical occasion in my life should be given some significance, hence the entirely private celebrations.Suitable accommodation will be available for you both if you wish to arrive earlier and change here. I suggest Short Coat would be quite suitable as the Dinner Party is entirely personal.

We much look forward to welcoming you both here and I am confident that inspite of your many preoccupations and the short notice given, you will still not let us down.

With our good wishes and kind regards to you both.

******

30th April, 1957.

My dear friend,

I was delighted to get your Eid Card. My wife joins me in wishing you both everything of the best that you may desire and may

Allah's choicest blessings and goodness be with you and the very dear children. We are much looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow morning and a happy welcome awaits you here.

As you are aware, the function is to take place tomorrow which means so much to us and all those near and dear to us and it gives us much pleasure to realise that we shall have you both good friends in our midst, a fact which is most pleasing.

The Nikah Ceremony between our eldest daughter, Sahibzadi Ghulam Sidiquah Abbasi and His Highness Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur of Khairpur, will take place between 11:30 a.m. and 12 noon at the Sadiqgarh Palace. Her Highness and I hope that you will make it convenient to be there in good time. A room has been arranged for you at the Palace.

We send you both regards.

******

London,
6th August, 1957.

Dear friend,

Thank you very much for your letter; I am glad that you have at last broken the silence. I do now realise my error, I should have informed you of our safe arrival here, but somehow I overlooked this. In past years, when there was a Prime Minister, Chief Minister of Head of Administration, I used to make a point of informing these gentlemen so that they could inform the people of my State of my welfare.

As I am here, and a little more than half of the period of my visit is now nearly over, I should be very delighted if you and Begum Sahiba would let me know if I can do anything for you, especially if there is something you require, which is not obtainable in Pakistan. I should be very happy to be of some assistance to friends for whom both my wife and I have the deepest regard.

You mention Fort Munroe. Some years back, when Gurmani Sahib was my Prime Minister, we both decided to approach Nawab Sahib Jamal Khan to lease the place to the State Government so that we could have our own Hill Station where the lesser-paid officers could spend their summer leave. In spite of the fact that Nawab Gurmani promised to do everything, the matter was never taken up.

Here we have been having the usual changeable weather, but on the whole the summer this year has, I feel, been an improvement on last year. Her Highness joins me in wishing you both, and the dear children, Allah's Choicest Blessings. We send you our very sincerest good wishes.

PRESS IN BAHAWALPUR

CHOLISTAN FORMS THE WESTERN part of the Rajasthan desert. It comprises a vast area of arid land larger than the rest of the former Bahawalpur State. The irrigated fringe of Cholistan and some areas where water is collected in the Barani season, attract a variety of migratory ducks and water fowls. The main desert abounds in chinkera deer, sand grouse, imperial sand grouse and hubara bustard.

The hunters of Bahawalpur State and the Punjab have hunted these birds and animals indiscriminately. Since the Blue Bull and Black Buck species were threatened with extinction as a result of ruthless shooting in the past, I banned their shooting in 1956. A deputation of hunters protested against my order and waited in deputation to appeal to me to reconsider my decision. I told them that I had been entrusted with the task of taking care of the people as well as the animals and birds of my Division and I could not be a helpless spectator of the massacre of the deer of Cholistan which had been going on with impunity. They asked me as to why people should visit Cholistan at all if they were prevented from shooting. I replied that they should visit Cholistan to admire its vast spaces and mirages to see the beautiful sunrise and sunset, to see the frolics of the animals, to experience to eternal silence of the 'dahars' and to derive inspiration as Khawaja Ghulam Fareed did. The poet used to frequent various parts of Cholistan from time to time to write his wonderful 'Kafees'*. He talked of 'Roohi' in such affectionate terms that some readers mistook Roohi to be the name of his beloved.I told the hunters how much I had enjoyed my trips to Cholistan and read over to them my poem on Cholistan:

چولستان

عمرِ رواں ٹھہر مجھے کچھ دیکھنے تو دے
زُلفِ عروسِ شب میں کئی بار بَل پڑا
وہ پَو پھٹی وہ نُور کا دریا اُبل پڑا
چُپکے سے قافلہ مہ و انجم کا چَل پڑا
رنگینیاں لیے شہِ خاور نکل پڑا

* Quatrains and other metrical compositions.

Let me look ahead, O bygone days!
The night halted many a time,
The dawn broke in a way sublime,
The moon and stars ceased to rhyme,
City-life throbbed, and came to its prime.
Let me look ahead, O bygone days!

عمرِ رواں ٹھہر مجھے کچھ دیکھنے تو دے

پہلی نظر میں مجھ کو یہ میدان بھا گیا
رُوحی کا روپ ذوقِ سفر کو بڑھا گیا
اتنے میں ایک جھنڈ غزالوں کا آ گیا
اِک قافلہ نگاہ کی وسعت پہ چھا گیا

In the first glance, the desert attracted me,
The image of "Roohi" captivated me,
Then came a pack of deer, the scene exhilarated me,
Friendly was the whole of desert, it invited me.
Let me look ahead, O bygone days!

عمرِ رواں ٹھہر مجھے کچھ دیکھنے تو دے

کتنے بہت سے رنگ ملے تب بنا سراب
خیرہ نظر کو کرتی "ڈاہر" کی آب و تاب
ہوش و حواس و عقل خرد دے گئے جواب
آنکھیں کھلی ہوئی ہیں مگر دیکھتے ہیں خواب

In mirage, many colours lie,
To looks, Dahir's charms belie,
Deprived of senses have become I,
Whither I go, which way to ply?
Let me look ahead, O bygone days!

KHAWAJA FAREED, A POET OF MASSES

KHAWAJA GHULAM FAREED WAS the greatest Saraiki poet. Saraiki is also referred to as Multani. This language is spoken in Bahawalpur, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan and Mianwali. Like Sindhi, Saraiki too is older than Urdu but Urdu has been enriched by many Sindhi and Saraiki words.

Khawaja Ghulam Fareed was born in 1846 and died in 1901. He was a contemporary of Maulana Altaf Husain Hali and Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad. His fame spread as a spiritual leader and poet. He was '*haftzaban*' (master of seven languages) like Sachal Sarmast. Apart from Saraiki - Multani in which he composed, Khawaja Fareed acquired knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Sindhi and Purbi. Like Sachal Sarmast, he too composed verses in Urdu. He wrote a treatise in Persian on '*Shariat*' and '*Haqeeqat*'.

Khawaja Fareed's '*Kafees*', like those of Shah Abdul Latif of Sind, appeal to the learned men as much as to the illiterate people. He was a poet of the masses. He lived with them, sympathised with their plight and poverty, shared their joys and sorrows and admired the rugged life of the people of Cholistan. His Roohi, Cholistan is as romantic as Heer, Sassi and Sohni. He saw beauty in his '*lassi*' [1] and '*Mundhani*'.[2] Therefore, he wrote:

دل جھڑ جنگل دی باندی ہے
جتھاں جھوک مہڈے متراں دی
بو صدق وفا کی آندی ہے
انہاں ساڈے سنڑ ملین کنوں؟

I have lost my heart to the jungle where my friends live. I enjoy the fragrance of the green 'lai' trees which breathe of steadfast friendship.

1. Yoghurt liquid - a beverage which is commonly used in many parts of the Sub-continent.
2. Bowl.

The rains transform the scenery of the desert. In one of his poems entitled "Savan in Roohi", Fareed describes this welcome change in these opening words:

آئے ست ڈہاڈے ساون ڈے

وہ ساون ڈے میں بھاونڈے

The intoxicating days of Savan have commenced. How much I love these days!

My desert is pretty and friendly. May God keep the people of this tract happy. I will go to my beloved and drink 'lassi' of her cows.

Khawaja Fareed was an intensely religious person and visited the mausoleums of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti and Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia before proceeding to Haj. When he set foot on the holy land of Arabia, he composed:

دیس عرب دا ملک عرب وا

سارا باغ و بہار

The land of Arabia is heart-warming. It is a land of eternal spring.

Fareed has explained in simple words the doctrine of '*Tauheed*' which is the centre of his thought and preachings. He was not a bigoted Mulla but a liberal Muslim. Baba Fareed occupies an honourable place among the Sufi poets of Persian, Sindhi and Urdu.

The ancestors of Khawaja Fareed migrated from Kot Mithan in Dera Ghazi Khan District to Chachran in Bahawalpur State as they could not tolerate the Sikh rule in the Punjab. Both these places are located at the opposite banks of River Indus. Baba Fareed's "*murid*" (follower) was the grand-father of the last ruler of Bahawalpur.

In his book named *'Gauhar-e-Shab Charagh'*, Abu Saeed Muhammad Anwar Feroz has quoted Khawaja Hasan Nizami's impressions of Khawaja Fareed in the following words:

اے روہی یار ملانوڑی دے
شالا ہوئے ہر دم سادڑی دے
ونج پیسوں سڑی کاوڑی دے
گھن اپنے سوہنے سین کنوں

I used to pay my respect to Khawaja Sahib frequently. I saw the Nawab Sahib of Bahawalpur pushing with his own hands a small carriage in which Khawaja Sahib rode. He was the guest of Nawab Sahib at Ahmedpur. Outside the Nawab's palace I witnessed daily a gathering of devotees surrounding Khawaja Sahib who sat on a 'Boria' like the 'Aulia Allah' of the past. He was a simple man and some people took advantage of his simplicity. When my father mentioned it to Khawaja Sahib, he smiled and said, "I know this very well. But I cannot help it. I feel humble when I reflect that God has awarded me treasures which I do not deserve. What right have I to consider whether a person is deserving or not? He will get his share whether by fair means or foul. If he gets it by fair means, he will also get his reward in the world hereafter.

Only a God-fearing person could make such sagacious observations.

The grandfather of the late ruler of Bahawalpur who bore the same name as the present Nawab - i.e., Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan externed a Maulvi named Ahmed Baksh from his state. The people of Ahmedpur Sharqia where that Maulvi used to reside, complained to the Nawab that the Maulvi was a 'Ghair Muqallid' (non-follower) and denied the status of 'Aulia-e-Karam' (saints), hence the extermination order. Maulvi Ahmed Baksh went to Khawaja Fareed and requested him to intervene on his behalf. He advised him to stay on till the Nawab came on his periodical visit. Khawaja Sahib did not say a word to Nawab Sahib about Ahmed Baksh. When the prayer time came, he asked Maulvi Ahmed Baksh to lead the prayers which the Nawab joined. In his post-prayer address Khawaja Fareed said:

The world has come to such a pass that some people consider themselves to be masters and bread-givers. God gives '*rizq*' (food stuff) even to '*Kafirs*' (non-followers, infidels).

The Nawab got the hint and told Khawaja Fareed that he realised his mistake and was sorry for it. He withdrew the extermment order on the spot.

Such was the reverence in which Khawaja Fareed was held by all those who came into contact with him.

Khawaja Sahib was buried in Kot Mithan where his mother came from. His mausoleum draws devotees throughout the year. When I offered requiem at his grave after morning prayer, I composed some lines on his teachings and poetry which I reproduce:

وحیدِ عصرِ سخن در شہید عشق فریدؒ
کسی سے بن نہ پڑی آج تک تری تقلید

Fareed! you are a scholar of immense reputation,
So great are your works that none could make imitation.

ترے کلام کی وہ پختگی وہ پُرکاری
کہ جس کا سوز ہی انجام، سوز ہی تمہید

In your works, perfection reigns supreme,
Pathos indeed is the main trait of your theme.

تیرے قدم نے بدل دی فضائے "متھن کوٹ"
کہ جیسے لوگ مناتے ہیں جنگلوں میں عید

Mithankot's atmosphere you changed to extremity,
And brought about a good deal of gaiety.

وہی مناظرِ قدرت جو دیکھتے ہیں سب
تری نظر میں کھلے بن کے مظہرِ توحید

The natural scenes which men usually behold,
You found in them divine grace untold.

جو دیکھا جلوہ سرایوں میں تیری "روحی" کی
ملا مجھے بھی بہت لطف اور درد شدید

Roohi's image in the mirage, in its sublimation,
It filled me with joy and with sensation.

'UCHCH' : A CITY OF MAUSOLEUMS

— The central library of Bahawalpur is one of the biggest libararies of Pakistan. The foundation stone of this library was laid by 'Lord Reading'- Viceroy of India on 8th March 1924.
— It redounds to the credit of 'Ansars' of the Bhawalpur state that they received the Mohajreens (Refugees) with open arms. I had the satisfaction of establishing Mohajir colonies in Rahimyar Khan, Sadiqabad, Liaquatabad and Bahawalpur.

SINCE THE BAHAWALPUR DIVISION comprised three districts of the former Bahawalpur State and two of the Punjab, I had an opportunity to compare the revenue and judicial systems of the British administered district with those administered by the Nawab of Bahawalpur. The revenue system was identical but the judicial system of the State had an edge over the British administered districts as the proceedings of the cases in the courts of the Punjab were written in English while the proceedings in the courts of Bahawalpur State were recorded in Urdu from the lowest courts upto the High Court.

Sir Abdul Qadir, whose monthly 'Makhzan' of Lahore rendered yeoman service to the cause of Urdu, was appointed Chief Justice of Bahawalpur High Court in 1942. The executive branch of the administration was headed by equally distinguished persons like Sir Sikander Hayat who became the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State in 1928 and later on Chief Minister of the Punjab, and Nawab Gurmani who became Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State in 1946 and subsequently Minister of Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan, and Governor of West Pakistan.

The provisions of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Cadre and the Criminal Procedure Code were similar in the three districts of the State and the District of Muzaffargarh. The provisions of the Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1901 were applicable to the District of Dera Ghazi Khan owing to the tribal system among the Mazari, Leghari, Gurchani, Khoso, Soni Lunk and Bozdar tribes.

A list of persons suitable and eligible for selection as Elders was maintained and revised annually by the Deputy Commissioner. The cases covered were those of blood feud murder, mischief or breach of peace in which either one or both the parties belonged to a frontier tribe.

The cases were investigated by an Officer-in-Charge of the Border Military Post and referred to a Tumandar who recorded the available evidence and

submitted his report to the Political Agent. If a prima facie case was established, the Political Agent referred the case to a Council of Elders. If three fourth of the Elders were in favour of acquittal, the Deputy Commissioner ordinarily acquitted the accused. He could impose collective fines if the inhabitants of the locality connived at the commission of the offence or failed to render assistance in the discovery of the offenders or combined to suppress material evidence of the commission of an offence.

The Commissioner could call for the record of any proceedings and could revise any decision or decree. No sentence exceeding 7 years could be passed by the Deputy Commissioner without obtaining sanction of the Commissioner.

In cases under Section 302 where no provocation existed, the punishment was 14 years; in cases where strong provocation existed, the punishment ranged from 5 to 10 years.

Just as Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan had collected some rare books in his library at Sadiqgarh Palace, all prominent citizens of the State vied with each other in maintaining a private library of good books.

I visited the ancient city of Uchch so as to spend some time in its historic libraries which contained standard Arabic, Persian and Urdu books on history, religion and philosophy. In the past, Uchch was more famous than any place in Bahawalpur State. Nasiruddin Qabacha, a lieutenant of Shahabuddin Ghori, made Uchch the capital of his kingdom which extended from Lahore to Sind and attracted learned men from the surrounding areas. It was at one time regarded as a rival to Delhi.

The author of *'Chhach Nama'*, which is regarded as the first authentic book on the history of Sind, came from Uchch. There was a famous educational institution in Uchch, which was called *'Darasgah-e-Feerozia'*. Minhaj Siraj, the author of 'Tabqat Nasiri', was a pupil of this institution.

The scholarly atmosphere of Uchch attracted spiritual leaders like Khawaja Fariduddin Ganjshakar and Khawaja Naseeruddin Mahmood Chiragh Dehlavi. Makhdoom Syed Jalal Bokhari and his grand-son Makhdoom Jahanian Jahan Gasht attained fame throughout Western India. Uchch was the seat of four well-known spiritual *'Khanwadas'** - Husainia, Bokharia, Suharwardia and Gilania.

Contrary to the Western propaganda that Islam gained strength through the sword, the Muslim Kings of India took no interest in spreading Islam throughout the seven centuries of their rule. It was due to spiritual leaders like Lal Shahbaz Qalander, Shah Abdul Latif, Sachal Sarmast, Data Ganjbakhsh, Khawaja Moinuddin Chishtie, Khawaja Nizamuddin Aulia, Makhdoom Ba-

* literal meaning, families used in the sense of spiritual orders.

hauddin Zakaria Multani, Khawaja Fareeduddin Ganjshakar, Shah Jalal, Khawaja Ghulam Fareed, Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan, Shah Niaz Barelvi and Haji Waris Ali Shah, who preached and practised Islam, that the non-Muslims were converted to Islam in vast numbers throughout the length and breadth of India. One of the most brilliant luminaries in the galaxy of such saints was Hazrat Noorullah Shastri, a man of great learning and piety. He is buried at Agra, U.P., India. Two well-known Dargahs in Bahawalpur Division were those of Chachra Sharif in Bahawalpur State and Taunsa Sharif in Dera Ghazi Khan District.

Among the well-known private libraries of Bahawalpur State, I visited the Library of Mir Zahid Husain of Sadiqabad, Mubarak Library of Muhammadabad, Tehsil Sadiqabad, the Library of Maulana Azizur Rehman at Bahawalpur and the Library of Syed Ghulam Miran Shah at Jamaldin Wali. Each library was well-stocked with books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. The Central Library of Bahawalpur is one of the biggest libraries of Pakistan. The foundation stone of this library was laid by Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, on 8th March, 1924. This was an auspicious day for the people of Bahawalpur as, on this very day, the Viceroy conferred full powers of a ruler on Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi V at a stately Darbar.

The Central Library was completed in 1932, largely through public donations. It is a fine structure with a large compound. It is a well-stocked, well-maintained library and contains books in the following languages as given under:

Urdu	34,467
English	24,809
Arabic	4,221
Persian	3,271
Manuscripts	153

The last mentioned library contains some rare hand-written *Quran-e-Majeed* and *Tafseer, Shahnama-e-Firdousi,* Diwan-e-Hafiz illustrated, *Diwan-e-Bedil, Diwan-e-Urfi, Safeenatul Aulia* of Dara Shikoh and *Sadiqut-Tawarikh* of Mirza Muhammad Ashraf Gorgani.

In that library, I found several files of old Urdu newspapers published in various parts of India in the 70s and 80s of the last century, e.g., *'Awadh Akhbar'* and *'Akhbar-e-Hind'* of Lucknow, *'Ashraful Akhbar'* and *'Khair Khwah-e-Alam'* of Dehli, *'Jam-e-Jamshed'* and *Nayyar-e-Azam'* of Moradabad, *'Akhbar-e-Alam'* of Meerut, *'Koh-e-Noor'* and *'Aftab'* of Lahore and *'Mazaharul Ajaib'* of Madras. Apparently, these newspapers were

received in exchange of the weekly 'Sadiqul Akhbar' of Bahawalpur.

The rehabilitation of refugees who migrated to Bahawalpur State was done in an orderly and smooth manner. It redounds to the credit of the 'ansars*' of the State that they received the 'mohajreen' (refugees) with open arms. I had the satisfaction of establishing Mohajir Colonies in Rahim Yar Khan, Sadiqabad, Liaquatpur and Bahawalpur.

The events of my tour were extensively reported by the local press. Even outside papers were kind enough to lift the news of my tours, e.g., the following was published in the column of Majeed Lahori in Jang Karachi on 8th April, 1956. I translate:

> Hashim Raza's Tour: Our Jalal Baba had advised the new Minister for the Interior that he should visit the various parts of the city incognito. When people saw the photograph of Abdul Sattar Sahib, they said 'you cannot conceal your identity. We will recognise you in any dress you choose to wear.' However, Abdul Sattar Sahib did not act on the advice of Jalal Baba (a Minister of State of the Central Government) but Syed Hashim Raza Sahib should be given full marks for his ingenuity. He camped at Chishtian where a Cattle Fair was in progress. After nightfall, he made a tour of the city as a visitor, without his staff, to obtain first-hand information about the problems of the people and what they thought of the Government officials with whom they came in contact. Several people told him that the organisers of the mela had announced the participation of a Sikh wrestler who never came and thus they were cheated of their money. When Syed Hashim Raza returned to the Inspection Bungalow, he sent for the contractor and called for his explanation. The contractor stated that he had not invited any Sikh wrestler but confessed that he had used his name in order to draw a big crowd. The Divisional Commissioner handed him over to the police for necessary action under section 420. Zindabad Syed Hashim Raza.

I reciprocate 'Zindabad' to all newspapers who wrote touching farewell editorials on the eve of my departure for Hyderabad. When I left Bahawalpur on 20th September, 1957, those who came to bid farewell were twice as many as those who came to greet me at the Railway Station on 1st February, 1956.

* An Arabic word meaning 'helpers'. After the migration of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) to Medina, the local people of that place helped the Muslims a lot in settling there and in the spread of Islam. Therefore, they were called 'Ansars'.

MUZAFFARGARH &DERA GHAZI KHAN:

I must now turn to the two districts of the Punjab which were included in the Multan Division and were transferred to Bahawalpur Division in October, 1955. They were regarded as under-developed compared to the northern districts of the Punjab.

The late Chief Justice, M.R. Kayani, used to relate the story that when he got down from the ferry after crossing the mighty Indus, Dera Ghazi Khan had no railway station. A friend of his who had come to receive him asked him, "For what lapse have you been posted to this district?"

Muzaffargarh was a sleepy hollow liable to periodical floods. My friend, M.Masud, who served, like me, on the Bombay-Sind Cadre before 1947, was transferred to the Punjab at the request of the Chief Minister of Sind, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh. He was appointed Director of Movement and Quatering. His job was to settle in Sind the cultivators of East Punjab who were feeling uneasy in the Walton Camp of Lahore. A special train brought the first batch to Rohri Junction.

After leading the morning prayers, Masud addressed them in Punjabi in which he briefed them about conditions prevailing in Sind - he had been Collector of Nawabshah and Deputy Administrator of the first Federal Capital of Pakistan. Then he added that Sind was Babul-Islam and young Muhammad bin Qasim had been deputed by the Caliph of the time to rescue the people of Sind from the misrule of Raja Dahar. He exhorted the refugees to act as the soldiers of Muhammad bin Qasim had conducted themselves in Sind. He ended up his speech with the words of the Holy Book:

وَتُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ

'Rise and fall are the works of God.'

The S.P., C.I.D. took an English translation of Masud's speech in Punjabi to the Chief Minister, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, who in his turn, took it to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. Pir Sahib argued that since Masud had been transferred to Punjab at his instance, his reference to that Quranic verse implied that the Chief Minister was humbled by Masud's deputation to Sind by the Central Government and Masud's stock had gone up. I do not know what the Prime Minister of Pakistan thought of this interpretation but he complied with the wishes of the Chief Minister and relieved Masud of

his assignment. Masud was put on Special Duty by the Government of Punjab.

Those who are put on special duty, have actually no duty to perform. It is a stop-gap arrangement. At that time there were two other Civil Servants on special duty - Pir Ahsanuddin and Ata Muhammad Khan Leghari. When Masud called on the Chief Minister, Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana, he added on his visiting card the word 'Secretary, O.S.D. Association'. Daulatana was amused at this designation and asked him when this Association had been formed and for what purpose. Masud replied,

"Only recently. It comprises three persons. The Chairman of the Association is Pir Ahsanuddin, the Treasurer is A.M.K. Leghari and I am the Secretary. Our objective is to secure work as we do not want to sit idle."

Daulatana's reply was, "I want to post you as Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh. It is a backward area and needs to be uplifted. Since you have been Backward Class Officer in Bombay, you are the most suitable person for this assignment." (The post of Backward Class Officer in Bombay was of the Deputy Commissioners grade and was created to civilise the Bhils and Ghonds of Khandesh area. Masud became very popular with these backward tribes and they showed their appreciation by calling him 'Bhagwan').

Masud told Daulatana, "Very well, I will go to Muzaffargarh but how far do you want me to uplift the people of Muzaffargarh?"

Daulatana replied, "Not too far."

When the festival of Eid-e-Miladun-Nabi approached, he called prominent citizens of the city and appealed to them to observe the festival in a real festive manner by putting on picturesque dresses, by performing folk dances and singing praises of our Holy Prophet.

They complied with his instructions and a large procession came out of the Deputy Commissioner's House with people singing and dancing. The Deputy Commissioner's House was located in the heart of the city. The District Jamaat-e-Islami protested against the folk dances. Daulatana asked for Masud's comments on the allegation that such a celebration was not in conformity with the solemnity of the occasion. Masud's reply was that this was his way of uplifting the people.

Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan are situated on the opposite banks of River Indus. These banks are eroded by the mighty currents of river Indus in the rainy season when the width of the river increases from five to eight miles. I had to confront the floods in both the districts in the summer of 1956 and did whatever I could do to relieve the misery of the affected people.

At the first sight, the river looked like the sea. A number of streams emerge from the hills of Dera Ghazi Khan called Rood-e-Kohi which are so forceful that when they fall into the river, they retain their identity and hit the

Muzaffargarh bank of the river. The Rood-e-Kohi is a strange phenomenon. I could not believe my own eyes and ears when I witnessed the first Rood-e-Kohi. The sound was ear-splitting, it was much more frightening than the worst thunderstorm; water gushed out of the mountain and swept away everything that came in the way, trees, stones, huts and cattle. Fortunately, the inhabitants of the affected area had run away from the bed of the Rood-e-Kohi. I was told that a year earlier, a jeep which was caught in the current; it was swept away and its occupants were drowned. When I was crossing the Rood-e-Taunsa after the storm was over, my horse could not walk straight. It was deflected by the current even though it had lost much of its force. The people who reside in the beds of Rood-e-Kohi, live dangerously.

The daily Muzaffargarh Dera Ghazi Khan ferry is overloaded with passengers and cattle. If the captain of the ferry sees a Rood-e-Kohi crossing the river, he will never cross its path.

I witnessed a parade of Border Military Policemen at Dera Ghazi Khan and was impressed by their turn out and smart bearing. They perform, as their nomenclature shows, the duties of soldiers as well as policemen. They have a whole-some influence over the warring tribes who believe in 'vendetta'. The Chiefs of the Leghari and Mazari tribes too keep them in check. Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari was the Head of all Legharis who resided in the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sind. He wielded the same influence over his followers as Nawab Sir Ghaibi Khan of Ghaibidero, Larkana, did over the Chandios of Sind.

The District of Dera Ghazi Khan was far better developed than Muzaffargarh District. The city was well laid with spacious houses and good roads. The standard of education and health was as good as in any District Headquarters of the Punjab. I spent a whole day at the Government College, Dera Ghazi Khan, before delivering my convocation address. The students had healthy bodies and keen minds. Justice Kayani told me that the charms of Dera Ghazi Khan grew on him gradually. J.A. Biggs Davidson, who joined the I.C.S. in 1942, had served as Political Assistant, Dera Ghazi Khan and was Deputy Commissioner of the district in 1947. He told me that he had many pleasant memories of the District. He is now a member of the British Parliament. He is an active member of the Pakistan Society of the United Kingdom. He has been visiting Pakistan off and on and addressing the English-speaking Union of Pakistan, partly in English and partly in Urdu. He told me that before the dawn of independence on 14th August, 1947, he had not been supplied with the new flag by Government. But he had read its specifications in the newspapers and got one prepared to fly at his residence as soon as independence dawned.

The Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan in my days was Iftikhar

Ahmed Khan. His father, Nawab Ismail Khan, was the President of the U.P. Muslim League and commanded universal respect for his integrity and independence of views. Iftikhar Ahmed Khan, popularly known as 'Adani', sent me an S.O.S. apprehending trouble between the Sunnis and Shias of Taunsa on the night between the 9th and 10th Moharram. It took me 8 hours to reach the place - the journey was by car and ferry and included crossing of the Rood-e-Taunsa which was in medium flood. Adani briefed me on our way to Taunsa from the 'ghat' (bank of the river). He told me that he had allowed the local Shias to take out an Alam procession on 'Shab-e-Ashura'. The route of the procession lay between a thickly-populated part of the town and a vast maidan. The Sunnis objected to the procession passing through the lanes and byelanes of the town.

The procession was due to start after a Majlis at 10 p.m. It was to pass through the thickly-populated part of the town for 2 hours and was to go round a maidan for the remaining 4 hours. The point of view of the Sunnis was 'that since they go to bed at 10 p.m., the noise of the procession will keep them and their children awake till 12 midnight.' I saw the force of this argument and advised the Shias to start the procession at 8 p.m. to cover the thickly-populated part by 10 p.m. Once the procession arrived in the maidan they could linger on even a bit longer. This arrangement was acceptable to the contending parties. In retrospect it looks like storm in a teacup, but if there is no spirit of give-and-take on the part of the warring parties, the result is misery - riots, serious injuries and deaths. It was because of the communal riots in India that the Pakistan Movement gained strength. Unfortunately, the Indian Muslims are subjected to riots periodically. Since 1947, more than half a million Muslims have been killed in India and properties worth billions of rupees have been destroyed. A well known Indian journalist, Kuldip Nayyar, wrote in Tribune (May 1984) that there were over 500 communal clashes in India in 1983 in which 1143 persons were killed and 3652 were injured.

I am happy to note that Government efforts to develop the Districts of Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan have borne fruit. The construction of Taunsa Barrage, the appointment of Thal Development Authority, the setting up of an Agency for Barani Development have changed the face of these two districts. A major allocation has been made in the current Five Year Plan for canal remodelling and redesigning. On 1st July, 1982, Dera Ghazi Khan Division was created which comprised the Districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur and Leiah; Rajanpur till recently was a sub-division of Dera Ghazi Khan District and Leiah was a sub-division of Muzaffargarh District.

THAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY:

Succeeding generations will bless the first Chairman of Thal Development Authority - Zafrul Ahsan Lari, who turned a desert into green fields and gardens, well planned villages with schools and dispensaries. As Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, Lari drew up a plan for Greater Lahore where colonies like Gulberg sprang up.

The sectional allocation for 1982-83 for the Dera Ghazi Khan Division in the agriculture sector was 78.5% more than in the previous year. In the communication sector where D.G. Khan was cut off during the summer months, the increase in the allocation for 1982-83 has been 209%.

In the irrigation sector, the hill torrents are being harnessed for irrigation. In Leiah, a foreign-aided water management programme is in progress to improve agronomic practices.

We have no hill stations in Sind or Bahawalpur. Muree in the Punjab and Nathiagali in the N.W.F.P. are overcrowded. In 1956, I had suggested to Government that Fort Monro could be developed as a regular hill station which would attract many visitors from Sind and Bahawalpur in summer. Although the development has not been as fast as I had anticipated, I am glad that the water supply scheme has been implemented and a community centre has been set up at Fort Monro.

THE EXCELLENT GIFT OF THE LAST RULER

I SAW MORE PALACES in Bahawalpur State than in any part of Pakistan. The Derwar Fort was conquered by Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi I from the Raja of Jaisalmer in 1164 hijri. He constructed a palace for his residence and several buildings for his offices and officials.

Nawab Bahawal Khan III constructed a beautiful mosque of marble outside the Fort in 1825 and a pacca tank. Derawar was the old capital of Bahawalpur State. When the capital was shifted from Derwar to Bahawalpur, Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan III decided to build a palace, a mosque and ancillary buildings 3 miles south of Ahmedpur Sharqia. The palace came to be known as Dera Nawab Sahib. All his successors lived at Dera Nawab Sahib alongwith other members of their families.

Nur Mahal was built in 1872 in Basti Mulook Shah, close to the city of Bahawalpur. It is a piece of beauty, as white as snow. It has a beautiful mosque

nearby. This palace is used for official functions. The Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, held a Darbar in Nur Mahal on 12th November, 1903, to invest Nawab Bahawal Khan V with the powers of a ruler.

Daulat Khana, which was constructed in 1881, composed several stately buildings in which the Nawab and his Begum resided when they visited the city. The 'Bagghi-Khana', 'Rath-Khana' and 'Tosha-Khana' were attached to Daulat Khana.

My residence 'Sadat Manzil' was an old 'Kothi' with a large compound. It had been occupied in the past by the former Prime Ministers and Chief Advisors of Bahawalpur. It was like Commissioner's residences in other parts of Pakistan, but my office was a fabulous place.

It was located in one of the palaces of Daulat Khana with a Darbar Hall where the Nawabs used to hold court. The palace was surrounded by lawns, orchards of fruits, mango groves and flower-beds of roses as well as orchids. Every morning, while going to my office, I had a look at that palace.

Three other palaces are worth seeing - two in Dera Nawab Sahib, viz., Nishat Mahal and Farrukh Mahal and one in Bahawalpur - Gulzar Mahal. The last mentioned has several entrance doors with a spacious hall and a long gallery which was once used as an art gallery. It has marble walls and shining floors.

All these palaces reflected credit to the rulers, architects, engineers and masons who built them. The Sadiqgarh palace, however, is the most significant for its architectural design and beauty. It took Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV ten years to complete this grand structure, from 1882 to 1892. It covers a large area with wide parapet walls all around and 'burjees' at the four corners. When I entered the palace from its main gate in February, 1956, I had a panoramic view of the lush green lawns and beds of big white and green roses, of the marble fountain in front of the porch that sprinkled water over a circular pool, and of the large and well-proportioned dome that dominated the entire scene.

The Darbar Hall divided the palace into two sectors - one for the residence of the Nawab and Begum and their children, the other for the guests. The large Drawing and Dining Rooms were tastefully furnished. Classic paintings decorated the walls. There were eight sets of bed-rooms downstairs and upstairs on either side of the Darbar Hall. There were Drawing Rooms and Dining Rooms on the second storey too.

The Darbar Hall presented a magnificent sight. It contained a throne which was reflected in a large wall-to-wall mirror which was transported from London to Sadiqgarh. I wondered how it remained intact after a long journey by sea, rail and bus. The chandeliers of exquisite cut-glass enhanced the

grandeur of the Hall.

There is a mosque, a small zoo, a museum, a 'toshakhana'* and a library within the palace compound. The tanks at the rear of the palace are most soothing to the eyes and the rippling of the water is most pleasing to the ears. One gets the impression that it is an enchanted place. During the six winter months in which the late Nawab lived in this palace, it used to be full of life and was humming with activities. I experienced the truth of the saying:

مکان کی رونق مکیں سے ہوتی ہے

'The grace of a house is enhanced by its dwellers.'

THE PEOPLE OF BAHAWALPUR:

The greatest asset of any place or country is its people. I developed a great liking for the people of the old State because they were good-natured and because their way of life was Islamic. They loved Urdu in spite of the fact that the language of the tract is Saraiki, and their loyalty and devotion to Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V, even after he had ceased to be the ruler of the State.

I had left Bahawalpur 32 years ago but whenever I visited that place after relinquishing my charge, its good people extolled my humble services in such eulogistic terms as to embarrass me. They invariably arranged programmes at the Arts Council, the Bahawalpur Branch of Radio Pakistan and the Sadiq Public School. Since my sons, Salim and Ali, had studied at the Sadiq Public School, I gained personal experience of the excellent discipline and atmosphere of that residential institution which was the gift of the last ruler to those parents who could afford to send their children to it. The Motto of the School 'Sadiq Dost' was very appropriate.

A well-known literary society, Majlis-e-Sukhan, Bahawalpur, holds a get-together of poets and writers whenever I visit Bahawalpur. It is a pleasure to hear verses of poets like Shahab Dehlavi, Ali Ahmed Riffat, Nuruz Zaman Ahmed Auj, Tabish Alvari, Munawar Jamil Qureshi, Qaiser Saleem Shahzad, Matloob Zaidi, Sarwar Naz, Naushi Gilani, Uzma Naz and Gulfam Andaleeb. The first three poets are Saheb-e-Diwan. Shahab Dehlavi edits the prestigious quarterly 'Al-Zubair' and is the author of many books of high literary value like 'Bahawalpur Main Urdu', 'Bahawalpur ki Siyasi Tareekh', 'Mashaheer-e-Bahawalpur'. The last mentioned contains biographical notes on Nawab Sir

* a place from where food is supplied.

Sadiq Muhammad Khan V, three of his Ministers - Major Shamsuddin Muhammad, Colonel Maqbul Husain Qureshi, Colonel Syed Saeed Hashmi, 11 Ulema and Mashaikh, 14 politicians, 9 editors, 19 writers and poets and 16 prominent citizens. I am glad to be able to reflect that I cultivated friendship of a large number of editors and prominent citizens, writers and poets which enabled me to run the administration smoothly.

At a large literary get-together held in the hall of Bahawalpur Library on 20th March, 1979, I expressed my gratitude to the people of Bahawalpur in these lines:

عجیب خطّۂ الفت ہے ارضِ بہاولپور
یہاں کی آب و ہوا میں ہے لذّت اور سرور

The land of Bahawalpur is a love-land,
Tasty is water, climate grand.

یہاں کے دوست ہیں مخلص، وفا شعار، شفیق
غمِ جہاں کا مداوا یہاں کے طور طریق

People are gentle, loving and kind,
One passes his life, with trouble-free mind.

بہار رقص کناں اس کے سبزہ زاروں میں
چمک دمک ہے نئی اس کے رہگزاروں میں

In its meadows, there's spring's glamour,
In its deserts, there's a novel lustre.

یہیں فریدؒ نے دیکھا جمالِ "روہی" کا
سمٹ کے شعر میں اُبھرا خیالِ روہی کا

It was here that Fareed beheld Roohi's beauty,
And composed in her honour immortal poetry.

14

WALKING WITH HISTORY IN SIND

I TOOK OVER CHARGE of the Hyderabad Division on 21st September, 1957. After the formation of One Unit in 1955, Sind was divided into two administrative units: Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions. The Hyderabad Division comprised the Districts of Hyderabad, Tharparkar, Dadu, Sanghar and Thatta. The Khairpur Division consisted of, Sukkur, Larkana, Jacobabad and Nawabshah Districts.

Sind was my home province. As I arrived at the Hyderabad Station on the morning of 21st September, 1957, by the Tezgam, I was greeted by my service colleague, Nazir Ahmed, and many familiar faces of officials and zamindars with whom I had worked ever since my posting to Sind in 1939. Shahbunder Division in the Thatta District was my first posting in Sind (1939) and I had held charge of the Tharparkar District in 1945-46.

The British conquered Sind by defeating the Talpur rulers at Miani and Dabo in 1842-43. The Talpur rulers of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpurkhas had given no provocation to the British to invade their territories. They were good rulers, God-fearing and solicitous of the welfare of both Muslim and Hindu residents of Sind. They were well-liked and respected. They had not violated any terms of their treaties. The British were bent upon annexing Sind in the same way as they had decided later on to annex Oudh and displace the legitimate ruler of Oudh, King Wajid Ali Shah, who was as popular among his Muslim and Hindu subjects as the Talpurs were in Sind.

As I toured my Division, I felt as if I was walking with history. Sind is known throughout the Indo-Pak Sub-continent as Babul Islam. It was in 712 A.D. that the young General Muhammad Bin Qasim entered Sind with 6,000 cavalry, 6,000 armed camel marksmen and a large baggage train of camels via the coast of Makran. He conquered Nairun and Sehwan (Distt. Dadu) and then crossed River Indus and fought against Raja Dahar. Muhammad Bin Qasim defeated and killed him at Rewar on the 10th of Ramazan.

Bin Qasim then marched and conquered Bahmanabad which was situated fifty miles south of Hyderabad. After that, he marched victoriously northwards and conquered Almor and Multan and thus Sind and lower Punjab became an Arab province.

In 1182, Sultan Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri conquered Sind. In 1351, Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq marched towards Thatta in pursuit of Taghi, a rebel leader of Gujrat who had taken shelter in the Court of the Jam of Sind. The Sultan died on the way. When the second Mughal Emperor Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah Suri, he came to Sind during his wanderings. It was in Umarkot that Prince Jalaluddin Akbar, the third Mughal Emperor, was born on 23rd November, 1542.

Sind was added to the Mughal Empire by Akbar in 1592. Nur Muhammad, son of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, was appointed Governor of Thatta by the Mughal Emperor and became virtually the ruler of Sind as his father Yar Muhammad had already wrested Shikarpur from the Daudpotas.

Emperor Shahjahan, the Prince of builders, has left his architectural gift in Sind too. He began construction of a grand Jama Masjid at Thatta in the year 1647 which was completed by Aurangzeb in 1659.

Shahjahan had appointed Aurangzeb as Viceroy of Multan in 1649 and of Sind in 1650. Shahjahan's masterpiece, the Taj Mahal of Agra, is a lyric in marble. The traditional Muslim style dominates this wonderful structure and furnishes proof of the historian Lanepoole's verdict that the Mughals started building like giants and finished like jewellers. Shahjahan started building the beautiful mosque at Thatta according to the local tradition of the brick and tile.

When I saw this gem for the first time in old Thatta's residential-cum-bazar area, it appeared to be a 'nothing short of a jewel that was neglected'. The roof comprises 93 low domes of which the three principal ones are exquisitely decorated with floral patterns in miniature tiles of different colours. There are two remarkable features of this mosque - the tile work with which the facade and the whole of the interior are covered and the acoustics which enables the voice of the Imam to reach the ears of the last row of those offering prayers. The low domes transmit sound as if they were loudspeakers. The tile decoration of the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta is unique. There are tiles as small as half an inch square and of mixed sizes and shapes which form a perfect mosaic of different patterns in colour. They are fixed with a thin coat of cement in flat surface at a uniform level.

Two other grand structures of Thatta are the tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan built in 1638 A.D. and the mausoleum of Mirza Isa Khan which took 4 years to complete i.e. 1640-44 A.D. The latter covers an area of 4,900 square feet and was constructed of sand stone brought over from Kathiawar. The walls are

richly decorated with surface tracery, the like of which I have not seen anywhere in Sind. The central chamber stands on a raised platform and is surrounded by double-storeyed pillared verandahs.

There are several tombs at the Makli Hill which follow the pattern of the Mausoleum of Mirza Isa Khan on a small scale. On some buildings, the arch is carved in low relief in the local Hindu style.

THE PAST GLORY

— Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar is regarded as the greatest Saint of Sind. His name was Syed Usman, and was a descendant of Imam Jafar-Sadiq in the thirteenth generation.
— He was given the title Lal Shahbaz because he had red eyes and his dress and banner were of red colour.

AT ONE TIME, THATTA was the glory of Sind. It was the home of scholars of Arabic and Persian languages. It had a number of schools and libraries. It produced spiritual leaders like Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim. Muslims were the owners and tillers of land. Hindus monopolised business and trade.

There was a Mughal Mint at Thatta which was used by John Spillman in 1652 for minting of coins required for trade in Sind. Thatta attracted the attention of East India Company which opened its warehouses in 1750 in Thatta, Lari Bunder and Shah Bunder. The Company's chief interest in Sind was to obtain saltpeter that was required for making gun-powder. It carried its business through Hindu brokers. Captain Alexander Hamilton, a Scot, has left a narrative in which he stated that he had a house of fifteen rooms and a number of warehouses. He was impressed by the boats that sailed on the river Indus carrying loads of 200 tons. Thatta was the wealthiest town in those days. Sind has always been able to support in modest comfort a tolerably well-fed population. Captain Hamilton was a contemporary of Shah Abdul Latif, Schwan, Bhitshah and Daraza.

The names of these three places have been hallowed on account of the association with three great men of Sind - Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Shah Abdul Latif and Hazrat Sachal Sarmast. The first two mausoleums are located in the Dadu and Hyderabad Districts respectively, the third in Khairpur District.

Hazrat Lal Shahbaz is regarded as the greatest Saint of Sind. His name was Syed Usman. He was a descendant of Imam Jafar-Sadiq in the thirteenth generation. He was born of noble parents in Marwand, a suburb of Tabriz (Iran)

in 538 Hijri and died at Sehwan which is situated in Dadu District of Sind. He died at a ripe old age. His father was Syed Ibrahim and his mother was the daughter of ruler of Marwand, Sultan Shah. He was Hafiz-e-Quran, a scholar of Arabic and Persian and a notable poet who composed in Persian. He was given the title of Lal Shahbaz because he had red eyes and his dress and banner were of red colour. He was called the king of hawks as he continued to gain spiritual ascendancy throughout his life. I saw his devotees going into raptures when they sang 'Dama Dam Mast Qalandar' and his verses some of which are given as under:

جام مہر علیؑ ست در دستم
از ہمیں جام خرم و مستم
گھر اندر قلندری بستم
از دلِ پاک حیدری ہستم
حیدری ام قلندرام مستم
بندۂ مرتضےٰ علیؑ ہستم

Full of Ali's love, a cup I hold in my hand,
Intoxicated with his wine, I merrily stand,
For treading Ali's path, I vow to withstand,
I possess a pious heart, this I understand.
Haderi as I am, I'm therefore saintly,
I'm the slave of Ali, I'm the slave of Ali.

وصیِ مصطفےٰ علیؑ است بگو
بخدا رہ نما علیؑ است بگو
سرورِ اولیا علیؑ است بگو
نورِ ایمانِ ما علیؑ است بگو
حیدری ام قلندرام مستم
بندۂ مرتضےٰ علیؑ ہستم

Say, that Ali was the Prophet's successor,
Say, that Ali was the guide and teacher,
Say, that of all saints, he was the leader,
Say, that of faith's light, he was the radiator.
Haideri as I am, I'm therefore saintly,
I'm the slave of Ali, I'm the slave of Ali.

سرگروہِ تمام رندہ نم
رہبرِ عاشقانِ معتانم
ہادیٔ سالکانِ عرفانم
کہ سگِ کوئے شیرِ یزدانم
حیدری ام قلندرام مستم
بندۂ مرتضےٰ علی ہستم

A leader he is, of mystics like me,
A teacher he is, of ascetics like me,
A path-setter he is, of truth-seekers like me,
A benefactor he is, of beggars like me.
Haideri as I am, I'm therefore saintly,
I'm the slave of Ali, I'm the slave of Ali.

Hazrat Shahbaz's shrine attracts pilgrims from Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab throughout the year. A number of mendicants live at Sehwan on the offerings of the pilgrims.

The tomb containing the remains of this saint is enclosed in a quadrangular edifice, covered with a dome and lantern, said to have been built in 1356, and having beautiful tiles with Arabic inscriptions. Mirza Jani, a notable of the Tarkhan dynasty, built a still larger tomb on the grave of this saint, which was completed in 1639. The gate and balustrade are said to have been hammered silver, the gift of Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur, who also crowned the domes with silver spires.

Sehwan gained fame when Alexander the Great, after conquering Persia and what is now West Pakistan, arrived with his armymen in 326 B.C. by sailing down river Indus on his way back home. He never reached his home as he died at Babylon at the very early age of 32. When I paid homage to the saint of Sehwan, I compared the impact of these two great men over the minds of the people of Sehwan and the surrounding area. I composed the following quatrain:

آئے تھے سکندر سہون میں با لشکر و تاج و طبل و علم
جیسے آئے ویسے ہی گئے اک چیز نہ بدلی سہون کی

Alexander came to Sehwan, with army, crown and banner,
He came and went, no change occurred in Sehwan's manner,

کیا بات ہے شاہ قلندر کی کیا دولتِ ایمان لائے تھے
تسلیم و رضا کی راہ چلے تقدیر بھی چل دی سہون کی

How great was Shahbaz Shah! what a wealth of faith he had!,
Of a great promise for Sehwan, he was the true harbinger.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (1689-1752), came of a well-known family of Syeds. These Syeds had their lineage with the Holy Prophet and Hazrat Ali. He lived in Hala Haveli, Kotri and Bhitshah. His ancestor, in the fourth generation before him, was the famous Syed Abdul Karim whose 'dargah' at Bulri in Guni Taluka, District Hyderabad attracts large number of pilgrims. Latif's father Syed Habib Shah lived at Hala Haveli. He was a well respected Hakim.

My colleague, Dr. H.T. Sorley, who served with distinction in Sind, has written an admirable book in appreciation of Shah's poetry. I quote:

> Syeds in Sind have produced a number of men famous for their learning and their saintliness. He was the first great exponent of the imaginative use of the Sindhi language.... He is incomparable the greatest man whom Sind has yet produced in the realm of imaginative art.... In his prime, he was a well set up handsome bearded man of average height and an intelligent face.... In the last years of his life, he had intended to make a pilgrimage to Karbala but his followers would not let him leave them. Instead of going to Karbala, Shah composed the Sur Kedaro which deals with the story of the martyrs.

Dr. Sorely has translated Sur Kedaro into English which the Sindhi poetry has exclusively reserved for elegiac tune. Here are a few quatrains:

Moharram's holy month is come
The Prince's day of woe,
And Allah doth what pleases Him
The one who all doth know.

Again has come Moharram's month,
But no Imams are here.
O God! in kindness let me be,
Medina's ruler near.

They wandered forth to cruel doom

When fate with bloodshed came.
Because of their untimely end
I put myself to shame.

Brave men love battle, from the field
Hold not themselves aloof.
The holy ones did yield their lives
In the Imam's behoof.

'With God's name on their lips they fought',
Their wisdom ran thuswise.
They garlanded and crowned were
By maids of Paradise.

To Karbala as lions came
The perfect ones of God
They plied Egyptian blades and
Heaped the corpses when they trod.

And brave men trembled at the charge,
Of Lord Husain's array.
The Princes, perfect ones, are come
To Karbala today.

God Killeth whom He loveth most:
Thus are the favourites slain.
The All-Best, Allah, recking nought,
Doth as His heart is fain.

'God sends not woe without the power
To bear that burden well
What I can bear, that will I do'
There too that hero fell.

When I offered 'requiem' for the first time at the grave of Shah Abdul Latif in October 1939, I composed the following poem:

لطیف شاہ بھٹائی گدا نواز لطیفؒ
قتیل ناز لطیف آشنائے راز لطیفؒ

Of men, a patron of high stature you're, Latif!
The knower of secrets of nature you're, Latif!

ترا مزار ہے اک منزلِ ناز لطیفؒ
چھپے ہیں اس میں محبت کے کتنے راز لطیفؒ

Your mausoleum is in itself a destination,
Of love and affection, it's a manifestation.

لطیفؒ موجِ ترنم ہے کافیوں میں تری
کہ شعر تو نے کہے لے کے اپنا ساز لطیفؒ

In your verses, great charm is reposed,
Of a unique rhythm, poetry you composed.

حکایتوں میں بیاں کیں حقیقتیں تُو نے
ترے "سُروں" کا نرالا ہے سوز و ساز لطیفؒ

Eternal truths, you unfolded through parable,
The lilt of your rhythm is incomparable.

When we celebrated the 'Urs' of Shah Abdul Latif in April, 1958, the then President of Pakistan, General Iskander Mirza, participated in the celebrations. On that occasion, I read the following poem:

دکھے دلوں کی صدا، وقت کی پکار لطیفؒ
ترے سخن کا چمن ہے صدا بہار لطیفؒ

For each bleeding heart, you're a cure Latif!
Eternal is your message of love, I'm sure, Latif!

ترے قلم کی کشش سے قدم کی برکت سے
بنے ہیں رشکِ چمن کتنے ریگزار لطیفؒ

Your pen was a great source of inspiration,
It created in men a novel sensation.

بغیر عشقِ بشر، عشقِ رب نہیں ممکن
یہ درس تم نے دیا ہم کو بار بار لطیفؒ

Impossible is love for God, without human love,
This lesson you've imparted, everything above.

ترے سُروں میں ملے سرِّ معرفت ہم کو
بنا دلیل طریقت ترا شعار لطیفؒ

In your symphonies, divine secrets lie,
A new way of life, your observances descry.

سسیؔ کے دیس کے میدانِ معرفت میں ملے
سوار لاکھ مگر ایک شہسوار لطیفؒ

In the land of Sassi, where love flowed,
The seed of undying love, you sowed.

ملا نہ کوئی انہیں ترجمان صدیوں تک
کہانیوں کو رہا تیرا انتظار لطیفؒ

The narrator, for centuries, had belated,
For you, the tales waited and waited.

Hazrat Abdul Wahab, son of Salahuddin (1739-1826) popularly known as Sachal Sarmast was an eminent poet who composed verses in Sindhi, Persian, Urdu and Saraiki and has left several Diwans. He adopted the nom-de-plumes of 'Sachal' and 'Sachu'. His poems, like those of Shah Abdul Latif, are enjoyed equally by Muslims and Hindus alike, because he spoke of love for the entire humanity.

To quote a few lines from the valuable book of Professor S.G. Abbas entitled 'The Immortal Poetry & Mir Anis'*:

* The Immortal poetry & Mir Anis, Prof. S.G. Abbas, Qureshi Art Press, Karachi, 1983.

Since Sachal Sarmast was a Sufi Poet, therefore his heart throbbed with ardent love for the Holy Prophet and his progeny. His 'Naats' and 'marsias' are a reflection of the same love and reverence. His works sometimes give a glimpse of marsias in their true form. This is certainly a glaring proof of the greatness of his poetry.

The Sufi poet has been exceptionally superb in the portrayal of feelings. To the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his loyal companions, he has thus presented:

O Prophet! the young and the old of your grand-son,
Were torn into pieces, by the Syrian and the Kufan.
Their bodies were left on ground and heads raised on spears pointed,
O sorrow! O Tyranny! Help O Muhammad! the Appointed.

In September, 1958, I participated in the annual Sachal Sarmast Day convened by Anjuman-e-Himayatul Islam at the Sachal College, Hyderabad. Sardar Bahadur Muhammad Baksh, who was Collector of Nawabshah when I was Assistant Collector of Naushero Feroz (1939), was an ardent devotee of Sachal Sarmast and was the Head of the Governing Body of Sachal College. I recited a poem on that occasion which I reproduce:

سچلؒ حقیقتِ ہستی کے رازداں تم تھے
سچلؒ منارۂ ہستی کے پاسباں تم تھے

O Sachal! eternal truth's respite you were,
O Sachal! of existence, beacon-light, you were,

جدھر بڑھائے قدم کھنچ کے آ گئے انوار
وہیں سبھوں کی نظر مُڑ گئی جہاں تم تھے

Lustre you shed with your radiant frame,
Of all eyes, a focal-point, you became.

تمہاری ذات پہ نازاں ہیں سندھ کے باسی
مجاز اور حقیقت کے ترجماں تم تھے

Sind-dwellers pride in your celebrity,
Great exponent were you of appearance and reality.

چُھپے ہوئے یدِ قدرت کو آشکار کیا
مناظرِ ازلی چُپ رہے زبان تم تھے

Manifested you, the hidden forces of Nature,
You were a saint, a teacher, and a preacher.

تمہاری عمر کٹی ذکر و فکر میں پیہم
معاملاتِ من و تُو کے رازداروں تم تھے

Whole life you passed in meditation,
In purifying soul, in self's sublimation.

ہزاروں اہلِ نظر راہِ پُرخطر میں سچلؔ
سنبھل سنبھل کے چلے کیونکہ دَمیاں تم تھے

In succeeding ages, men of vision,
Have learnt from you, a great lesson.

ADVENTURE OF THE BROWN GIRL

DURING M Y STAY AT Hyderabad, I came closely linked with a very remarkable couple - Allama I.I. Kazi, the then Vice-Chancellor of Sind University, and his talented spouse, Elsa Kazi. In them, I found the finest fusion of East and West. They met in London where the Allama was studying for the Bar. Elsa Kazi had remarkable looks and admirable tastes. She was a poetess, a painter, a writer and a wit. At a dinner party at our house, she was in a reminiscent mood and told us that every Indian student studying in London, in the days of her youth, had proposed to her. This prompted me to ask her the reason for selecting I.I. Kazi as her life-partner. Her reply was, "He was the least aggressive of all my suitors, so I accepted his proposal."

I met Kazi for the first time in Karachi in 1940. He used to give his Friday sermons at the mosque attached to the Leslie Wilson Hustle. He was immacu-

lately dressed in a morning suit with striped trousers and butterfly collar. He used to powder his face and the powder spilled over his waistcoat. He looked like an inspired person when he explained the verses of the Holy Quran in fluent English. The small mosque used to be overcrowded and he was heard with rapt attention.

I.I. Kazi served as a District Judge in Khairpur State. Had he pursued his legal career, he would have been a High Court Judge but he devoted his attention to teaching and produced famous pupils like the eminent jurist and philosopher, Allahbaksh K. Brohi.

Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London, published a book entitled 'Adventures of the Brown Girl in her Search for God'. The co-authors were Mr. & Mrs. I.I. Kazi. They described their treatise as "Companion to the Black Girl of George Bernard Shaw". It is the story of a brown girl who goes to Europe where she meets the white girl and the black girl. The undermentioned quotations from the book will give some idea of the purpose of this book:

> She was the only daughter of an Eastern potentate of fabulous wealth, whose headquarters were at the Ritz, and whose only craze was breeding pedigree dogs. She herself owned a gorgeous flat in Mayfair, wherein she could study, revel and sin. She was the leading light of a bright young set of her fellow-students at the university where she studied History and Economics.
>
> She closed the door of her room and dropping into the silk cushions of her divan, she closed her eyes and whispered sleepily, 'Where is God?' 'I will show Him to you,' said a voice beside her. She turned round and saw before her a tall man with a stern face and a hoary head. He wore a fantastic gown, all over embroidered and painted with animals, trees, mountains and seas; hosts of men and women at war, at peace, and at love-making; crowds of children; strange temples, processions of priests, and pageants of kings and queens.
>
> 'Who are you?' asked the brown girl, suspecting that perhaps he had stepped out of the last coach of the carousel.
>
> 'I am History,' he replied with slightly relaxed face and continued, 'there are so many false personations of me stalking the earth. Fools believe in them, but knaves love them.' 'What has that to do with God?' asked the brown girl. 'Every thing,' replied the man 'were you not told that I am a sign of God? If you have lost your way, follow me.'
>
> The tall man tells the girl, 'Seek you first the Kingdom of God.'
>
> 'But, Master, where is the Kingdom of God?' asked the brown girl.

> 'The Kingdom of God is within you,' he replied, 'Straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto it, and very few will find it.'

'History' introduces this inquisitive girl to prominent sages, philosophers and poets like Solomon, Zaradushtra, Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, Roger Bacon, Newton, Ghazali, Goethe and Ibne Khaldun, the father of the Philosophy of History. Bacon tells her that Science is more valuable than art and adds:

"I learnt it from Arabs with a great deal of trouble and just therefore, was kept in prison for years."

Goethe tells her:

"I believe that the only hope of humanity lies in art."

She eventually finds solace in the teachings of Holy Prophet Muhammad, the last Messenger of God. She meets a young woman who reads to her these lines from the big book:

> The sight comprehends him not; but he comprehends all sight. He is the light of all the creation, the originator and sustainer of things. He does not belong to any people or place. There is nothing like entirely above all whatever man can imagine. He cannot be seen but behind a veil. He speaks not to his creatures but through inspiration.
>
> God has not ordered monastries and nunneries, and God does not compel prayers. There is no compulsion in religion. Unless you pray with all your heart and soul, the prayer is of no use, and is a disrespect to God.
>
> There are no priests. Our Messenger says that every individual is directly responsible to God, and woman and man can only confess her or his sins to God, and directly beg His pardon. There is no intercession in the Messenger's religion.

Elsa Kazi translated into English verse selections of 'Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif'. This admirable compilation was published by Sindhi Adabi Board in 1965. It contains a 27-page introduction by A.K. Brohi, an eminent jurist of the country, and a 32-page appreciation of Shah Abdul Latif's Poetry by I.I. Kazi. The worth of the translation is evident from the following extracts of the Introduction:

> In rendering into English the verses in Sindhi of Shah-jo-Risalo, Mrs. Elsa Kazi has produced a work of the highest importance which, I dare say, is bound to arrest the attention of the literary world and is likely to be declared as one of the masterpieces of our time.

> The task of presenting in English language the poetic vision and truth enshrined in the verses of Shah Abdul Latif, who has been acknowledged to be the greatest poet of Sindhi language, is by no means an easy undertaking. But despite the usual difficulty of translating poetry in another language, our authoress has succeeded remarkably well. A great deal of poetic insight and sympathy we associate with the approach of Shah Abdul Latif to the problem of man's place. In the scheme of things, of his spiritual aspiration and its fulfilment, would be found represented in the English version in a style which is suited to the theme of Latif's song and, what is more embodied in a structural form which is very much akin to the original.
>
> I have myself been a witness to that phase of life of the authoress when she was engaged on her work. To have been near her in those days was a sheer education. She worked like one possessed; so much was she completely in the grip of poetry of Shah that it was impossible for any one not to notice her emotional involvement in the enterprise in which she was engaged. How many a time did I not hear her exclaim: 'Oh! there is no poet like Latif! The greatest of the German masters in no way excels him!'

Elsa Kazi's translation of Shah's poetry shows her command over English as well as Sindhi languages. Here are two specimens. She translated the first two stanzas of Kayan (Peace) in these words:

The One Creator, the all great;
Lord of the Universe
The living, the original;
Ruler with power innate;
The giver, the sustainer, the
unique, compassionate;
This master praise, to Him alone,
They in praise prostrate...
The generous, who does create the
universe in pairs...
None shares His Glory, "He was...
is, shall be" ... who this doth say
Accepts Muhammad as 'guide'
with heart and love's true sway;
None from amongst those lost
their way or ever went astray.

Elsa Kazi was not only a poetess of great merit, but she was also a painter. Her paintings were both thoughtful and colourful. I shall always cherish her painting all my life.

While God had bestowed numerous gifts on this couple, He gave them no children. This made them entirely dependent on each other. In her own words they "melted into oneness". She was fortunate to go first. Kazi then plunged into sorrow and solitude. He shut himself up in his house and came out only in the evenings to lay flowers at her grave. He sat by her grave for hours brooding and contemplating. I sent him a letter of condolence. His reply, which I reproduce, shows how the pangs of separation from his beloved wife affected him:

> My precious Raza Sahib,
>
> Your very kind note brought me happiness. It showed that Hashim Raza of 40 has turned out anything then has grown more exalted in every way during a quarter of a century in degraded and degrading world.
>
> Your very kind words about the departed were very comforting. When I turned to Hatif, he replied:
>
> لَمْ يُخْلَقْ مِثْلُهَا
>
> **None was created like her.**
>
> This gives 1386 Hijri on the last day of 1386, she cut herself adrift from the 'world vulgarise' and moved on to (the eternal place) that is supposed to be:
>
> خَيْرٌ وَّ اَبْقٰى
>
> **The Hereafter is better than this world.**
>
> Is'nt it strange that dear Hashim Raza should say what I feel that he will see no more like her in his life time!
>
> Heartbroken,
> (Imdad Kazi)

One evening I.I. Kazi did not return to his house but took a rickshaw to Giddu Bander and got down at the bank of River Indus. He paid off the rickshawala who asked him whether he should wait for his return trip. His reply was in the negative. The next day his body was found floating in the river. The sad event occurred on 13th April, 1968. Elsa Kazi had died on May 28, 1967. Some thought that he had committed suicide, others conjectured that he might

have slipped into the river and got drowned. Only God knows what happened. But one thing is obvious. He did not want to live without Elsa. Sohni and Mahiwal, so the story goes, had plunged into the turbulent river Chanab and died in each others' arms. Imdad Kazi's body intermingled with the waves of the mighty Indus but his soul must have intermingled with her soul as soon as he breathed his last.

I know of another couple who could not live without each other - Mr. Justice Shahabuddin and Begum Shahabuddin. Like the Kazis, they too had no children. Mr. Shahabuddin was a member of the I.C.S., who rose to the highest Executive and Judicial posts. He was Governor of East Pakistan, Chief Justice of Punjab High Court and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. They used to live in the G.O.R. Lahore after his retirement. He died of heart failure one morning when his ailing wife was admitted in a local hospital. She was made to leave the hospital on the pretext that her husband needed her presence. She returned to her house forthwith and saw the dead body of her husband. She took a deep sigh and fell down dead - within couple of hours of her distinguished husband's death.

PROMINENT PERSONS

— The Jagirdari System in Sind was the legacy of the Mughal rule. In 1844, the Commissioner of Sind estimated the endowed land 'Jagir' and 'Inam' land to be one-tenth of the total area of the Government land.

GHULAM HUSAIN HIDAYATULLAH:

Several veteran politicians of Sind belonged to Hyderabad Division. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, who renounced his title at the behest of the Quaid-e-Azam, used to practise in Hyderabad before he became a Minister of Bombay Government, Chief Minister of Sind and Governor of Sind. Syed Miran Muhammad Shah too practised in Hyderabad before he became the Speaker of the Sind Assembly, Minister of Sind Government and our Ambassador to Spain.

SHEIKH ABDUL MAJID SINDHI:

Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi whose father, Lilaram, had converted to Islam, was a man of great scholarship. Acharya Kirpalani, President of the Indian National Congress was related to him. He came into prominence as a journalist and went to jail during the Khilafat Movement. He was an ardent supporter of

the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement. As a Finance Minister of the Government of Sind, he earned a great reputation for ability and integrity. In simple living and high thinking, he and Maulana Hasrat Mohani were on the same wave length.

G.M. SYED:

Like Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mr. G.M. Syed too was an ardent supporter of the Muslim League and Pakistan Movement till 1945. He belonged to Sann in Dadu District and was elected President of Sind Provincial Muslim League. It was he who introduced a Resolution in Sind Assembly for accession of Sind to Pakistan. In 1945, he advocated for settlement in Sind of the persecuted Muslims living in the minority provinces of India. He resigned from the League when his entire list of nominees was not accepted by the High Command for the Sind Provincial elections of 1945. He led a quiet life during my tenure as Commissioner, Hyderabad Division. Later on, he became the founder of 'Sindhu Desh Movement' on account of which he had been confined, under Government orders, to his home village for a considerable time.

TALPUR BROTHERS:

The Jagirdari system in Sind was the legacy of the Mughal rule. In 1844, the Commissioner in Sind estimated the endowed land (Jagir and Inam land) to be one-tenth of the total area of Government land. The premier Jagirdar of Sind was Nawab Sir Ghaibi Khan Chandio of Larkana District. The prominent Jagirdars of Hyderabad Division were Mir Bundeh Ali Talpur, once Revenue Minister of Sind, and Nawab Mir Allah Dad Khan Talpur of Mirpurkhas, who died at the ripe old age of 92. In 1938, I asked Mir Bundeh Ali Khan what the area of his Jagir lands was. His reply was "I cannot say as I have not yet travelled to all my Jagir lands"

The abolition of jagirdari in the post-partition period was generally appreciated by the people. Any system in which one earns without work is bound to be unpopular.

Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, who served as a Provincial as well as Central Minister was the first B.A. among the Talpurs. He had many friends whom he entertained lavishly at his house in Karachi and at his shikargah (hunting-place) in Tando Muhammad Khan. He was a good and generous man. I have very fond memories of him as well as of the two Talpur Brothers who lived in Hyderabad city and who were ever ready to help those who sought their

assistance and advice - Mir Rasul Baksh Talpur and Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur. Both were equally popular among the old and new Sindhis. They spoke Urdu with the same ease and fluency as they conversed in Sindhi which was their mother tongue. Mir Rasul Baksh held the highest Provincial offices of Chief Adviser and Governor. Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur was Defence Minister of the Government of Pakistan. Power did not create any false pride in the minds of these two brothers. They earned name for friendliness and courtesy. The sudden deaths of both these brothers were widely mourned.

How Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur responded to complaints made against his subordinates, will be evident from copies of my letter to him dated 13th February, 1983. I reproduce my letter and his bland regrets:

The Assistant Director (Security),
Airports Security Force,
Karachi Airport,
KARACHI.

Dear Sir,

My sister-in-law, Mrs. Atia Hasan is leaving for New York on the night between 14th & 15th February by P.I.A. Flight PK-703. I request that Restricted Area Entry Permit may be issued in my and my wife's name.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
(S. Hashim Raza)

Regrets

I took up the matter with the Minister of Defence in my letter dated 13th February, 1983, as below:

13th February, 1983.

My dear Mir Sahib,

Assalamun Alaikum

I am constrained to bring to your notice an instance of an official working under the Ministry of Defence and clothed in brief authority, refusing a simple request without giving any rhyme or reason, as the enclosed letter addressed by me to the Assistant Director Security, Karachi Airport, will show.

It passes my understanding how this official, who did not care to give his name and designation, considered it a security risk to let me see off my sister-in-law at the Karachi Airport. Since I am not in

a position to ask him the reasons for his pontifical decision, I refer the matter to you for redressing my grievance.

I would like to add that such permits are being issued daily by the Assistant Director Security to sundry persons which reminds me of Mirza Ghalib's lines:

ملنا اگر نہیں ترا آساں تو سہل ہے
دشوار تو یہی ہے کہ دشوار بھی نہیں

Communion with thee is not easy, but its impossible is neither,
The difficult it is, that it's not difficult either.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
(S. Hashim Raza)

A copy of his reply, dated 21st February, 1983, alongwith his endorsement to the Secretary Defence is produced:

My dear Syed Sahib,

I am in receipt of your kind letter dated 13.2.1983.

I am really sorry that a very minor request from a person of your eminence was regretted.

As far as I am concerned, your place is more than a VIP and Inshallah you will remain so. I once again express my regrets for the inconvenience caused to you. A copy of my note to the Ministry is enclosed herewith for your kind information.

With kind regards, salams to Begum Sahib. Hope to have your ziarat soon.

مدّتیں گزریں تری یاد بھی آئی نہ ہمیں
اور ہم بھول گئے ہوں تجھے ایسا بھی نہیں

For ages, no thought came of thee,
But from thy memory, my mind was n't free.

Yours sincerely,
(Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur)

OFFICE OF MINISTER FOR DEFENCE:

Copies of two letters from Syed Hashim Raza, which are self-

explanatory are placed opposite. I will only add that S. Hashim Raza was one of the few Indian Civil Servants who were specifically requested by the Father of Nation to come to Pakistan and help rebuilding the new nation. In compliance, he came to Pakistan and served the country in various capacities including Chief Secretary and Governor of East Pakistan. Syed Sahib is well-known all over Pakistan and any body not knowing him shows a total ignorance on his part. People who have served the nation and the country at the time of her infancy should not be denied such minor facilities as the one requested by Syed Sahib.

I would like you to have the matter examined as to who is the person who has denied this temporary facility to an eminent person like Syed Sahib.

It is also desired that suitable instructions are issued that eminent personalities like Syed Sahib are given due respect.

(Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur)
Minister for Defence.
21.2.1983.

A.K. BROHI

— I consider Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the two greatest sons of Sind.
— Another, Great son of Sind was Allama I.I. Kazi, an Intellectual of high Calibre.
— Another distinguished son of Sind, was late A.K. Brohi. He was a man of outstanding ability, a voracious reader, an erudite scholar, A scintillating philosopher, an accomplished advocate, a brilliant speaker and a fascinating writer.

I CONSIDER SHAH ABDUL Latif Bhitai and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the two greatest sons of Sind. The former was a poet whose verses have inspired the inhabitants of the lower Indus Valley for centuries, the latter altered the course of history in the Indian Sub-continent by creating the State of Pakistan.

Another great son of Sind was Allama I.I. Kazi, an intellectual of a high calibre, a scholar of repute and a deeply religious person. I heard him for the first time in 1940 delivering his Friday sermon in English at the mosque attached to the Leslie Wilson Muslim Hostel. He was wearing a morning suit with a butterfly collar and a striped tie. He resembled with a Victorian preacher. He exhorted the students who had gathered to listen to him in large numbers to study the holy Quran and to practise Islam as embodied in the

teachings of our holy Prophet (S).

Another distinguished son of Sind was late A.K. Brohi. He was a man of outstanding ability. He was a voracious reader, an erudite scholar, a scintillating philosopher, an accomplished advocate, a brilliant speaker and a fascinating writer. In short, he was a genius. Wise men have said that a genius is 99 percent perspiration and 1 percent inspiration. The secret of Brohi's success was that he was extremely hard-working. He had been gifted with a remarkable memory. I came across all the well-known advocates of Karachi when I was District Magistrate of Karachi (1947-51). The advocate who impressed me most was A.K. Brohi. Once when he argued a case in my court for an hour without referring to any notes, I asked him how he could quote dates and extracts from the statements of various witnesses without referring to his brief. He told me that he was carrying in his mind all the relevant facts of a case in question after a bitter experience. He had prepared extensive notes for an appeal in the Sind Chief Court and was under the impression that he had carried the notes in his brief case. As he rose to argue the case and said:

"Your Lordships," he discovered that he had left the notes at home and continued, "I am sorry to say that I have a headache and cannot present my arguments this morning. I seek an adjournment."

The judges granted it readily.

After that experience, Mr. Brohi told me, "I memorise all my notes."

I asked him, "How he could carry notes of so many cases at a time."

He replied, "I treat my memory as if it were a slate. When I have finished with one case, everything about it is obliterated and I am ready to imprint new facts and figures about the next case."

Mr. Brohi held with distinction several public offices. He was Advocate-General of Sind, Central Minister for Law and Information, Chairman of National Hijra Council and an Ambassador-at-Large, Government of Pakistan. He wrote half a dozen books on Islam, Pakistan, Sind, Law, Philosophy, Culture, Psychology and Sociology. In the collection of his 23 essays entitled 'An Adventure in self-expression,' he wrote a most unusual dedication. I quote:

> If ambition had been the sole determinant or decisive factor in my life, I would have assuredly dedicated this book to Mr. & Mrs. I.I. Kazi, my Spiritual Parents, but since I have decided to deny myself the pleasure of doing so, it is for the reason that, in my opinion, the book is not worthy of being associated with their noble names.

He dedicated his voluminous book entitled 'Fundamental Law of Paki-

stan', which comprises 982 pages, to the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in the following words:

> Dedicated to the Dear and Revered Memory of Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Prime Minister and a Diligent Crusader and Valiant Martyr in her Cause as an expression of heart-felt Gratitude for what he and his Example has been to me and to men of my Generation.

The thought-provoking addresses which he delivered as Chairman of National Hijra Council at the national and international gatherings have been compiled in a book-form entitled 'A Faith To Live By'. His inner thoughts are evident from his note of dedication. I quote:

> Inscribed in devotion to the cause of consolidating Ummah Islamiyyah in making it a world force for beneficially influencing the course of modern history
>
> AND
>
> dedicated to all those men and women of our times who have pledged themselves for securing the ascendancy of Islamic faith in the heart, mind and soul of whole humanity.

Mr. Brohi was an extremely busy man. He was the most sought-after Advocate among the litigants of the entire country, and yet he found time to deliver lectures and attend social gatherings. How could he undertake such tasks without being ruffled or showing signs of exhaustion? The secret, in my opinion, lay in his happy home life. He married his cousin in 1942 and lived happily thereafter. Mrs. Brohi took very good care of him and made the least demand on his time which enabled him to read and write as much as he liked. When I reflected on the union of Mr. & Mrs. A.K. Brohi, I was reminded of the abdication Speech of Edward VIII on 11th December, 1936, which contained such moving sentences as the following:

> You must believe me when I tell you that I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.

Talking about his brother who succeeded him as George VI, he said:

> And he has one matchless blessing enjoyed by so many of you and not bestowed on me - a happy home with his wife and children.

Mr. Brohi enjoyed the blessings of a loving wife and three daughters.

KAZI BROTHERS:

Like the Talpur Brothers, the Kazi Brothers, Kazi Akbar and Kazi Abdul Majid Abid took prominent part in the political, cultural, social and journalistic activities of Hyderabad city.

Kazi Akbar became famous when he defeated Mr. G.M. Syed in the second provincial election for Sind Assembly in December, 1946. He became a Minister of Sind Government and an Ambassador later on. Kazi Abdul Majid Abid became Minister of Communications and Works, Government of Sind, and later on Central Minister of Information. Another prominent figure of Hyderabad city was Hafiz Mubarak Ali Shah who had migrated from Jaipur State. His blindness did not prevent him from acquiring knowledge. He had very good literary taste and used to hold regular Mushairas (poetical gatherings) at his residence - 'Mubarak Manzil', where poets like Akhtar Ansari Akbarabadi, Qabil Ajmeri, Dr. Ibrahim (he was equally good in Urdu and Sindhi) and Himayat Ali Shair recited their verses.

Hafiz Mubarak Ali Shah was elected as a member of the Sind Assembly and became a Parliamentary Secretary. Syed Hasan Ahmed Shah, Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan and Nawab Yamin Khan were gaining prominence as politicians.

PIR PAGARO

— Pir Sibghatullah Shah (Pir Pagaro) was waging a war against the British. The whole of Eastern wing was put under Martial Law on Ist June 1942, with General Richardson as Martial Law Administrator.

— In his fortnightly letter to the Home Department of the Government of India, Sir Francis Mudie then Chief Secretary of U.P. reported the resentment expressed by the Muslims of the U.P. at the death penalty imposed on a spiritual Muslim leader on the ground that he was waging war against the King Emperor for a couple of years. It was argued, wrote Sir Francis, by Muslims of the U.P. that while the Pir Pagaro had been hanged for waging war against the King Emperor for two years, why was similar treatment not accorded to the spiritual Hindu leader called Mahatma Gandhi? On the contrary, he was kept as the guest of His Majesty in the Palace of the Aga Khan at Poona.

I HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT some Mirs. I recall my impressions of some Pirs. The Pir who has the largest following in Sind is Pir Pagaro. The father of the present Pir Pagaro was Pir Sibghatullah Shah. The whole of Eastern Sind

was put under Martial Law on 1st June, 1942, with General Richardson as Chief Administrator Martial Law. A great freedom fighter as he was, Pir Sibghatullah Shah was tried for waging war against the British, was found guilty and was hanged on March 20, 1943.

Sir Francis Mudie was Chief Secretary of the U.P. in 1943.In his fortnightly letter to the Home Department of the Government of India, he reported the resentment expressed by the Muslims of the U.P. at the death penalty imposed on a spiritual Muslim leader on the ground that he was waging war against the King Emperor for a couple of years. It was argued, wrote Sir Francis, by Muslims of the U.P. that while the Pir Pagaro had been hanged for waging war against the King Emperor for two years, why was similar treatment not accorded to the spiritual Hindu leader called Mahatma Gandhi? On the contrary, he was kept as the guest of His Majesty in the Palace of the Aga Khan at Poona.

The Government of Sind arranged for the education of two sons of the executed Pir, Messers Mardan Ali Shah and Nadir Ali Shah at Aligarh, under the supervision of Dr. Ziauddin, a Wrangler of Cambridge University who was then the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University. At a later stage, their studies were managed in London under a private tutor who was a contemporary of Sir Francis Mudie at Cambridge. Sir Francis too was a Wrangler of Cambridge University.

During my tenure at Hyderabad, I dined with the present Pir Pagaro, Pir Mardan Ali Shah. He was invited to a dinner by Mr. Muhammad Ali Shah Jamot, a prominent Zamindar and sportsman. When Pir Sahib arrived, all the guests stood up to greet him and took their seats only after he had finished hand shaking. But the host did not occupy his chair. He sat at the feet of the Pir much to the obvious embarrassment of the Pir.

Pir Mardan Ali Shah is now the head of the Pakistan Muslim League*. He is very popular among the journalists for his witty and humorous remarks on current affairs and for his kite flying.

MAKHDOOM TALIBUL MAULA:

I was delighted to renew my friendship with Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula of Hala. We had worked together on the Sind Adabi Board when I was Education Secretary of the Government of Sind (1951-53). I was impressed by his scholarship and his poetry. He has a substantial following being the 'gaddi-nashin of the dargha of Makhdoom Nooh' (custodian of the mausoleum). Other well known 'dargahs' are of Shah Karim Bulri

* Now supposedly defunct.

near Mirpur Bathoro, of Makhdoom Shah Inayat near Jhok and of Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman of Luari.

PIR GUL HASAN SHAH OF LUARI:

During the month of Zilhij, a fair was held each year. It was called 'Luari Fair'. Some people complained that certain rituals performed on the occasion resembled with that of Haj (pilgrimage). The fanatics were highly critical of it. So when the situation started deteriorating, the District Magistrate of Hyderabad directed Pir Gul Hasan Shah of Luari and his followers to join, attend, address or take part in the fair commonly known as "Luari Haj Fair" to be held in the first week of Zilhij. The District Magistrate prohibited the Pir and his followers under sections 42, 43, 46 of the Sind District Police Act and under section 144 of C.P.C.

In 1955, Pir Gul Hasan Shah filed a revision application against the orders of the District Magistrate which was decided by the Mr. Justice Munshi on 27-7-1955. He upheld the order of the District Magistrate on the ground that if the fair was not banned, there was every possibility of grave disturbance and breach of public peace and tranquillity.

There was storm in a tea cup when Pir Gul Hasan Shah met me in 1958, with a deputation which included Maulana Nasir Jalali, a well-known divine of Delhi and requested that the yearly ban imposed by the District Magistrate, Hyderabad, against the get-together at Luari during *Zilhij* should be withdrawn. He argued that his rivals had given a bad name to the gathering at Luari. He said he never called his address to his 'murids' (followers) as *'Khutba-e-Haj'*[1]. His followers never regarded their participation in prayers as equivalent to a visit to the Holy Mecca. They never called themselves Hajis after he had addressed them. The graveyard at Luari was never named as *'Jannat-ul-Baqi'*[2]. He said that I could send as many policemen and informers as I liked to make sure that nothing against Islamic Shariat was done at the Luari Fair.

I told the Pir that he should have approached the District Magistrate who imposed the ban. He said he had done so but the District Magistrate had expressed his inability to lift the ban. I suggested to Gul Hasan Shah that he should advise his followers to gather in the last week of *Ziqad*[3] instead of the first week of *Zilhij*. He said that ever since the Luari Dargah had been established, the get-together at Luari used to take place in the first week of *Zilhij* and he could not alter the date which his predecessors had fixed. I told

1. Holy Pilgrimage Sermon at Kabaah in Holy Mecca.
2. The graveyard in Medinah where Muslim companions and others are buried.
3. Names of months according to Islamic lunar calendar.

the Pir that the administration had to take into account the force of public opinion.

Since I had an hour discussion with Pir Gul Hasan Shah and his sympathisers in my office in the One-Unit building, a rumour got afloat that I was inclined to accept his request. A large crowd had gathered in the compound, some supporting the Pir and some opposing his request. It was argued by the Pir's opponent that if the Commissioner had rejected his request the interview could not last for more than 10 minutes. His opponents rushed to Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur who rang up the Chief Minister of West Pakistan, Sir Muzaffar Ali Kizilbash and told him that if the ban on Luari Haj Fair was not imposed, there would be a serious problem of law and order resulting in bloodshed.

THE PARIS OF SIND

— The Hindu ladies, like the ladies of Paris were very fashionable. The per capita consumption of scents, powder, Eue de Cologne, wines and liquor among the Hindus of Sind was reputed to be the highest in India.
— The wind catchers reminded me of the windmills in Holland.
— Acharya Kirpalani who came from Hyderabad city, visited Sind after partition and spoke with two voices.

IN THE 8TH CENTURY, Hyderabad was known as Nerankot and was important enough to attract the attention of the victor of Sind, General Muhammad bin Qasim. In 1768, the present city was founded by Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, one of the able rulers of Kalhoro dynasty. He changed its name from Nerankot to Hyderabad and made it the capital of Sind. Under the Talpurs, Hyderabad progressed a lot. When the British defeated the Talpurs at the battle of Miani, Hyderabad lost its importance.

Hyderabad prospered under the Talpur dynasty. They had their palaces and held their court in the Fort which covered an area of 36 acres and which still is the most prominent structure of the city. From the earliest time, its manufactures - ornamental silks, silver and gold work and lacquered ware have been the chief products of the province and have won awards at the Industrial Exhibitions in the U.K. and Europe. A local specialty is the manufacture of the earthen vessels called Mati which are used by the Palla* fishermen to buoy themselves up on the water while fishing.

Hala; a town close to Hyderabad, has long been famous for its glazed pottery and tiles made from a fine clay obtained from the Indus. It is mixed with powdered flints. The ornamentation is very attractive and tasteful. The Hala

* A kind of fish

tiles were fixed to the walls of the Clifton Bridge in Karachi and have been attracting the attention of all passersby. Hala is also celebrated for its 'Susis' or trouser cloth.

The tomb of Shah Abdul Latif, the greatest Sindhi poet of Sind, is situated at Bhitshah near Hala and attracts pilgrims throughout the year. I saw no visitors at the tombs of the Kalhora rulers and Talpur Mirs in Hyderabad city. I concluded that the people of Sind preferred their Pirs to their Mirs. I realised the truth of Sheikh Abdul Ansar Herati's saying which I quote:

> To fly in the air is no miracle for the dirtiest fly can do it, to cross rivers without bridges or boats is no miracle for a terrier can do the same, but to help suffering heart is a miracle performed by Holy men.

Before partition, the Hindus used to call Hyderabad 'the Paris of Sind'. Hirabad in the heart of Hyderabad city was exclusively inhabited by Hindus. The Hindu ladies, like the ladies of Paris, were very fashionable. The per capita consumption of scents, powder, Eue de Cologne, wines and liquor among the Hindus of Sind was reputed to be the highest in India. At one time, the value of land per square yard in Shikarpur city was the highest in India because the rich Hindu merchants of the 'Bhaiband Community' who used to work in far off places like Hong Kong, Singapore, Malta and Gibraltar were keen to own a house in Shikarpur and were willing to pay any price for it.

After the uncalled for and unnecessary exodus of the Hindus from Sind, despite the assurances for safety and fair treatment as given by the Quaid-e-Azam and Sheikh Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, the then Governor of Sind, most of the houses were occupied by refugees from Hindustan. By 1957, a large number of houses in Hirabad were occupied by refugees from Ajmer and Rajputana. Like Karachi, Hyderabad city became very congested. After adequate and filtered water had been provided to the citizens of Hyderabad, the problem of sewerage had become acute. It was also tackled on priority basis.

As one approaches the city of Hyderabad by a Down Train, the Fort and the wind-catchers present a remarkable sight. The wind-catchers reminded me of the windmills in Holland. The Fort dominates the entire scene. The old city could not contain the overgrowing refugee influx in the wake of partition. So long as Khokrapar border was not closed, the population of the cities of Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas increased every month. A large tract of land was acquired to build a satellite town in the immediate neighbourhood of Hyderabad. It was called Latifabad after Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. Another Satellite Town was built in the vicinity of Mirpurkhas.

The scenes of Hyderabad Division which linger in my mind are the

Mancher Lake in Dadu District, the Delta in District Thatta, the Umerkot Fort and Thar Desert in Tharparkar District. Mancher Lake is the biggest lake in Pakistan. It is 40 miles long and 6 to 10 miles wide. It is the duck shooters' paradise. Even those who are not interested in hunting, can enjoy sunrise and sunset of this lake. These scenes are fascinating.

The Delta is flanked by the sea coast extending over 180 miles. In this area, where a soothing sea breeze moves all the time, distributaries and lakes cross and recross each other and present a scene of beauty and joy. The fishermen of this area are busy all the time catching various varieties of fish, including the famous 'Palla' fish which I found the best. When I toured the Desert Talukas of Mithi, Diplo, Samaro and Nagar Parkar on camel back, I was struck by the silence of the vast spaces and the shifting of countless sand hills. Nagar Parkar is situated on the Pakistan-India border. It is largely populated by Jains and Hindus. I saw a number of Jains with pieces of cotton stuffed in their nostrils so that their natural breathing might not kill the tiny germs which were not visible to the naked eye.

The view from the top of Umerkot Fort is breath-taking. On the eastern side of the fort lies the desert which eventually merges into the great Rajputana desert; on the western side is the Barrage irrigated area. The contrast between the brown sand and the green fields of cotton, wheat and maize brings out the debt of gratitude which the people of Sind owe to River Indus. But for this life-giving river, Sind would have been an extension of Rajputana desert.

When the prosperous Amils lived in Hyderabad, they used to celebrate their festivals like Holi, Diwali and Janam Ashtami with great gusto. Acharya Kirpalani who came from Hyderabad city, visited Sind after partition and spoke with two voices. In public, he advised his people to stick to Sind; in private, he advised them to leave as quickly as possible. So 85% Hindus migrated to various parts of India in spite of the Quaid-e-Azam's assurance to them that they would be treated fairly and generously. Acharya Kirpalani made a public statement that 15th of August, 1947, was not a day to celebrate but a day to mourn the division of India.

While the High-caste Hindus left Sind, the Harijans stuck to their homes. There were no communal riots in Sind in pre-partition days like the riots in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and other parts of India. After partition, there have been no communal riots in Sind. This was due to the Soofis and Bhagats who taught toleration and advocated love for neighbours.

I was happy to see the large gathering of Harijans[1] at the temple of Ramdeo at Tando Allahyar in September, 1958. This annual mela[2] attracts over two lakh

1. the untouchable, low caste Hindu.
2. Fair.

Harijans from all parts of Sind. The local population of Muslim peasants also participates in night-long sessions of Bhajans[1], Songs in Sindhi, Marwari and Gujrati languages aided by Chimtas*, Khartals*, Ghungroos*, Gharas*, Sarangis* and Ektaras*. The entire town of Tando Allahyar takes a festive appearance during the four day celebrations in September every year.

Ramdeo is regarded as an 'Avatar'[2]. He was dark-skinned and denounced the caste system which is based on colour. Besides, it is inhuman and oppressive. He fought for the liberation of the Dravidians who had been enslaved by the Aryans and had been condemned as Untouchables.

MARRIAGES IN SIND

— The chief difference between west and east is that in the west the stress is on the individual, while in the east it is the family that matters.
— When the husband is supposed to be the Bride's own individual choice, of course, she must look radiant and pleased with her choice. But, over here it is always supposed to be the two families who arrange it a good match which is a credit to her parents.

A FREE-LANCE JOURNALIST and globe-trotter, Estella Holt, visited us in Hyderabad. Her wander-lust took her to Pakistan, India, Nepal, Kalimpong, Sikkim and Burma. She met the Dalai Lama in Mossoorie. She published an account of her travels under the caption "Asia and I", in 1958.

How she visited the East is stated by her in the following paras:

> I drifted East because one morning I saw an advertisement: 'Pakistani engineer and wife, driving to Karachi offer lift in their car. Write...' So I wrote and then I got some unexpected money, so I went. There wasn't really enough money to get back, but I hoped something would happen. Money is always a problem for me, because I can't add - and that is not meant to be an ingratiating piece of fluff. It is the truth. Some people are stone-deaf, or colour-blind, and I am figure-numb. Besides, I always seem to get money through luck, and when you live by luck you can't afford not to trust it.
>
> The Pakistani engineer and his wife were called Aslam and Razia, and the first piece of luck was that I liked them so much. He is tall, slim and incredibly good-natured; she is very small, quiet and gentle. When I met them, Aslam said, 'Razia has been making with so much difficulty. She says we will never do it, that it is all madness, that we will ruin our car, become ill, have everything stolen, be lost

1. Hymns.
2. Reincarnation of god.
* Musical instruments popularly used as accompanied of local folk music.

and then we will all be killed.' He laughed and Razia agreed, 'Yes, I have said all that,' and then with a determined little sideways toss of her head, she added, 'and now let's go.'

At that time I didn't know as much as I do now about the strength of family ties in Asia. Most of my friends in Asia live very much within their families.

Her book makes an interesting reading. I reproduce some excerpts from Chapter Five of her book entitled 'Marriage in Sind' for the readers of this book. This is an evidence of her interest in, and admiration of, our culture. In the said chapter, she was kind enough to devote certain paragraphs about me and members of my family. These paragraphs are given as under:

It was through late A. K. Brohi that I met Syed Hashim Raza, the Commissioner of Hyderabad, Sind, and his family. They came from Lucknow where, so I was told, the most beautiful Urdu was spoken.

It is a lovely language. I wish I could learn it. I am always wishing I could learn more languages, partly because I'm always wanting to know more about each person I meet, and people change with their language. Sometimes some of my bilingual friends show a quite separate aspect of themselves when they switch over to their other language. One man says he has four distinct personalities in English, French, German and Chinese, and they don't conflict. Each one helps him to express a different side of himself.

Yet some people only need one language. An Italian I know, is fluent in almost all European tongues as well as in Japanese, Mandarin, Cantonese and very nearly in Tibetan, too, but I don't think he ever changes. They all sound exactly like Italian. Then occasionally, it seems as though the one language a person wants is not the one with which he started. For instance, I know a man who went so easily into Tibetan that his book will undoubtedly read more like the work of an English-speaking Tibetan than of an Englishman who's studied in Tibet.

Syed Hashim Raza himself spoke English easily and wittily, but his own language he really loved. He read its poetry aloud, new quantities of it by heart, wrote some himself and had brought all his family to be at home in England, but proud that their heritage was Urdu.

He had a large family - at least I think he did. I was never quite sure which of all the young people all over his house were friends. Again there was something of Tolstoy in the atmosphere, something of the quality of the Rostove family life: the same feeling of high

spirits and affection, clearly differentiated individualities, gay quick intelligence, sudden deep despairing moods that as suddenly dissolved to rocket up into highest hilarity, when everyone would take off on another picnic or a party in a truly Rostovian manner.

Nasreen was a daughter of theirs. She was about nineteen, dark-haired, pale-skinned with the huge eyes of a Mughal painting, and almost always she wore Kamize and Shalwar. 'So much more comfortable than saris,' she said. I said saris fell off me *'achchha?'*[1] she said, 'and me too.' Then she added, looking enchanting in a white-and-red patterned Kamize with a cherry-coloured *dopatta*[2] over her shoulders, 'I just hate clothes. They take up so much time. Mummy has to choose all mine for me.' She was at college and three of the girls were her college friends.

They were the twins, Majeda and Rasheda Khan, and Nafisa Qasimai. Nafisa was Mehmand. The Mehmands are of Arab descent and used to live in South India but since Partition most of them have come into Pakistan. Nafisa showed me some of the clothes Mehmand women wear, a gold head-dress, rather like the kerchief of a Croatian girl, and a straight heavy embroidered dress, almost to the ankles, and worn over a shalwar. For ordinary wear, she wore saris and very elegant they looked on her fine bones slenderness with her short cropped hair. She had taken a job as a librarian.

The twins were the daughters of a Pakistani doctor and an English-woman who'd become a Muslim. They had none of the over-discussed complexes the children of 'mixed' marriages are supposed to develop. I've known a lot of these marriages now, and I think it's silly to generalise about them. It isn't the question, 'should Westerner and Easterners marry?' It's a matter of which Westerner marries with Easterners; and that applies to Westerners marrying Westerners, and Easterners marrying Easterners, just as much.

Then there were Ali and Salim and Tanvir and Anjum and Anees. Ali was the youngest son of the house, a forceful little boy of about seven. Anjum and Anees were Nasreen's cousins.

The whole family were extraordinarily kind to me. They took me with them to watch tennis, for a day's picnic down the Indus, and often asked me to meals. The Begum - Mrs. Hashim Raza - taught me how to make *samosas* - delicious picnic food. You start with small rounds of short pastry and into these you put a mixture of meat and spices.

You take ten ounces of minced raw meat and cook it in a little

1. Yes
2. A flowing scarf.

water until it is soft and dry. Then you heat an ounce of butter in a pan, add two teaspoons of curd (yoghourt), and cook until brown. Then you add the meat to this, together with a few slices of ginger (sliced very thin), a few chopped red chillis, one teaspoon ground coriander, and salt and chilli pepper to taste. All this is simmered together until the meat is ready and then a lump of it - smelling exquisite by now - is put on each round of pastry; this is folded into a half-moon, the edges pinched together, and fried to a golden brown in deep fat.

Now Estella Holt writes about marriages in Sind. She gives a vivid account of two marriages she attended during her course of stay in Pakistan:

And then Mrs. Hashim Raza took me to two marriages. One was in Karachi, a very grand occasion. The reception given by the bride's family was in a garden. All the trees were hung with coloured lights, the guests were in gorgeous clothes and we ate Shahi Tukrray - the sweet dishes reserved at a Muslim wedding in Pakistan. It's really like a bread pudding, made of breadcrumbs turned gold with saffron-soaked in cream, sparkling with sugar, and wrapped in tissue-thin sheets of beaten pure silver.

The other marriage was in Hyderabad, and Nasreen, Nafisa, the twins, Anjum and Anees took me. It was the very first Muslim wedding I'd seen and I was worried - the bride looked miserable, her groom looked bored, and her family were all in tears.

Nasreen was amused. She explained that the bride always cries, 'If she didn't,' she said, 'it would look as though she were glad to leave home.'

We'd been joined by a young woman doctor in a white sari. 'Actually,' she said, 'I was really very happy the day I was married. My husband and I had a real love marriage, you see. We already wanted to marry but at first our families wouldn't agree, so you can imagine how glad we were when it was all settled. But even so on the wedding day I cried and cried and cried. All day I cried.

'Why?' asked Anees. 'The doctor laughed. 'Partly because it was expected of me,' she said, 'partly because I was very tired. You see, all day you are surrounded by all your female relations and always you must keep your head modestly bent. You've no idea how tiring it is to be married.'

'It would be considered very immodest of the bride to look up,' Nasreen said, 'But you tell us what your customs are in England.'

I said the Western bride is always radiant and she wanted to know why. Like most of the girls I met in Pakistan Nasreen had a

huge appetite for knowledge and I was always finding I didn't know enough. Luckily the twins took up the explanations. Majeda said the chief difference between West and East is that in the West the stress is on the individual, while in the East it is the family that matters. So when the husband is supposed to be the bride's own individual choice, of course she must look radiant and pleased with her decision. But over here it's always supposed to be the two families who arrange a good match which is a credit to her parents. It shows they're taking good care of her future, and has nothing to do with her at all.

'But that is how it used to be,' Rasheda put in. 'Nowadays there are far fewer arranged marriages.'

Nafisa, in a red-and-green silk sari with big gold earings, frowned, 'I don't know about that,' she said, 'I don't know about that at all. You only think there are less arranged marriages because less are arranged in your particular circle, but if you were to take all Pakistan.'

'Oh, well, perhaps if you were to take all Pakistan,' Rasheda gave in, 'but I mean among people like us. I mean girls who go to college and take up careers.'

'I went to college,' said Nafisa, 'and I'm a librarian now, but still my parents want to arrange my marriage. So far I've resisted...'

'Well, there you are. You've resisted,' said Majeda.

Nafisa gave a bleak little smile. 'So far,' she said. She glanced at me. 'It's a strain, because I do like my parents so much.'

The wedding had started some hours before. First we'd driven to the bridegrooms' house. It wasn't really his house as he came from a distant town, but friends had lent it to him. It was a wooden house, built round an open courtyard. On three sides of the courtyard, it had two floors and carved wooden balconies. On the fourth side were two wide-open rooms where his presents for his bride were on display. The courtyard was stone, with a stone basin where a fountain played and stone benches all round it. Three women squatted in corner. One sang, another had a flute and the third beat on a barrel-shaped drum. They were Negresses. There are Negroes in Sind, descendants of slaves given as presents to the rulers. They work in with the rest of the population, but keep to their own villages; their sense of rhythm makes them popular at parties. The fat old woman with the drum kept up a glorious throbbing and when she saw my camera, she beamed and flung her arms wide in a beautiful abandoned gesture.

Against this African drumming, the singer sang a plaintive Sindhi song and we drank tea and ate pink-iced cakes. Here were

only the women guests. The men were in another room with the groom and the bride was still in her own home being dressed by her relatives. After tea everyone filed past the presents. There were heaps of silks, some embroidered in sequins, some appliqued with velvet. There were sets of brightly patterned sheets, cases of jewellery, necklaces wide as lace collars, studded with rubies, bangles, rings, earrings, nose-rings, brooches, and an Elizabeth Arden dressing case.

Then we went to the bride's house. The reception was in a tent that had nothing in common with the white dampgrass-smelling marquees of England. This was straight out of the Crusades, enormous, deep yellow with crimson roses, and the floor was covered with a red silk carpet. There was so much colour, I felt literally breathless, drenched in colour, and drunk, quiet delightfully drunk, with it. The women's clothes were bright as jewels, too, at their ears, their throats and on their fingers. And they were beautiful.

I've never known anywhere else such a generally high standard of beauty. What are Burmese women? - a perpetual shock. I couldn't believe the standard would keep up, but it did.

Everyone sat on the floor and each one was given a paper bag holding one large sweet, the size, colour and shape of a knobbly lemon. In another room, they told me, the Nikah ceremony was being held. This is really the marriage. Bride and groom are brought together, she, of course, heavily veiled. A man called the vakil or advocate describes her groom to her, his name, address, parentage, and age, and asks her if she agrees to marry him. She must give her consent three times before the ritual can go on. This vakil need not be a religious leader, but he must know the Koran and with him must be two shahids or witnesses. After the bride has agreed to be married, the groom too is asked; then the vakil reads a passage from the Koran, and they are married.

Then, Nasreen said, the bride will be brought here to the women guests and then her husband joins her and may be would see the 'arsimusaf' ceremony. This is when a veil is held over their heads and a looking-glass is put before them, so that they may see each other's faces for the first time.

'It can be an awful shock', said Majeda, 'seeing your husband's face for the first time in that mirror.'

'Much worse if you know it already and have never liked it,' said Nafisa.

'Usually they have met before these days,' Nasreen said. 'What happens is that your parents keep on introducing you to possible young men until among them all sooner or later there's bound to be

one you like.' Nasreen told me later that the one quality she hoped for in her husband was that he should wish to travel, and she was almost beginning to wish her father would pick out such a one for her. When she was asked to meet a young man and she knew it was to look him over as a likely husband, she said she was always so shy that she began to dislike him automatically and he saw her at her worst. Then she would tell her father she hated him, and he'd say she would never be forced into a marriage against her will, and later she'd start to think that perhaps he would have been quite nice after all.

'And of course one meets a lot of young men at college,' said Majeda, 'But, you know, it's funny. At one time all the young men used to want their wives to be educated. I mean, sometimes some of them would have them educated after they got engaged to them but now...'

'They just like college girls as their friends,' her sister wound up, 'and when it comes to marriage they'll ask their mothers to find them some little old-fashioned thin who's never been out of purdah.'

A ripple of excitement, and it was the bride. Her head was bent so low she might have been an old woman, and she was covered with red veils. Red is the marriage colour. A number of white pillows had been placed on the floor, and the bride's sister in flame chiffon and her new sister-in-law in gold and green brocade lowered her on to them. Then the groom arrived. He was a fat man, about forty-eight; on his head was a grey fur cap and round his neck were tinsel garlands. He sat down a little stiffly beside his bride, and the veil was held over them, so they could look at each other in the looking-glass.

'And it is in fact the first time these two are seeing each other,' one of the bride's relations whispered to me.

From under the veil I thought I heard a small yelp from her. Then the veil was lowered and for a moment the red veils she wore, were raised. She was wearing a gold tunic over very wide gold trousers, a broad gold collar and pendant, another pendant in the centre of her forehead, and one hanging from one side of her nose. She wore four veils, first a pale gold, then a gold-pink, then a deeper pink and on top was the deep red. Her eyelids and upper lip sparkled with gold and silver dust and over her hands were the gold filigree mittens. She had a small, dark, delicately-featured face that was streaked with tears, and she looked about eighteen. The groom touched her face for a second very tenderly and then dropped his hand in quick embarrassment.

The bride's sister and sister-in-law argued and giggled. The bride gave the last jerky little sob of a child too tired to cry any more.

The groom leaned his chin on one fist and went rigid with boredom or shyness. The sisters remembered that one end of her scarf should be tied to some part of his clothes to signify, I suppose, the nuptial knot. He offered his handkerchief. More shouting and then a glass of milk was offered first to him, then to her. Her shoulders heaved.

'Sometimes,' said Majeda, 'it's a bowl of milk that rings are put in, and whichever of them first finds a ring will dominate the marriage.'

The bridegroom got up to lead his bride away, and this started all her family wailing. 'Now we go and have dinner with them,' said some one. Back at his house we ate curries and rice and the groom sat with his bride in an inner room. By now he was cheerful, but she sat beside him like a small, valuable, jewelled doll. So like a doll that Majeda picked up her hand and turned it over to show me how it was stained with *mehndi**. They sat for photographs, stood for photographs, sat in groups for photographs, but none of her family were present. Her sister-in-law patted her comfortingly.

Soon her husband would take her away in a car lined with dethroned roses.

'Poor thing. She's been crying for three days.' someone said to me, 'but you know her family are not at all rich and he has so much money. He's believed to be kind, too. It really is a wonderful match.'

And as so many Pakistani marriages are fixed like this, and nearly all do work out very well, I suppose it was.

OF PARTRIDGES AND PROTOCOL

DURING MY 15 MONTHS stay in Hyderabad i.e. from September, 1957 to December, 1958, I had the pleasure of receiving several distinguished guests like General Iskander Mirza, President of Pakistan; King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan; Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Prime Minister of Pakistan; Right Hon'ble Sir Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand; Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal and His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan.

General Iskander Mirza was a keen sportsman who visited Tando Muhammad Khan to shoot partridges as a guest of Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur. He flew to Kotri Airfield and motored down to the Shikargah. He was invariably accompanied by another keen sportsman, Pir Mahfooz. Iskander Mirza and King Zahir Shah came by a special train and had a good day's shooting. When the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a press note giving the number of partridges shot that day, it transpired that the partridges too were aware of the

* Coloured red by pasting powdered liquid made of leaves of Mehndi shrubs.

protocol as they fell in the following order. The highest bag was of King Zahir Shah, the next was that of General Iskander Mirza, the third position was obtained by the Minister-in-Waiting of the Afghan King, the fourth by Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, then a Central Minister and so on.

When we met at Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur's residence for lunch, I sat next to King Zahir Shah and found him amiable and soft-spoken. He expressed cordial sentiments about Pakistan, in contrast to the virulent "Pakhtoonistan" propaganda from Kabul Radio. He appeared to be on very friendly terms with General Iskander Mirza, who at one time proposed confederation of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghanistan is no more a sovereign non-aligned country. More than one lakh Russian troops have occupied every nook and corner of Afghanistan. Over three million Afghans have crossed into Pakistan - those who have stayed behind, are carrying on guerrilla warfare against the army of occupation.

GENERAL ISKANDER MIRZA

THE MUCH MALIGNED GENERAL Iskander Mirza was a gentleman of affable manners and friendly disposition. As a political officer in the N.W.F.P., as Governor of East Pakistan and as Minister of Interior, he impressed everyone who came in contact with him by his ability, clear thinking and organising capacity. He met his Waterloo in the office of the President of Pakistan, and, like Napoleon Bonaparte, was banished from his country and died in exile. He was hoist with his own petard when he became a party to the declaration of Martial Law on that fateful night between 7th & 8th October, 1958. The real architect of the political revolution was not General Iskander Mirza but General Muhammad Ayub Khan. In this context I reproduce my letter which was published in "Dawn" on 28th November, 1982, under the caption of "Iskander Mirza Defends Himself":

> I hold no brief for General Iskander Mirza, the much maligned ex-President of Pakistan. When he was in power, he had many courtiers but no lobby. Hence his case has gone by default. The interview published in your paper of November 19, under the caption, "Iskander Mirza defends himself", came as a breath of fresh air.
>
> He had a very distinguished career in the Indian Political Service which was drawn 70% from the Army and 30% from the I.C.S. In 1947, it had a strength of 124 of whom 107 were Britishers and 17 Indians. Of the 17 Indians, there were 12 Muslims, 4 Hindus

and 1 Sikh. This was the only All-India service in which Muslims had a pre-ponderance over Hindus. Iskander Mirza was considered as an outstanding Political Officer of his time. He exhibited excellent qualities as an administrator. Had he retired as Defence Secretary of Pakistan or as Governor of East Pakistan, he would have left a great name.

Administration and politics are two different spheres which have got mixed up after the cruel and callous murder of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1951. Politicians started administering divisions, districts and tehsils and administrators started dabbling in politics. Malik Ghulam Muhammad earned a name as a financial wizard but as Governor-General he bungled and blundered. Chowdhary Muhammad Ali was regarded as one of the ablest members of the Indian Military Accounts Service. He earned the confidence of Quaid-e-Azam as well as Quaid-i-Millat during the Partition proceedings in New Delhi and held the post of Secretary-General with much distinction. As Prime Minister, he lost his glory and grip over political currents and cross-currents.

Khan Qurban Ali was considered a brilliant public officer in pre-partition days but lost his reputation in post-independence period when he virtually nominated some candidates for the Punjab Provincial Assembly elections and his subordinates worked as their agents. The Punjab Police of which he was the head was condemned by the people of Pakistan for poor security arrangements on that fateful afternoon of October 16, 1951 at Rawalpindi and later on for failing to unearth the conspiracy which led to the murder of the Quaid-e-Millat in broad daylight. No one in Pakistan believes that the foul murder was the act of a mad man.

It was that wind of change - not for better but for worse - that swept Iskander Mirza into the Governor-General's and subsequently the President House. It was not a tide in his affairs as some people thought at that time, but an ebb that left him high and dry and eventually resulted in his banishment to a foreign land.

I was Commissioner of Hyderabad Division when Martial Law was declared throughout Pakistan on the night between 7th & 8th October, 1958. At a Press conference after this most unexpected turn of events in our country, General Iskander Mirza was asked what his position would be vis-a-vis the Chief Martial Law Administrator. He replied "I continue to be the President of Pakistan. The Chief Martial Law Administrator will be my Prime Minister. We will work as a team. It was a case of :

مَن درچہ خیالم و فلک درچہ خیال

Man proposes, God disposes.

When I called on him in Karachi on October 20, 1958, I asked him whether he was confident that a civilian President could run the country in the presence of a General who was the Chief Martial Law Administrator. He said that General Ayub Khan was on friendly terms with him since he, as Defence Secretary, had recommended him to succeed General Gracey as the Commander-in-Chief and later on got him extension even though Khawaja Nazimuddin as Prime Minister had opposed his recommendation for an extension.

I then asked him if there was any need to declare Martial Law. He said he could not hold fair and free general elections scheduled for spring of 1959, with all Ministers in the saddle. They were bound to pressurise Government servants to manipulate elections in their favour and in support of their followers. The constitution gave him the power to remove the Provincial Ministries but there was no provision in the 1956 Constitution for removing the Central Ministers. His objective was to leave the 1956 Constitution intact with only one amendment enabling him to suspend the Central Ministers on the eve of General Elections.

He took out from his drawer a letter he had received from Harold MacMillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and gave it to me to read. Mac Millan had referred to the interview which Iskander Mirza had accorded to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom and remarked that he was happy to note that it was not his intention to prolong Martial Law beyond the spring of 1959 and that he appreciated his anxiety to hold fair and free elections which, of course, are the basis of a democratic Government. Little did Iskander Mirza know that within a week he would be forced to resign his post ignominously and would be given a few hours to leave the President's House without packing his luggage.

In his political autobiography, Friends Not Masters, President Muhammad Ayub Khan wrote about his appointment as the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief. I quote:

> I think General Raza and a few others were among the senior-most officers and they were frequently spoken of... Finally, one September night 1950, I was rung up by an officer of the Ministry

> of Defence and informed that I had been selected as the next Commander-in-Chief... I took over as Commander-in-Chief on 17th January, 1951. General Gracey did not say very much to me when he was leaving. Not much can be done in handing over and taking over a job like this and the new man must start all on his own. But he did mention to me, somewhat vaguely that there was a 'Young Turk' Party in the army.

General Gracey was commander of Sind Area in 1946-47, when Sir Francis Mudie was Governor of Sind. When I spent a week-end with Sir Francis Mudie in his 'Easter Cottage' at Broughty Ferry, Scotland, in 1963, he related to me what General Gracey had told him when he paid his farewell visit to him at the Governor's House, Lahore. When Sir Francis asked him who was going to succeed him, Gracey replied, "It is still a top secret - General Ayub Khan." Sir Francis remarked that he presumed he was the senior-most Pakistani General. Gracey said, "No he is not the senior-most, there are generals senior to him. I suggested his appointment because the generals senior to him are bloody politicians. He is the only non-political general in the Pakistan Army.

With a wink in his eyes, Sir Francis remarked how mistaken General Gracey was for it was his non-political general who trounced all the politicians of Pakistan!

It is for the historians to assess the respective merits of Iskander Mirza and Muhammad Ayub Khan. Iskander Mirza was a civilian, Ayub Khan was a soldier. Iskander Mirza held the King's Commission via Sandhurst but he served as an army officer only for a few years. His rank as a General was a courtesy rank. I am reminded of Winston Churchill's remarks about the differences that arose between Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, and Lord Kitchner, Commander-in-Chief of India. I quote from his book "Great Contemporaries". This is what he wrote about the clash between a civilian Viceroy and a soldier Commander-in-Chief.

> Curzon's Viceroyalty was a memorable episode in Anglo-Indian history and yet it closed in sorrow and anger. On merits, Curzon was right. But in craft, in slow intrigue, in strength of personality, in doubtful dangerous manoeuvres, the soldier (Lord Kitchner) beat the politicians every time. Kitchner established secret contacts with the

Secretary of State and the Home Government.

DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER OF HYDERABAD: PROBLEMS & PERFORMANCE

I WAS PLEASANTLY SURPRISED to see in the morning papers on March 23, 1958, my name in the first Honours List issued by the Government of Pakistan. I was awarded Sitara-e-Quaid-e-Azam. I never craved for an award by H.M.G. or the Viceroy of India but I prized this award as it was given by the President of Pakistan who was kind enough to send me a congratulatory telegram as under:

Karachi - 24.7.10
Mr. Hashim Raza,
Commissioner, Hyderabad Sind.

Sincere congratulations on your well deserved honour.

Iskander Mirza.

Among the numerous messages of felicitations, I would like to quote the following letter from Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, who was at that time our Ambassador to the Philippines:

Embassy of Pakistan,
Manila,
28-3-1958.

My dear Raza Sahib,

It is only today that I have received Pakistan newspapers which show that you have been awarded a medal. You can imagine how happy I must be feeling. It is a belated and inadequate recognition of a massive service rendered over a long period of time. I am sure some day full recognition will also come.

Please convey my wife's and my own congratulations to Begum Sahibah also.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Ali Muhammad Rashdi)

In my replies to my well wishers, I used a line of Mirza Ghalib:

بے طلب دیں تو مزہ اس میں سوا ملتا ہے

Much greater are the joys of unsolicited gifts.

MIRZA QALEECH BEG:

I was delighted to open an exhibition of the printed and unpublished works of one of the most distinguished sons of Hyderabad - Mirza Qaleech Beg (1853-1929). He retired as Deputy Collector after 30 years of meritorious service. He was a scholar of Sindhi, Persian and Urdu and wrote over 300 books. His unpublished works are in the custody of his sons who had loaned them for the exhibition. In paying my humble tribute to the great author, I said that few persons could claim to have read 300 books in their lives. How he wrote 300 books and performed his duties faithfully at the same time, was beyond my understanding! His novel 'Zeenat' was the first novel in Sindhi. He wrote it in 1890. It was an instant success like the Urdu novel - Umrao Jan Ada of Mirza Hadi Rusva of Lucknow. 'Zeenat' was telecast twice from Karachi Television Station. Among his well known works are:

1. 'Sauda-e-Kham', a collection of his poems in Sindhi, Persian and Urdu.
2. Translation into Sindhi of 'Rubaiyat-e-Omar Khayyam' in the same meter in which they had been composed originally.
3. Translation into Sindhi of the well-known Persian book 'Gulshan-e-Raz' of Saududdin Mahmood. It is a work of philosophy.

Mirza Qaleech Beg also translated into Sindhi some of the prominent works of Western dramatists, novelists and poets. He still shines as a bright star on the horizon of Sindhi literature.

PRESS CONFERENCE AT HYDERABAD:

As in Karachi and Bahawalpur, the press of Hyderabad was very understanding and generous to me. I keep below the report of Mr. Lalvani, a veteran journalist about my Press Conference:

> For the first time in the whole history of Hyderabad. Press representatives from all over the present Hyderabad Division were afforded a very welcome and cherished opportunity by the new popular Divisional Commissioner, Syed Hashim Raza (who reminds you of the old popular Commissioner, Mr. R.E. Gibson of Sind during British Raj) to ventilate freely all the press and public

grievances so that he should be in a position to try and redress them.

The attendance of Editors and correspondents on Thursday on the lawns of the Commissioner's residence was excellent, and Mr. Raza listened very sympathetically to all that the numerous journalists had to say (which evidently they had bottled up for years and years) about their own press and the public hardships.

The grievances comprised corruption, bribery, scarcity of foodstuffs, or their exorbitant prices, unhealthy and unsanitary conditions, unavailability of crime information from police officers, serious handicaps in securing declarations for new newspapers and getting the necessary newsprint quota for certain existing newspapers, the extreme urgency of restoring agricultural lands to Hurs which were confiscated during Martial Law in Sind (then under British Raj) blackmarket in sugar, the advisability of ensuring that the Thar Famine victims do really get in time the foodgrains despatched for them by the Government, and so on and so forth (there was no end to it). The question of the Hyderabad Press Club functioning actively was also raised.

Some fire-works also occurred at the show: when for instance the Information Director Mr. Ismail Khoja explained that the Government had imposed certain necessary restrictions on the too-free-and-easy grant of declaration for new newspapers, the object being that non-bonafide journalists who had passed only a standard should not start newspapers for ulterior motives, some of the editors present then retorted (perhaps the cap fitted them!) that there are so many Ministers in Pakistan who too have passed only the 3rd standard, and yet it does not debar them from being Ministers: why should the same not apply to journalists too, they asked? A ticklish question which was never answered!

Overwhelmed by attacks on Government officials by these numerous Press representatives, Syed Hashim Raza, shrugging his shoulders, almost involuntarily burst out sarcastically! "If as you allege, every official is corrupt, then shall we import angels from Heaven or recall the British Government! I have no other power except to transfer subordinates on good grounds - and transferring an officer alleged to be corrupt would simply mean shifting the liability to some other area!

Syed Hashim Raza winding up the show, while promising to do his level best to remove their Press and the people's hardships (as much as lay in his power, he stipulated) advised the journalists to raise the tone and standard of journalism, not to make wild unsubstantiated allegations against Government officers but to offer constructive criticism. The authorities were not deaf to public and

press criticism. He assured them that due weight would be given to their observations, provided however, personal attacks against anyone were not indulged in.

COMMISSIONER WELCOMES THE "TIMES":

When Mr. Qureshi brought out an English Daily newspaper from Hyderabad and called it the 'Times', I wrote the undermentioned letter in response to his request for a message:

Dear Mr. Qureshi,

I was delighted to learn that you are bringing out an English daily from Hyderabad. I welcome this paper. The town of Hyderabad has hitherto boasted of a Fort, a Trading Estate, a new Refugee Basti, a Medical College, a Radio Station and a University. It can now boast of a 'Times'. This is a distinction of which you can well be proud of.

The problems of this region are manifold. They are now being tackled with added vigour by the joint efforts of the Martial Law Administration and the Civil Administration. We are working as a team, and we hope to achieve our goal, which is to improve the lot of the common man. Newspapers play an important role in the public life of a country . I have been associated with newspaper as Director of Information, Sind, as Provincial Press Advisor for Sind and as Joint Secretary in charge of the Federal Ministry of information and Broadcasting. The impression which I have formed of our Press during the last twenty years is that while the quantity of the printed word has increased by leaps and bounds, the quality has progressed at a snail's pace. I hope that your paper will contribute to the quality rather than mere quantity.

From what I have seen of your contributions, I am sure that your paper has a bright future.

Yours sincerely,
(S.H. Raza)

KOTRI-DADU ROAD:

An interesting comment on the Kotri-Dadu Road was published in the weekly 'Searchlight', which is reproduced below:

Believe it or not but it is fact that a road which has been 'constructed' several times during the past years still does not exist. This is the story of Kotri-Dadu Road which has been "constructed"

every year and during every 'Abkalani' it was washed away and the taxpayers' money continued to go into the drain every year.

Syed Hashim Raza, Commissioner of Hyderabad Division, narrated the story of this road in a press interview when he observed that for years the Kotri-Dadu Road has remained 'a goose that laid the golden eggs' for the P.W.D. officials and the contractors.

But now that "goose" is gone. Last year the Commissioner ordered the construction of this road under his direct supervision. The result is: good work has been done during this period; earth work has been completed and road material has been stored at nine places on the road. Six road bridges to allow flood water during this 'Abkalani' have also been completed by now.

OPEN JAIL AT THATTA:

I had the pleasure of opening an open Jail at Thatta and a Female T.B. Patients Ward and Clinic at Hyderabad. The Press Reports on these items are reproduced below:

HYDERABAD, Nov 22, Syed Hashim Raza, Commissioner, Hyderabad Division, performed the opening ceremony of the Open Jail at Thatta yesterday.

Addressing the prisoners, the Commissioner advised them to acclimatise with the new circumstance and take the full advantage of the facilities provided to them by the Government in the shape of the Open Jail. Syed Hashim Raza advised them not to behave in a manner which would prove to be detrimental to their own interests.

Syed Hashim Raza, who reached the site of jail accompanied by the DIG, Prisons, Mr. Waliullah, was received by the Deputy Commissioner, Thatta, Qazi Ghulam Mustafa, other district officials and the prominent citizens. He asked the jail authorities to maintain a visitors' book so that helpful suggestions by the people could be obtained.

The prisoners appeared to be cheerful with their new homes and surroundings and the zamindars and elites of the area assured the Commissioner of their full co-operation with the Jail authorities.

Welcoming the Commissioner, Mr. Waliullah, disclosed that about 2,500 acres of land have been allotted to house the jail and it was expected that more lands would be allotted in the near future.

He said that the prisoners would get due share out of their agricultural production and would enjoy the facility of quarters for their families. There would be a centre for fish breeding in the area and the vegetables would also be grown, which would be meant for

public consumption, added Mr. Waliullah.

VISIT OF T.B. SANITORIUM AT HYDERABAD:

On November 22, 1958, I paid a visit to the T.B. Sanitorium of Kotri. The following press reports were published on the next day:

> Syed Hashim Raza on his way back to Hyderabad paid a visit to the Kalri Lake, Bholari Airport and Kotri T.B. Sanatorium.
>
> He expressed his pleasure that the Sanatorium had started functioning and hoped that it would cater to the need of the people."
>
> Syed Hashim Raza, Commissioner of Hyderabad Division, yesterday made a fervent appeal to the moneyed people to donate generously for combating the T.B. menace. This scourge took a heavy toll of human lives every year and the helpless victims of this disease deserved the maximum help of all who were in a position to render it, he said while performing the opening ceremony of the Female T.B. Patients' Hospital Ward and Clinic at Hyderabad.
>
> The Ward and Clinic have been established by the Hyderabad T.B. Patients' Welfare Association, which launched its anti-T.B. campaign about eleven months back and has so far established three T.B. Clinics in different localities of the city.
>
> The Clinic at present has only 10 beds, and an addition of 25 beds to it, is expected in the near future.

AS CHIEF SETTLEMENT COMMISSIONER:

When I left Hyderabad, the 'Times' carried the following report:

> HYDERABAD, Dec 17: Syed Hashim Raza, Commissioner of Hyderabad Division, left here last week for Lahore to take over his new assignment as the Chief Settlement Commissioner.
>
> Mr. Raza's 15-month old regime in Hyderabad Division has been an era of glorious period of big development and progress and a period of opening of several libraries, maternity homes, schools, and other public welfare institutions. It is through the tireless efforts of Mr. Raza that the citizens of Hyderabad are to get plentiful pure filtered water at the latest by August 14, 1959. Acute water scarcity in Dadu and Tharparkar Districts, especially the desert areas, has been met by the sinking of wells.

KOTRI BARRAGE

— The Kotri Barrage presents a Magnificient site, with three canals on the left bank of River Indus and one canal on the right bank.
— When the Barrage was completed in 1955, M.A. Khuro, then Chief Minister of Sind proposed the wish of the Government of Sind that the Barrage should be named Ghulam Muhammad Barrage. As soon as Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was relieved of his office, the Barrage got its third present name - Kotri Barrage.

BEFORE THE PROMULGATION OF the first Martial Law, Alhaj Abdul Wahab Khan was the Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly. Whenever the President went out of the country, the Speaker acted as President. In the second fortnight of November, 1957, General Iskander Mirza had gone to Spain at the invitation of General Franco. Alhaj Abdul Wahab Khan rang me up to say that he wanted to see the Kotri Barrage and Mohenjodaro in one day. I told him that he should come out for two days if he wanted to visit both the places. I informed him that Mohenjodaro was in Larkana District of Khairpur Division and I would request the Commissioner of Khairpur Division to arrange his visit to Mohenjodaro. He said he could spare only one day for Hyderabad and dropped the idea of visiting Mohenjodaro.

Alhaj Abdul Wahab Khan came by car and spent a couple of hours going round the old Fort and Jamshoro University premises and arrived at the Barrage premises by mid-day. The Kotri Barrage presents a magnificent site, with three canals on the left bank of River Indus and one canal at the right bank. These canals irrigated then 2.8 million acres of land.

Out of this area, 1.1 million area was irrigated in the past by inundation canals, an area of 1.7 million acres got water for the first time. The construction of Kotri Barrage began before 1947. The total outlay was of 34 crores. It was named Mudie Barrage to start with after the name of the then Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie had taken a keen interest in this project. When it was completed, Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad opened it in 1955. After reading the printed address, Mr. M.A. Khuhro, then Chief Minister of Sind, added impromptu that it was the wish of the Government of Sind that the Barrage should be named Ghulam Muhammad Barrage and the Governor-General accepted this request with gratitude. As soon as Mr. Ghulam Muham-

mad was relieved of his office, the barrage got its third and present name - Kotri Barrage. The proposed distribution of land was 1/3rd to the Haris, 1/3rd by auction and 1/3rd by lease. The allotment made by Government in 1958 of 20,000 acres to the personnel of the Pakistan Army and 10,000 acres to the P.I.D.C. was resented by the people in general.

The naming and renaming of the Kotri Barrage follows the pattern set in the case of the Sukkur Barrage. When it was opened by Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, on 13th January, 1932, it was named Lloyd Barrage - after the name of the then Governor of Bombay Presidency, Sir George Lloyd. It was named Sukkur Barrage after we got our independence. It is the oldest and biggest barrage in Sind - a mile long with 66 gates.

When one counts the Saints of Sind, one will have to include the mighty Indus as the patron Saint of Sind - that is why the grateful people of Sind call it *"Darya Shah"*

One of the greatest sons of Sind, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, took keen interest in the construction of the Sukkur Barrage. Although the proposal to construct a barrage at Sukkur was a very old one, the construction work did not commence till 1923. In 1924, Mr. Jinnah put questions in the Imperial Legislative Assembly about the purchase of the material required for construction with a view to expedite the construction. In an address which was presented to Lord Willingdon on 13th January, 1932, at Sukkur, the Zamindars of Sind while thanking the Government for completing the project, expressed an apprehension that since the cost of construction had been enormous the land revenue may be increased disproportionately and the barrage might become a millstone round their neck. The Viceroy while replying to the address said that the Barrage would change the face of their fields and make them prosperous and happy and added 'Gentlemen, what a pity you cannot distinguish between a millstone and a gold mine!'

Alhaj Abdul Wahab Khan had his lunch with us at the Circuit House which had been the residence of the Commissioner of Hyderabad Division since October, 1955. A Circuit House is primarily meant for the occupation of the Governor of the Province when he goes on tour. The Circuit House at Hyderabad was occupied by General Richardson, Chief Administrator, Martial Law and his colleagues, H.T. Lambrick, I.C.S. as his Civil Adviser and Freddy Young, I.P., as his Police Adviser in 1942. Since the occupation of the Circuit House by the Commissioner caused a lot of inconvenience to the V.I.Ps. who came out on tour, a new Commissioner's House was constructed along with several houses for Divisional Officers. This G.O.R. was located next to the Circuit House. I requested Alhaj Abdul Wahab Khan to open the Commissioner's House which he did by offering Asar prayers at the lawn of

the House. Before he left, he told me that he had enjoyed every minute of his stay at Hyderabad. He was a simple and unassuming man.

I met the former speaker of the National Assembly next when I visited the Dacca Medical College in 1961. He was ill and occupying a bed in the general ward of the hospital. When I expressed surprise that he should be in the V.I.P. room in the hospital, he smiled and said 'I am a man of the masses and the general ward suits me much more than a V.I.P. room'. I admired his humility and recited a verse of Mir Anees which I translated in English for him to his great delight:

زمین کے تلے جن کو جانا ہے اک دن
وہ کیوں سر کو تا آسمان کھینچتے ہیں

One day, those who have to go to the vile dust,
For pomp and show, why should they have lust?

Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, visited Hyderabad on 10th November, 1957. He got a rousing reception from the people in view of his services to the Pakistan Movement. Since 1937, when he was elected Member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, and Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in Bombay Assembly, he was the foremost lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam in Bombay Province. He was President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League from 1940 to 1945 and a Member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee from 1934 to 1947. The Quaid nominated him as Minister of Commerce of the Interim Government of India (October 1946 to August 1947). Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan included him in his Cabinet and allotted him the portfolio of Commerce, Industries and Works (August 1947 to May 1948). He was Governor of N.W.F.P. and the Punjab and Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly in 1956-57. His term as Prime Minister was the briefest - 18th October to 11th December 1957 - as he resigned voluntarily when he felt that he could not fulfil the promises which he had given to the electorate. He was able, unassuming, straightforward and sincere in his dealings. His exit from the political scene was unfortunate for the country. After he had left the office, democracy was throttled and Martial Law was imposed in 1958. Ever since that time, we have had spasms of Martial Law.

15

THE JINNAH - MOUNTBATTEN CONTROVERSY

— Lord Mountbatten was extremely upset by the news that the Muslim League would not accept him as the Governor General of Pakistan.
— Prince Hamidullah khan who succeeded his mother as Nawab of Bhopal, had friendly relations with the Quaid-e-Azam as well as Gandhiji. The prince did his best to create harmony between these two great leaders of Muslims and Hindus respectively.

PRINCE HAMIDULLAH KHAN WHO succeeded his mother as Nawab of Bhopal in 1926, was one of the most colourful personalities of the Sub-Continent. He was a product of Aligarh where Khawaja Nazimuddin, Sir Sikander Hayat, Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqui were his contemporaries. He was in the first Eleven of Aligarh's Football team which won many matches in the tournament all over India. He was the Chancellor of Aligarh University from 1930 to 1935. Although his State was not of the stature of Kashmir or Baroda, he wielded greater influence on Indian politics than any ruler of the Indian States. He had friendly relations with the Quaid-e-Azam as well as Gandhiji. The Prince did his best to create a harmony between these two greatest leaders of Muslims and Hindus respectively. Nawab Hamidullah Khan was a delegate to the first and second Round Table Conference and tried his utmost to bring about an understanding between the Muslim and Hindu delegates. It was when his efforts failed to achieve the desired objective that the Prime Minister of the U.K. had to give his Communal Award.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Prince twice, 1931-32 and 1944-47. It was he who induced Mr. Gandhi to sign a formula accepting the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims in the Interim Government of 1946-47. The Indian National Congress disowned this formula later on.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan had the reputation of being a big shot in the game of hunting and maintained his own Shikargah. He was a patron of arts and literature. He was an admirer of Allama Iqbal and persuaded him to spend comfortably the twilight of his life in Bhopal. He was a very good judge of men and strengthened his Government by securing the services of stalwarts like Mr. Shoaib Qureshi and Sir Ross Masood. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah was serving as his Constitutional Adviser in 1947, when the Quaid-e-Azam requisitioned his services to present the case of Pakistan before the Partition Councils presided over by Sir Cyril Radcliffe. A gist of my conversation with him on the day when he came to shoot partridges in Tando Muhammad Khan was published in the daily Dawn, under the headline of "The Jinnah-Mountbatten Controversy", dated 22nd October, 1982. I reproduce that letter:

> I write this with reference to the last portion of Mr. Yahya M. Syed's article captioned, 'More light on Jinnah-Mountbatten Controversy', published in your esteemed paper of October 8, 1982. This refers to Nawab Hamidullah of Bhopal's letter to Lord Mountbatten, in which he (the Nawab) advised him not to continue as Governor-General of India after August 15, 1947.
>
> The reasons which the Nawab of Bhopal gave for tendering that advice were very pertinent and sound. 'If you leave now , he wrote to Lord Mountbatten, 'you will be going out on the crest of the wave, for your personal prestige can never be higher both in British India (which alone seems to count) and at home. If you try to hang on, public opinion may inflict upon you the same fate as was meted out to Churchill. If you wish to assist the States and Pakistan as I have reason to believe you do, you can do so perhaps to a greater extent by giving your support to them from England. As the constitutional Governor-General of Hindustan alone, you are bound to come in conflict on some matters at any rate, with the interests of Pakistan and the States.'
>
> I had the good fortune of meeting the Nawab of Bhopal in January, 1958, when he came out along with General Iskander Mirza, then President of Pakistan, to shoot partridges in Tando Muhammad Khan at the invitation of the late Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, who was a very good host. As Commissioner, Hyderabad Division, I was expected to remain with the President during the shoot, but I took his leave to accompany Nawab Hamidullah Khan and thus got an opportunity to enjoy his company for about six hours. When I told him that he and my father-in-law, Syed Masudul Hasan, were class fellows in Aligarh he became nostalgic and said that he played football in the team of which Syed Masudul Hasan was the

Captain. He talked of the good old Aligarh days.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan was an excellent shot and his bag was the biggest that day. He did not smoke but was a chain chewer of *'pan'*[1]. His *'pandan'*[2] was very lavish. His talk was most instructive. He was one of the most intelligent persons I have had the good luck to meet. As Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, he enjoyed great prestige. He had excellent relations with the Muslims League and Congress leaders. He had a great regard for Aligarh, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

When I broached the topic of Lord Mountbatten's bias against Pakistan and his great affection for India, he told me that when, for the first time, the news that the Muslim League would not accept him as Governor-General of Pakistan was conveyed to him, Lord Mountbatten was extremely upset since he had given the impression to the Home Government that both the Dominions would be willing to have him as their common Governor-General.

Lord Mountbatten asked the late Nawab of Bhopal to use his influence with the Quaid-e-Azam in revising this decision. His argument was that only a common Governor-General would be able to resolve the disputes which were bound to crop up between the two dominions. He told the Nawab that he wanted to become the Governor-General of both the Dominions not for his own glory but for smooth transfer of power to both the Dominions.

The Nawab of Bhopal met the Quaid-e-Azam and conveyed to him this message of Lord Mountbatten. The Quaid-e-Azam's reaction was quick and spontaneous.

He said' 'I have decided to assume this responsibility in the interest of the new Dominion of Pakistan. I do not find anyone else in my party to whom I could entrust this responsibility. If you are willing to become the Governor-General of Pakistan we would be prepared to nominate you, but our decision not to nominate Lord Louis Mountbatten as our Governor-General is firm and irrevocable.'

The Nawab of Bhopal thanked the Quaid-e-Azam for his generous offer but regretted his inability to assume that responsibility in view of the part which he was expected to play as an ex-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in safeguarding the interests of the Indian States.

The late Nawab of Bhopal conveyed the Quaid-e-Azam's decision to Lord Mountbatten and that was the end of Lord Mountbatten's ambition to go down in history as the only person

1. A leaf of a shurb with betelnut & some other stuff served on occasions. It is chewed & turns purple red in mouth.
2. A metalic jar which contains the stuffing of Pan.

who was the Governor-General of two Dominions at the same time.

Subsequent events have shown that the Nawab of Bhopal was a better judge of men and events than Lord Mountbatten. Had he accepted the Nawab's friendly advice and left the Sub-Continent after transferring power to the two Dominions, Mountbatten would have left with grace and in a blaze of glory.

Chowdhry Muhammad Ali, who enjoyed the confidence of the Quaid-e-Azam as well as Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has commented on this episode in his well reasoned book 'Emergence of Pakistan', and I quote him:

> 'Mountbatten was wounded in his tenderest spot; his vanity was hurt and his pride affronted. He had lost face with the British Government who had let them to believe that he was acceptable to both the dominions as a Common Governor-General,....Jinnah did not mistrust Mountbatten at that time (May-June 1947) but wanted him to continue as a super Governor-General after 15th August to adjudge the claims of the two Dominions. A Common Governor-General with opposed interests was to his mind a constitutional absurdity.'

RADCLIFFE AWARD AND MOUNTBATTEN

— Sir Cyril Radcliffe's original demarcation line showed the towns of Ferozepur, Zira & Gurdaspur on the Pakistani side of the boundary.
— Sir Evan Jenkins left the sketch map in his safe when he departed for U.K. on 15th August. His successor, Sir Francis Mudie, found the map and passed it on to Mr. Jinnah.
— Mountbatten had held back the Award until after independence. He wanted Sir Cyril Radcliffe, to make alterations which would be more in keeping with Nehru and India's wishes.

THE TRANSFER OF POPULATION between the peoples of India and Pakistan was never contemplated when the Congress and the Muslim League agreed to the partition of the Sub-Continent into Pakistan and India. What happened in East Punjab, Delhi and its surrounding areas immediately after partition came as the greatest shock to the affected people after our first battle of Independence against the British in 1857, which they termed as the 'mutiny'. In his book "The Last Days of the British Raj", Leonard Mosley

analysed in detail the events which led to one of the greatest migrations in history. His observations deserve to be quoted as that of neutral person:

> In the nine months between August 1947 and the spring of the following year between 14 and 16 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were forced to leave their homes and flee to safety from blood crazed mobs. In the same period over 600,000 of them were killed. India in 1947 was a bumper year for vultures. They had no need to look for rotting flesh for it was all round them, animal and human.

The Sikhs became mad with rage after the announcement of the Boundary Award on 17th August. The Award was submitted by Sir Cyril Radcliffe on 9th August. Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor of Punjab, in a state of considerable agitation, asked George Abel, Private Secretary to Viceroy, on 8th August if the Award was ready. When told that it was not, he pleaded with Abel to find out something about it in order that he could disperse his troops and police to meet the inevitable disturbances. Abel got in touch with Sir Cyril Radcliffe's office and asked for information. What happened next is a mystery. Certainly Sir Cyril told him nothing. George Abel, however, decided, over the telephone to Sir Evan Jenkins, the line of demarcation between West and East Punjab. This line showed the towns of Ferozepur, Zira and Gurdaspur on the Pakistan side of the boundary. The information was of course quite unofficial. Sir Evan Jenkins left the sketch map in his safe when he departed for U.K. on 15th August. His successor, Sir Francis Mudie, found the map and passed it on to Mr. Jinnah. Noting its date, the Pakistanis presumed that this was the reason why Mountbatten had held back the Award until after Independence. He wanted Sir Cyril Radcliffe to make alterations which would be more in keeping with Nehru and India's wishes and they charged that in the intervening days he persuaded Sir Cyril to change the Award.

To continue Leonard Mosley's narrative:

> The Sikh policy was to exterminate the Muslims in their midst, the Muslims with their eyes on the rich Sikh farm lands were content to derive Sikhs out and only massacred those who insisted on remaining. The Muslims were encouraged by Sir Francis Mudie who wrote to Mr. Jinnah on 5th September, 1947:
>
> I am telling every one that I do not care how the Sikhs get across the border; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as

possible.

The riots, abductions, looting and killings which started in East Punjab and Delhi and were extended to West Punjab, in retaliation, were the direct result of the 'Mountbatten's hurry'. The Prime Minister of the U.K., Clement Atlee had declared in the House of Commons that the British Government had decided to transfer power to the Indians by June, 1948. At the time when that declaration was made, there was no contemplation to divide India into two Dominions. It was Lord Mountbatten who hustled H.M.G. to transfer power in August 1947 - 9 months earlier. The division of India into two sovereign independent states entailed far greater work than transfer of power to a single Dominion. It involved the division of financial assets, division of Army and its paraphernalia - bombers, fighters, tanks, warships, armaments - the division of the civil services of the Secretariat files and a host of other requirements of a Dominion Government.The date of transfer of power should logically have been extended by 9 months after H.M.G. had decided to transfer power to two Dominions. They could have at least adhered to June, 1948. It was Pakistan which suffered on account of the advancing of the date of transfer of power. While the new Dominion of India had everything laid on by the parting power, the Dominion of Pakistan had to share its capital with a provincial government. The British had ruled India for 200 years on the strength of their armies. Lord Mountbatten was a very experienced Commander and should have anticipated the holocaust that followed the division of the Punjab. If the British regiments had not been asked to leave for home in 1947 and had been deployed on both sides of the dividing line between the East and West Punjab, the bloodshed that followed could have been averted.

16

THE VISIT OF SIR WALTER NASH

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, came for a day - 26th March, 1957 - but left an everlasting impression on my mind. He was accompanied by the Chief of Protocol, Brig. Hamid Husain, of the Indian and Pakistan Army who later became our Ambassador to Ceylon and Administrator of Karachi Municipal Corporation.

Nash came to visit the Zeal-Pak Factory which was New Zealand's vital contribution to our industry. It was a hot day when he went round the factory area but in spite of his age - he appeared to be over 65 - he insisted on walking to every nook and corner of the factory. He put searching questions to the staff and workers of the factory and made valuable suggestions for its improvement.

At our lunch, he was in a reminiscent mood and talked of his political career and the problems of his country, international politics and the renaissance of the Muslims of the world. He was not only a good talker but a good listener too. He extended an invitation to me to visit New Zealand but unfortunately I could not make the trip. He exchanged Christmas and New Year Greetings with me and his cards bore the stamp of his personality.

I reproduce below copies of his letters, dated 27th March and 22nd April, 1958, which he wrote to me:

Prime Minister
Wellington
New Zealand
March 27, 1958.

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

May I say "Thank you" for all that you did yesterday - conversation, knowledge, hospitality, courtesy, unexcelled in any day of my experience. Thank you again very much indeed - also your gracious wife and daughter. The stamps, herewith covering the Outer - island of the Pacific of which we are in charge, may keep in

your mind, as in mine, the memory of an interesting constructive day, which I hope will better the world at large.

Yours sincerely,
W. Nash.

******

Prime Minister
Wellington
New Zealand
22 April 1958.

Your Excellency,

This note comes to thank you for your letter of 30 March last and to say that the pleasure that you may have obtained from the visit of my colleagues and myself was not comparable with that which came to us when we saw the great difficulties that you faced and the way in which you were standing up to them.

We enjoyed the lunch at your home very much indeed and in particular, as mentioned before, the privilege of conversation with yourself.

With kind personal regards to yourself and your family.

Yours sincerely,
W. Nash.

It was a pleasant surprise to receive a letter from my good friend, Khawaja Sarwar Hasan, dated 26th January, 1958, from Auckland, New Zealand. He was a Bar-at-law, but instead of practising law, he devoted his entire attention to the Institute of International Affairs in Karachi. He was, in fact, the life and soul of this Institution. I reproduce his letter:

Auckland, New Zealand
26th January, 1958.

My dear Raza,

While the thing is still fresh in my mind, let me write and say that every time I talked to the Right Hon'ble Walter Nash, he spoke about you. He asked me if I was a friend of yours and when I told him that we were very well disposed towards each other, he was greatly interested. Nash said that you were in his judgement one of the ablest men in Pakistan; and he spoke about none other. In great detail, he described the time he spent with you and recapitulated the details of your exposition of the history and development of Islam and its

impact on the lives of its adherents and the world.
Hoping that this will find you well.

Yours sincerely.
Sarwar Hasan.

TRUE TO GOD, TRUE TO MAN

THE GREETING CARDS OF Sir Walter Nash were very unusual comprising four pages of photographs, verses and aphorisms. Here is a copy of one of the pages:

LOWELL

God works for all.
Ye cannot hem
The hope of being free
With parallels of latitude,
With mountain range or sea.
Put golden padlocks on Truth's lips,
Be callous as ye will,
From soul to soul,
O'er all the world,
Leaps one electric thrill.
He's true to God
Who's true to man;
Wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest,
Neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us;
And they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves,
And not for all their race,

KIPLING

Oh East is East
And West is West,
And never the twain shall meet

Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgement seat.
There is neither East nor West
Border nor breed nor birth
When two strong men stand face to face
Though they came from
The ends of the earth.

From a Canadian Local Government Journal of some fifty years ago:

An old man travelling a lone highway
Came at evening cold and grey,
To a chasm deep and wide.
The old man crossed in the twilight dim;
The sullen stream had no fear for him.
But he turned when safe on the other side,
And built a bridge to span the tide.
'Old man,' said a fellow pilgrim,
'You are wasting your strength in building here,
Your journey will end in the ending day,
You've crossed the chasm deep and wide,
Why build a bridge at eventide?'
The builder lifted his old grey head,
'Good friend, in the path I've come,' he said,
'There followeth after me today,
A youth whose feet must pass this way.
This charm was as nought to me
To that fair youth may a pitfall be.
He too much cross in the twilight dim,
Good friend, I am building abridge for him'

I give below a sample of aphorisms contained in his greeting cards:

- There's no better exercise for the heart than reaching down and lifting people up.

- The best place to find a helping hand is on the end of your arm.

- A lot of the world's problems arise from workers who don't think and from thinkers who don't work.

- The secret of contentment is liking what you do - not

doing what you like.

- To be born a gentleman is an accident; To die one is an achievement.

- He who accepts evil without protesting against it is really cooperating with it.

- It is more important to thank God for blessings received; than to pray for them before hand.

- He will never have true friends who is afraid of making enemies.

- The first and worst of all frauds is to cheat one's self. All sin is easy after that.

- He that is not open to conviction is not qualified for discussion.

- Of all the profitless occupations of the human mind, worry stands supreme as the most useless and foolish.

When I receive very expensive Eid Cards from my friends, I wish they had contained wise thoughts and sayings as in the Greeting Cards of Sir Walter Nash.

When I was elected President of the 49th Session of the I.L.O. in 1965, I looked up the list of past Presidents and learnt that Sir Walter Nash was one of the past Presidents of that organisation. I wrote to him a letter which I reproduce. I also reproduce his reply, dated 15th June, 1965:

7th June 1965.

My dear Sir Walter,

You will be glad to hear that I have been elected President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. I secured 272 votes as against Ambassador Paces of the Phillipines, who secured 84 votes.

As I assumed my office, I thought of you and the great Declaration of Philadelphia which was passed when you were at the helm of affairs of the I.L.O. We have made steady progress since then and the Organisation is gathering strength and momentum every year. We have now 114 member States.

I trust that you are enjoying the best of health. I shall always cherish the memory of the day which you spent at Hyderabad with us in 1958.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
S. Hashim Raza,

President.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Nash, M.P.,

WELLINGTON,
New Zealand.

His Excellency S. Hashim Raza,
President,
International Labour Conference,
GENEVA.

My dear Raza,

This note is sent to say how pleased I was to receive your letter of the 7th instant. It brought back memories of Hyderabad and one of the happiest periods of my life. The Presidency of the Conference at Philadelphia is also one of the happiest periods I have known, excelled only by the courtesy and hospitality shown to me by you when I visited your country.

I hope the Conference will go well and be worthy of the great service you have rendered to International Labour and to the betterment of conditions in many countries.

Kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Walter Nash.

WHAT A COINCIDENCE!

— What is destructive of the Human mind and soul is not really the ageing body but the ageing heart.The 'Hararat' (Passion) of my 'Jawani' (Youth) seems to have been lost for ever and it has been lost partly with the partition, I lost many of my desert friends.

MY LEAVE ENABLED ME to perform a most pleasant duty at Karachi on 3rd of February, 1961, when my eldest daughter, Nasreen Zehra, was married to Syed Abdul Wasay Moini. Nasreen had done her B.A. Hons (Punjab University) from Kinniard College, Lahore, and subsequently took her M.A. Degree from Sind University. Wasay had done his B.Sc. Hons from London School of Economics and had successfully competed for the Civil Service of Pakistan. His father, Syed Abdul Vahid of Ajmer, who had a distinguished career in the Indian Forest Service and wrote six admirable books on Allama Iqbal. The couple lived happily thereafter in the U.S.A. They have been blessed with a son - Subur and a daughter - Saira. Wasay is now (1985) a Senior Executive in the World Bank.

By a coincidence, Queen Elizabeth II was in Karachi on 3rd February, 1961. This was her first visit to Pakistan. The entire route from the bridegroom's house was decorated with welcome arches, flags and buntings since the Queen took this very route from the Airport to the Governor-General's House!

I sent invitation cards to our relatives and friends and got delightful congratulatory messages. I reproduce two of the letters received from outside Pakistan:

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Raza,

May I send this note to thank you for the invitation to come to the wedding of your daughter on Saturday of last week, the 4th February. Unfortunately, the circumstances are such that I am not able to accept the invitation, but I should be glad if you would convey to your daughter and her husband the good wishes of my wife and myself for a happy wedding and married life. We have been married for something over fifty-four years, and we have had much joy and pleasure out of our experience. We both hope that your daughter and her husband will have similar joy and happiness.

Yours sincerely,
Walter Nash
(M.P.)
New Zealand.

******

My dear Hashim Raza,

The invitation to your daughter's wedding ultimately caught up with me but it did so some considerable time after the event. I was absolutely delighted to get it because it brought back memories of a very delightful past. All my Oxford days came back to me and I realised once again how without you they would not have been half as enjoyable as they were. I recollected our afternoons at the Hindustani Sabha and there came back faint murmurs of a tune and then the words:

پھر تم میں وہ شوخی و شرارت نہ رہے گی
اور مجھ میں جوانی کی حرارت نہ رہے گی

In thee, effrontery will n't abide,
In me, youth's passion will subside. *

* This is a couplet from one of my poems which I composed as a student of the Oxford University.

It was a very sweet thought indeed on your part to send me this invitation.

I see that you will reasonably shortly be a grandfather. I too am progressing on the same lines but because I have no daughter but only three sons, the doom of respectability will come to me a few years later than to you. However, what is destructive of the human mind and soul is not really the ageing body but the ageing heart. The 'hararat' (passion) of my 'jawani' (youth) seems to have been lost for ever - and it has been lost partly because with the partition I lost many of my dearest friends and, after a certain age, one cannot make new ones.

My congratulations on this auspicious event and I remain,

Yours as ever,
B.K. Nehru.

Sir Walter Nash had visited the Zeal Pak Cement Factory at Hyderabad in March, 1958, when he was Prime Minister of New Zealand. B.K. Nehru was my contemporary at Oxford in 1933-34. He held distinguished appointments like High Commissioner of India in London, Indian Ambassador to Washington, Governor of Assam, Governor of occupied Kashmir and Governor of Gujrat.

I had proceeded on leave for rest and change. The rest was welcome but the change was most welcome. I was appointed Chief Secretary of East Pakistan on the expiry of my leave. I could not have asked for a better assignment.

The prospect of working with General Muhammad Azam Khan who was then Governor of East Pakistan was very pleasing. The opportunity to know the people of East Pakistan well was God-sent. A patriotic English poet wrote 'What do they know of England who only England know.' I can use his phraseology and say 'What do they know of Pakistan who only West Pakistan know.'

17

THE CITY THAT QUAID LOVED

— At the time of partition, the population of Karachi was about 200,000.- only.
Now, estimated over eight millions.
— There were only two textile mills, now over 200 textile mills.

MY NEW APPOINTMENT TO the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works increased the load of work manifold as I had to carry on these duties in addition to my duties as Chief Settlement Commissioner. I was greatly relieved when it was decided to appoint Pir Ahsanduddin, a senior civil servant and a member of the West Pakistan Board of Revenue, as my successor. I handed over charge to him on 20th June, 1960, but continued to hold the post of Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works till 11th October, 1960. I was familiar with the work of the Ministry of Rehabilitation but was new to the Ministry of Works. The capital of Pakistan had been shifted from Karachi to Rawalpindi at the end of 1959 and a Capital Development Authority was constituted to build the new capital at Islamabad. The Ministry of Works was saddled with the problems of accommodation in Rawalpindi and the planning of the capital at Islamabad.

Karachi was my second home after I had decided to bid farewell to my old home, Lucknow in August, 1947. I was posted as Assistant Collector of Karachi on 1st January, 1939. I was appointed Collector of Karachi in 1947 and Administrator of the Federal Capital in July, 1948. The decision of the Martial Law regime to transfer the capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi came as a disappointment to me in view of my fondness for Karachi. The Father of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was born and had died in Karachi. He had a great liking for Karachi. I quote from an article which I wrote under the caption 'The City That Quaid Loved' which appeared in Dawn on December 25, 1977:

Soon after he assumed charge as Governor-General of Pakistan,

an address was presented to the Quaid-e-Azam by the Karachi Municipal Corporation on the 25th August, 1947. Replying to that address he made the following observation:

I am very glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and the citizens of Karachi. Undoubtedly, I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old association with it, or because it is my birth-place, as you have said, but because it has now become the birth-place of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan. For all freedom-loving people, Karachi will on that account not only be a symbol of special significance but will occupy a place in history for which there is no parallel, and I feel it my good fortune that I have the honour to be the first to receive this Civic Address.

Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why, starting from humble beginnings, it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked among the first cities of the world. Not only its airports but the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest. There is a specially pleasing feature about Karachi - while most of the big cities are crowded and cramped with overtowering structures, Karachi has large open spaces and hill station style roofs which give to the visitor a feeling of space and ease. It has also got the advantage of a salubrious climate and is always blessed with healthy and cool breezes throughout the year.

I visualise a great future for Karachi - it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of Pakistan capital here and the arrival of Pakistan Government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense opportunities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and seat of learning and culture.

The Quaid's prophecy about the great future of Karachi in trade, industry and business has turned out to be true. 70% of Pakistan's industry is located in and around Karachi. Out of 200 textile mills in Pakistan, as many as 60 are located in Karachi. There were only two textile mills in West Pakistan before 1947 - one at Lyallpur and the other at Okara. The population of Karachi which was only a couple of lakhs in the first decade of 20th century is now estimated at over 80 lakhs. Had the Quaid been alive today, he would have been happy to see the commercial and industrial growth of this metropolis; but he would have sadly missed "the pleasing feature about Karachi" - the large open spaces

and hill station style roofs. We are as crowded and cramped with overtowering structures now as Bombay was in the days of Quaid. What is deplorable is that some of the historic and interesting landmarks are disappearing gradually, giving place to hastily-constructed commercial arcades and shops.

Soon after taking over power, the Martial Law regime appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of General Yahya Khan to suggest a site for the new capital. During the days of Chowdhary Muhammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, the elected regime had selected a site at Gadap for the shifting of the Central Secretariat to a plain with a salubrious climate and green patches. Had this decision been implemented, a new Karachi would have sprung up at Gadap. The Commission headed by General Yahya Khan ignored Gadap altogether and recommended that the capital be shifted to a site in Potohar which comprised many villages, the most prominent being Noorpur. The new capital was named Islamabad.

President Ayub Khan designated Rawalpindi as an interim capital. He decided to shift the Ministries located in Karachi to Rawalpindi in instalments. It took 10 years for the Central Government to construct adequate structures - offices and houses in Karachi for the employees of the Central Government. Rawalpindi was a small city, as compared to Karachi. The Central Government had to requisition many buildings and construct many apartments in Rawalpindi in order to accommodate those who were shifted from Karachi. A Satellite Town sprang up on the Murree Road.

There was no building in Rawalpindi large enough to accommodate the entire Central Secretariat. The Secretariat had to be lodged in four buildings in different parts of the city. Secretariat No.I was selected in front of the Railway Station. Secretariats No.II and III were located at a distance of a mile from Secretariat No.I. Secretariat No.IV was situated two miles away from Secretariat No.I. The office and residence of the Chairman and Managing Director, Murree Brewery, were requisitioned and turned into the President's House. The room where the Directors of Murree Brewery used to meet to transact their business, was converted into the Cabinet Room. Since all the files had not been transported from Karachi to Rawalpindi, they had to be flown, whenever required, by air. It was a case of:

چمن میں ہر طرف بکھری پڑی ہے داستان میری

In the orchard, lies my tale scattered.

Some people invented a joke that for two years the capital of Pakistan was

in the air. All the P.I.A. flights from Karachi to Rawalpindi and from Rawalpindi to Karachi were fully booked for government purposes. At first, the Ministers and Secretaries of the Central Government left Karachi with their personal staff in the last week of December 1959. Thereafter, the Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Section Officers arrived in Rawalpindi when office and residential accommodation was secured for them. For a whole year, it was a tale of two cities. Important and urgent files had to be rushed from Karachi to Rawalpindi.

The people of Karachi felt deprived of the opportunities which had been afforded to them by the Quaid-e-Azam when he selected Karachi as the capital of the Federation. Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a former Prime Minister, used to say that the Martial Law regime had moved the capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi by train; he would bring the capital back to Karachi from Rawalpindi by air, whenever he became the Head of the Government again. He was giving expression to the general view of the people of East Pakistan who had reconciled to the capital being located in Karachi. By 1959, the population of Bengalis in Karachi was about a lakh. They were as opposed to the shifting of the capital from Karachi as the people of Karachi themselves. They resented very much the shifting of capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi. The people of East Pakistan argued that while they could reach Karachi from East Pakistan by ship, it would cost them much more time and money to reach Rawalpindi. The force of public opinion in East Pakistan co..:pelled President Ayub Khan to make the Second Capital at Dacca.

The shifting of the capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi entailed considerable expenditure. A sum of Rs.50 lakhs was spent by the Central Government to provide additional office and residential accommodation in the first phase of shifting of nearly 1000 employees. Another batch of 1000 employees was shifted in the second phase. The Army barracks at Chaklala were converted into office and residential accommodation. We had to plan office and residential accommodation for Central Government servants for a period of 10 years. I reproduce a news item published in Dawn of 7th September, 1960, which gives an idea of the various phases of the shifting from Karachi to Rawalpindi.

> The second phase of shifting of Central Government employees to Rawalpindi was completed here yesterday after the last special train carrying the staff of the Railway Board, steamed out of Karachi Cantonment Railway Station yesterday afternoon.
>
> Mr. Hashim Raza, Secretary Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works, who left for Rawalpindi by Tezgam after the special train had left for Chaklala, said that the second move was successful and satisfactory.

The construction work at new capital would be started soon and the third phase of shifting of the Central Government employees from Karachi would be taken up only after all accommodation facilities have been provided for them there.

The Rehabilitation and Works Secretary said that the second move was well organised and every individual shifting to Rawalpindi was provided with housing and other facilities at Chaklala.

The special train which left yesterday, carried 217 passengers - employees of the Railway Board along with their families and will reach Chaklala on Thursday. Yesterday 181 officers and staff of the Ministry of Finance, left for Chaklala and will reach Chaklala this morning.

In all 1,417 passengers, including 500 employees and rest family members, were booked in seven special trains but only 1162 left for Chaklala as many employees left their families behind in Karachi for one or the other reason.The staff shifting to Rawalpindi belonged to 10 Central Ministries and of about the same number of Central Government departments.

According to the authorities, not a single complaint of any sort was lodged throughout the second phase by any employee.

PROPOSAL FOR A NEW CAPITAL

— The present site for the new capital of Pakistan had been proposed by the commission headed by General Yahya Khan, the first proposal to shift the Capital to the Potohar region was made by Maulana Muhammad Ismail Zabeeh, a veteran journalist and an ardent supporter of the Pakistan Movement.

— Once I asked Mr. Doxiadis , the Architect of Islamabad which set of buildings in the world had impressed him most. His prompt reply was the buildings constructed by the Mughal Emperors in Agra and Delhi.

— Mughals planned like giants and finished like jewellers.

— One of the first V.I.P. to have a panoranic view of the new capital SITE from Shakarprian hill was Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

IN HIS BOOK 'SHAB-Charagh', Hakim Nasir Ahmed Alavi relates how this proposal was initiated. I give the English translation of his observation:

Maulana Zabeeh's extraordinary intelligence and patriotism was evident when he made the historic proposal to shift Pakistan's capital to a site on the border of the Punjab and N.W.F.P. long before the rulers of Pakistan conceived this idea. Maulana Zabeeh's proposal was published in my weekly 'Naya Zamana' of Karachi, dated

4th July, 1952.

ISLAMABAD:

As the Secretary, Ministry of Works, I was entrusted with the double task of arranging accommodation for the Ministries of Central Government in the interim Capital of Rawalpindi and preparing master plan for the ultimate Capital Islamabad. We looked round for a reputable international firm of Planners and Architects and eventually selected Messrs Doxiadis Associates who had planned and partly constructed some capitals in South America. Mr. Doxiadis was a Greek and had served as a Minister of Agriculture in Greece. Since he had travelled all over the world and was a connoisseur of architecture, I once asked him which set of buildings in the world had impressed him most. His prompt reply was the buildings constructed by the Mughal Emperors in Agra and Delhi.

Mr. Doxiadis said that he agreed with the view that the Mughals planned like giants and finished like jewellers. He was all praise for Humayun's tomb in Delhi, the Audience Hall of Emperor Akbar in Sikandra, the Taj Mahal and Agra Fort, the Delhi Fort, the Moti Masjid and Jama Masjid of Delhi. Since he was an expert on Greek and Roman architecture, his praise of Mughal architecture was of special significance.

Doxiadis Associates prepared the master plan of Islamabad in October, 1960. The city was divided into four sectors. The Administrative Sector comprised the President's House, the Parliament House, the Supreme Court and the Secretariat buildings. The second sector was the Diplomatic Enclave for the Chanceries and residences of the foreign diplomats. The third sector comprised building for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Government Guest House, the State Bank Building, the Broadcasting House and the Television Station. The fourth sector comprised the Residential and Industrial areas.

A decade later, the residential sectors were given the names of 'C', 'D', 'E', 'F' and 'G'. The main civic, commercial and business zone of Islamabad was named 'Khayaban-e-Quaid-e-Azam'. It runs through the heart of the city. The light industry belt is located on the southern flank and has been given the name Khayaban-e-Suhrawardy. The Industrial area is located in Sector 'I' to the South of Islamabad. Sector 'H' comprises educational institutions, the University Grants Commission and the Polytechnic.

Islamabad got its name on 24th February, 1960. The master plan was accepted departmentally on 24th May, 1960. The Capital Development Authority came into existence on 4th June, 1960. The Cabinet approved the master plan in October, 1960. The actual construction work commenced in

October, 1961.

Although Doxiadis had planned for a city of one lakh, the population of Islamabad in 1984 was nearly 350,000. The building of new city is a continuous process. It goes to the credit of all those who have been responsible for the development of Islamabad that the most prominent feature of this city is its greenery - the tall trees and lawns with flower-beds and the Margalla Hills in the background.

The Chairman, Capital Development Authority, in a recent article entitled 'Twentyfive Years of Islamabad' has stated. I quote:

> Islamabad has been designed to be a city for all citizens. It will essentially draw its colour and flavour from the various components of its population. It is a vast national experience and enterprise. Ample provision of various incentives and concessions has been made for the encouragement of the private sector. The response has been most heartening and the stage has in fact been reached when the emphasis is fast-shifting to the private enterprise. Steps have also been taken to attract more industries to the Capital City. It will not only give the city the necessary economic boost, but will also ensure greater job opportunities for the common man.

I do not wish to dampen the enthusiasm of the Chairman, Capital Development Authority for attracting more industries. It will be far better in my view to have an industrial estate away from the boundaries of Islamabad than to have an industrial base within the boundaries of the city. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have the same lay-out for colleges and playing fields except that the authorities administering Oxford allowed the Cowly Motor Works and some other industries to grow up within the boundaries of Oxford. These have marred the beauty and atmosphere of Oxford. The authorities administering Cambridge have been wise in not permitting any industries within the precincts of Cambridge University.

While industrial growth is essential for the prosperity of our people, the location of industries requires very careful consideration. The brightest jewel of Mughal architecture - the Taj Mahal of Agra - is loosing its glory and lustre on account of the industrial growth in its vicinity. The pollution and noise which follows in the wake of industry should better be kept away from thickly populated cities.

One of the first V.I.Ps. to have a panoramic view of the new Capital site from Shakarparian Hill was Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, who visited Pakistan in September, 1960. The Hill has an altitude of 610 meters and one can have panoramic view of Islamabad from the top of the main

hillock. Pundit Nehru planted a tree and subsequent Heads of States, Prime Ministers and V.I.P. visitors who have a view of Islamabad from this focal point continue to plant saplings at this site as a memento of their visits.

AGA KHAN'S GREATEST GIFT TO KARACHIITES

— I found Prince Karim Aga Khan most friendly, courteous, well informed and anxious for the prosperity of not only the Ismailies but of Muslims allover the world.

THE ARRIVAL OF HIS Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan to Hyderabad in February, 1958, was like a breath of fresh air. His youth, his smiling face and his buoyant manners were the cynosure of all eyes. His innumerable devotees came from all over Sind so as to pay homage to their present-Imam. This Harvard-educated spiritual leader of the Ismailies is, like his very distinguished grand-father, Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III, one of the most enlightened leaders of the world. He advised a number of his disciples in Africa to migrate to Pakistan and assist in building the economy of our country which they have done to the best of their ability. The Ismailies form a disciplined and organised segment of the Muslim population which strictly follows the teachings of their present-Imam. The Aga Khan is as much anxious about their prosperity in this world as about their salvation in the world hereafter.

I found him friendly, courteous, well-informed and anxious for the prosperity of not only the Ismailies but of Muslims all over the world. Architecture was one of the topics that was discussed. He remarked that a country's architecture represented the maturity and culture of its people. He expressed his admiration for the mosque and mausoleums in Sind.

Prince Karim's grand-father was the Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. He is the Chancellor of the Aga Khan University in Karachi. The Aga Khan University, Hospital and Faculty of Health Sciences, the School of Nursing and the 721-bed Hospital completed in 1984, are the greatest gifts which he has conferred on the people of Karachi in particular and the people of Sind in general. The 13 projects of the Aga Khan Foundation in Asia and Africa will ever redound to his glory.

In addition to the dignitaries, as the Commissioner of Hyderabad, I had to receive, entertain and take round a number of delegations which came from Karachi. These delegations consisted of foreign visitors who wanted to see the Kotri Barrage and the Agriculture College at Tando Jam. On such occasions,

I keenly felt the need of a Protocol Officer. I recall the visit of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Delegation comprising sixty Parliamentarians from the various parts of Commonwealth on November 14, 1957. I had to spend a whole day at Tando Jam with a delegation from the U.S.S.R. headed by the Minister for Agriculture which included two Russian ladies too. These ladies evinced keen interest in our agricultural operations as they were working on Russian farms.

At the Hyderabad Railway Station, the Minister for Agriculture, U.S.S.R., mixed freely with the passengers on the platform who were awaiting a belated train. He talked to some of them with the help of a member of the Russian embassy who spoke Urdu with ease. He asked a hawker of newspapers - a young man of 20 - whether he had heard of Russia and what he thought of that country. The hawker who was an avid reader of newspapers replied:

> Russia is a great country, as great as America. The peace of the world depends upon these two countries. The peace between Pakistan and India depends upon the solution of Kashmir dispute. This dispute would have ended long ago if a plebiscite had been held in accordance with the Resolution of the United Nations but while all members of Security Council were in favour of holding the plebiscite, Russia alone was against it and used its veto again and again.

If the hawker had been briefed earlier, he could have given a better answer. I wonder what the Russian Minister would have thought of that answer from a man in the street. He put no further questions before boarding the train.

The Sind University arranged the Fifth Session of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress in the University Campus from 15th to 18th March, 1958. It was inaugurated by Allama I.I. Kazi, Vice-Chancellor of Sind University. Dr. Muhammad Ahmed, Head of the Department of the Philosophy, Karachi University, presided over this prestigious conference. It was addressed by distinguished visitors like Professor Shareef of the Muslim University, Aligarh, Professor Max Fisch and Professor Anne Marie Schimmel and Professor Ayer of India. The inaugural address and the papers read were of a high calibre. They were interesting as well as stimulating.

THE COLOSSAL PROBLEM OF REHABILITATION

WHO ELSE COULD DESCRIBE better the birthpangs of the State of Pakistan than its founder Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah? In his

address to the Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, on 11th October, 1947, Mr. Jinnah said:

> Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenseless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life, are today paupers with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border, is not due to the fact that we have been unmindful of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their sufferings. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.
>
> The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the inherent difficulties manifold in the building of a new State I referred to earlier. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies?
>
> God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.

A new Ministry was entrusted with the task of rehabilitating the uprooted refugees - the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was the first Rehabilitation Minister. Rehabilitation Departments we established in all the provinces. Whole-time Rehabilitation Commissioners were appointed. The Deputy Commissioners were designated as Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioners. One of the most competent Civilians of Pakistan, Mr. Akhtar Husain, who later on became Governor of West Pakistan, was appointed Rehabilitation Commissioner of West Punjab. I was appointed Rehabilitation Commissioner in addition to my duties as Administrator of the Federal Capital. The task was most exacting, almost overwhelming. All that one could do was to try one's best. The Ministry of Rehabilitation appointed first the Claims Commissioner and later on the Chief Settlement Commissioner. The first

Claims Commissioner was Mr. Justice Khursheed Zaman, a retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. His entire staff was recruited from the judiciary. The last day for submission of claims was notified as 31st August, 1958. The number of claims decided by the Claims Commissioner, his Deputies and Assistants amounted to 366,257. The value of the abandoned properties in India according to the claimants was 2312 crores. The value of the properties verified by the Claims Department was 463 crores. It means that only 1/5th of the value of the properties claimed was actually allowed and 4/5th was rejected. It also manifests how meticulously and judicially the claims were adjudged. These figures belie the popular belief that exaggerated claims were accepted by the Claims Commissioner and his subordinates.

The duty of satisfying these claims from the evacuee properties was entrusted to the Settlement Department. The evacuee properties were available only in West Punjab. The evacuee property law did not apply to East Pakistan. The claims of those refugees who resided in East Pakistan had to be satisfied, in cash, from the pool of evacuee properties in West Pakistan.

The refugees were classified into two categories - those coming from the agreed areas - East Punjab and Delhi and those coming from the non-agreed areas which meant the rest of India. The nomenclature non-agreed was unfortunate as it implied that those who migrated from the rest of India had imposed themselves on Pakistan. Qamar Jalalvi, a poet of repute, who migrated from Aligarh District, commented on the word non-agreed in his verse:

تمہیں کس نے بلایا مے کشوں سے نہ کہہ ساقی
طبیعت مل گئی ہے ورنہ مے خانے بہت سے ہیں

'Who called you here?', say not O Cup-bearer!
Love is betwixt us, ale-houses are many in number.

The Quaid-e-Azam had, in his various speeches, described Pakistan as the homeland of the Indian Muslims. In his presidential address at the Thirtieth Session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi on April 24, 1943, he highlighted the sacrifices of the Muslims of the minority provinces. Speaking as a resident of a minority province i.e. Bombay, the Quaid-e-Azam reminded the Muslims of the majority provinces:

> Do not forget the minority provinces. It is they who spread the light when there was darkness in the majority provinces. It is they who were the spearheads that the Congress wanted to crush with

> their overwhelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. It is they who had suffered for you in the majority provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer and be ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 millions of our brethren in the North Western and Eastern zones.

As anticipated by the Quaid-e-Azam, the Muslim minority in India has been suffering ever since the partition of the Sub-continent. More than 12,000 anti-Muslim riots have occurred in India, resulting in the killing of half a million Muslims and destruction of properties worth billions of rupees. Charan Singh, India's Home Minister in 1971 told the Lok Sabha that 521 anti-Muslim riots had occurred in 1970-71, which showed, what some of the bigoted Hindus would have considered an improvement of 2 riots over the figures of 1969-70.

The refugees were further classified into claimants and non-claimants. The date of settlement notified by the Government was 20th December, 1958. All those who were, on that date, in possession of evacuee property provisionally allotted to them by the Rehabilitation authorities, were entitled to permanent transfer of the property concerned; the claimants in settlement of their claims and the non-claimants after payment of the price fixed according to a declared formula.

Both General Azam and I are indebted to the Quaid-e-Azam for the positions we held in 1958 - he as Lieutenant-General and I as a member of the C.S.P. that succeeded the Indian Civil Service when Pakistan became a sovereign and independent country in 1947. General Azam had earned an excellent reputation as an administrator when Martial Law was declared in Lahore in the wake of the anti-Qadiani agitation in 1953. The Civil Administration had failed to stop looting and killing and the Central Government declared Martial Law in Lahore and appointed General Azam as Administrator, Martial Law. He brought the situation quickly under control on account of his firmness and fairness.

I decided to accept General Azam's offer in spite of the fact that I knew how challenging the task of refugee rehabilitation and settlement of claims was. General Azam was most sympathetic to the plight of the refugees and he brought his enormous vitality to bear on this great task. My deputation to the Imperial Defence College did not materialise as I was appointed Chief Settlement Commissioner in December, 1958.

Lt. General Muhammad Azam Khan was the senior-most Minister of the Martial Law Cabinet that assumed responsibility for the administration of the country on 8th of October, 1958. The new regime gave top priority to the settlement of refugees; hence the Rehabilitation Ministry was entrusted to the

senior-most Minister. No one was designated as Prime Minister in the new regime. But the senior-most Minister was treated as Prime Minister for all practical purposes. When the Chief Martial Law Administrator went abroad, General Azam acted in his place. Most of the applicants addressed him as Wazir-e-Azam. He asked me once to issue a Press Note to clarify that he was not Wazir-e-Azam. I told him that he might not be the Prime Minister but he certainly was Wazir Azam. "How?" he asked me.

I told him, "Because you are a Wazir and your name is Azam."

The Minister for Rehabilitation was at the apex of the Claims and Settlement Organisation. The Settlement Organisation comprised:

- Chief Settlement Commissioner,
- Settlement Commissioner Headquarters/Divisional Commissioners were made ex-officio Settlement Commissioner,
- Five Additional Settlement Commissioners. Each at every Headquarters.
- Deputy Settlement Commissioners, and
- Assistant Settlement Commissioners in all Districts of West Pakistan.

General Azam was indefatigable and unremitting in his efforts to supervise every detail of the settlement operations. He believed in "qissa-e-zamin bar rooye zamin"(the distribution of land on the land). He used to leave his house in his car at sunrise and returned at the sunset. I and Muhammad Yar Khan (Additional Settlement Commissioner who was Chief Minister of Kalat at one time) used to accompany him. He spent a couple of hours in every Settlement Office, heard the petitioners, redressed their grievances on the spot and then moved on to the next office. Our entire lunch was coffee and sandwiches. One evening when we were returning from Sialkot, we saw a deputation waiting by the roadside and got down. General Azam's pet query was "What is your complaint?" The leader of the deputation replied "We have no complaint." He then asked "Why were you waiting for me?" The reply was "To express our gratitude and thanks. Your Settlement Officers visited us at our houses and gave us our allotment orders." Their spokesman read a poem in appreciation of his efforts. The opening couplet was:

مسلسل روز و شب کرتے ہیں صبح و شام کرتے ہیں
مہاجر چین سے سوتے ہیں اعظم کام کرتے ہیں

He works day and night, he works regularly,
The refugees rest, Azam works singularly.

General Azam won the confidence and admiration of all those who came in contact with him. A refugee who preferred to be anonymous, wrote a pamphlet under the caption:

"ایک وعدہ تھا جو پورا ہو گیا"

'A promise well accomplished.'

The purport of the pamphlet was that every new regime made tall promises which were seldom fulfilled. I translate some passages from his pamphlet:

> In his broadcast to the nation in October, 1958, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan promised, inter alia, to rehabilitate the refugees. To be frank, 99% of the refugees did not attach any importance to this promise as his predecessors had made similar promises when they took over power but had failed to implement them. But contrary to the general expectations, the Rehabilitation Minister of the new regime was able to fulfil this promise in the short span of a year and a half. He worked day and night and gave the impression as if it was his personal promise which he was honour-bound to fulfil.
>
> This stupendous task was achieved not by issuing circulars or passing oral orders. The Minister for Rehabilitation had to undertake rapid tours in far-flung and inaccessible areas which are not connected by public transport. We have seen that in the scorching heat of May and June when desert winds were spreading sand on all sides, when the bare hills radiated heat like burning coal, when birds would not stir out of their nests and hell was let loose on earth, our Minister of Rehabilitation, General Azam Khan, and our chief Settlement Commissioner, Syed Hashim Raza, accompanied by their staff, were traversing the Mohajir Colonies of Sukkur and were interviewing each and every Mohajir at his door and giving necessary instructions to the staff to complete the task of rehabilitation. Their clothes were drenched with perspiration. When some one from the audience brought a fan, General Azam put his hand over his hand and said,
>
> Please do not move the fan. All my colleagues are perspiring like me. I do not deserve any special treatment.
>
> The Minister for Rehabilitation and all employees of Settlement Department deserve our gratitude. They not only rehabilitated those

> refugees who had been under-going hardships since 10/11 years but they also emancipated them from the clutches of those politicians who had been exploiting their misery. The Mohajirs (refugees), have ceased to be Mohajirs, after their permanent settlement. Most of the Claims Offices have been closed because there is no work for them any more. The Compensation Books are in the hands of all claimants. Houses and agricultural lands have been transferred to the entitled persons. All those who had doubted the efficacy of the President's October broadcast, have now been convinced that the rehabilitation scheme was a great project which was successfully implemented. A promise has been fulfilled.

The Urdu Weekly 'Nawa-e-Muhajireen' came out with a special issue in 1959. Addressing the Minister for Rehabilitation and the Chief Settlement Commissioner, the paper inserted a passage in English which I quote:

> It is most gratifying to me to take this opportunity of writing to your honour that my weekly 'Nawa-e-Muhajireen' now 'Payam-e-Nau' has been faithfully and creditably serving the cause of the rehabilitation of displaced persons, settlement of their claims, etc., for several years. It is certainly a matter of pride and jubilation for us that this tremendous and most complicated job has been completed by the untiring, ceaseless and sincere efforts of Lieutenant General Muhammad Azam Khan and Syed Hashim Raza, C.S.P., Secretary of the Minister of Rehabilitation and the Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan. This unique and most splendid achievement of the new regime has no parallel in the history of any country. For this, I and the Management of 'Payam-e-Nau' congratulate you very sincerely.

SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS, CLAIMANTS

NONE COULD CLAIM TO be a refugee who did not migrate to Pakistan before 31st December, 1956. In India, only those persons were treated as refugees who migrated to that country before 7th May, 1954.

The claimants were required to fill a form termed as Form 'A'. This form could be filled in Urdu with numerical figures in English. The last date for filling form 'A' was notified on 31st May, 1959. A number of claimants demanded more time to complete the form. The date was consequently extended to 30th June, 1959.

The next step was the issue of 'Compensation Books' by the Deputy Settlement Commissioners to those claimants whose claims had been finally verified. The claimants had been advised to state in form 'A' the amounts which they owed as rent of the evacuee property in their possession. It was the duty of the Deputy Settlement Commissioner to examine whether the amounts owed had been correctly inserted in the form. This examination had to be done in the presence of the claimants. The Compensation Book became the anchor-sheet of a claimant. It showed (a) the amount of his claim; (b) the value of the evacuee property occupied by him; and (c) the dues which he owed to the Government.

Several claimants applied for 'Compensation Books' even though they had filed revision appeals before the Claims Commissioner against the orders of Assistant and Deputy Claims Commissioners. The forms submitted by them were returned to them with instructions to resubmit them with the copies of final orders of the Claims Commissioner.

The Deputy Settlement Commissioners were directed to insert in the Compensation Books the amounts owed by the claimants to Government as rent of the evacuee property in their possession. This exercise was to be done in the presence of the claimant concerned who had the right to file a revision application if he was not satisfied with the calculation made by the Settlement Commissioner.

It was the job of the Settlement Organisation to evaluate each and every evacuee property according to a formula devised by us.

Side by side with the issue of Compensation Books, we undertook transfer and sale of evacuee property. The first scheme was to transfer houses and shops. The last date for applying transfer of houses and shops was 15th July, 1959. We allowed small claimants to pool their claims for such transfers. The second scheme was for disposal of industrial units. Those persons to whom factories had been allotted by the Rehabilitation Department, were required to give complete lists of machinery and other contents of the factories before the industrial units were transferred against their claims.

Those factories which were lying closed, were auctioned by the end of August, 1959. We gave priority to the auctioning of ice and ginning factories. Only those persons were authorised to take part in the auction of such factories who could furnish proof of having run similar factories in India, the claimants could pay in adjustment of their claims; the non-claimants could pay in cash. The third scheme related to the auctioning of big buildings and hotels. The highest bidders could pay in adjustment of their claims; the non-claimants could pay in cash.

Settlement Scheme No. 4 was devised for refugees from the State of

Jammu and Kashmir who were settled in six districts adjoining Azad Kashmir.

NON-CLAIMANTS:

The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act 1958 was applicable to all those who were in authorised possession of evacuee houses and shops in West Pakistan. It did not differentiate between claimants and non-claimants in respect of their entitlement to transfer of such houses and shops on a permanent basis; the only difference being that the claimant could pay the price through his 'Compensation Book' and the non-claimant had to pay in cash. No one could claim transfer of more than one house and one shop.

There is a dictum that possession is nine points in law. In the case of the Settlement operations, possession on 20th December, 1958, was the sole point in law. A claimant who had settled in Hyderabad, came all the way to my office in Lahore to complain that he had not been treated fairly by the Deputy and Additional Settlement Commissioners who had rejected his 'A' Form. He argued that the house which had been in his occupation was allotted to him by a competent authority and his claim for a house had been verified by the Claims Commissioner, why should he be deprived of his right to get that house on a permanent basis? The house had been allotted to him on 30th December, 1958. He had asked the Settlement Officers to condone the delay of 10 days only and since they had refused to do so, he was compelled to present a revision application to the Chief Settlement Commissioner. I explained to him that since he was not in possession of the house on 20th December, 1958, he could not claim its transfer. If I condoned the delay of 10 days in his case which I was not competent to do, how could I refuse similar requests for condonation of delays? The claimant who got possession of his house ten days later, say on the 9th January 1959 - will also ask for condonation of the delay and so on and so forth.

How would we be able to complete the settlement operation unless we stuck to the date 20th of December, 1958? The petitioner then asked me how would his claim be satisfied. I replied in two ways. He would be competent to take part in the draw for those houses, like his own, which would be available for permanent transfer; or he could ask for cash compensation in lieu of his verified claim.

We were able to satisfy three lakh claims for urban property. Our survey showed that there were 30,000 building sites which the evacuees had left in West Pakistan. We decided to transfer those sites on which permanent buildings had been constructed provided the applicants could bring a certificate from the local authorities that the buildings had been constructed in

conformity with their by-laws. The remaining buildings sites were disposed by public auction.

The press was most helpful at all stages of Settlement operations. It gave full publicity to our press statements and devoted considerable space to explain our various schemes.

The weekly 'Nusrat' of Lahore published a 261-page 'Mohajireen Number' on 5th July, 1959. It contained valuable material on the hardships of the refugees in articles like:

> 'From the Pakistan Resolution to the Walton Camp' by Abdul Qadeer Rashk.
> 'The Refugee Problem from 1947 to 1957' by Dr. J. Russell Anderson.
> 'The Criteria of Compensation' by Ghulam Rasul Meher.
> 'The part played by refugees in reconstruction and prosperity of Pakistan' by Jawed Shaheen.

The paper contained interviews with the Rehabilitation Minister, the Chief Settlement Commissioner, the Settlement Commissioner and several officials of the Settlement Department and commended their performance.

The Weekly 'Iqdam' of Lahore of 28th February, 1960, complimented the Martial Law regime for the expeditious manner in which the claims had been settled.

The Daily 'Jang' of Karachi, in its issue of 23rd May, 1960, wrote an editorial under the caption 'One Year". The English translation of the editorial is given below:

> We understand that the Central Government propose to extend the tenure of the Settlement Department by one year. This decision is fully justified by the enormous load with which the Settlement Department has been entrusted. During the last 1 1/2 year, the Revolutionary Government has dealt with the Settlement work with a speed which is both remarkable and unprecedented and the work which required years, has been performed in months.This is a historic achievement. The systematic manner in which the refugees have been rehabilitated is worth recording in letter of gold. If the Government of President Ayub claims that, it would be fully justified in making the claim.The work that had been pending for the last 12 years has been disposed off in a short span of time. If the Revolutionary Government had not assumed power, perhaps it would have taken decades to complete this task. No one can deny

that the Settlement operations have been completed quickly and satisfactorily. We trust that the remaining work will also be completed in the same satisfactory manner.

16,532 HOUSES CONSTRUCTED IN A YEAR

— President Eisenhower of the United States of America. visited Karachi 8th December, 1960. Showed keen interest in the progress of Korangi township scheme and asked me how long it would take him by car to go around Korangi. I said three hours to cover the entire ground. President Eisenhower had limited time and decided to see the Korangi Township by Air.

WE HAD ENOUGH AGRICULTURAL land in West Pakistan to satisfy all the verified claims. The 'Khatas' and 'Khatonis*' of land-holders of East Punjab and West Punjab were exchanged in accordance with an agreement between the Government of Pakistan and Government of India. The claims of migrants from the rest of India were scrutinized and verified by the Claims Commissioner and his organisation.

EVACUEE TRUST PROPERTIES:

The claimants who were living in houses or doing business in shops which belonged to Evacuee Trusts could not ask for their transfer under the schemes notified by us. We constituted a Trust Board which was authorised to utilize such properties for the purpose for which the Trusts had been originally constituted.

CASH COMPENSATION POOL:

By June 1960, we were able to collect in cash a sum of Rs. 14 crores by auctioning houses and shops which were in occupation of un-entitled persons. In addition to this amount, we got a sum of Rs. 15 crores by auctioning industrial units and cinemas. Out of the amount of Rs. 29 crores, we distributed a sum of Rs. 2 crores to the claimants who had their domicile in East Pakistan.

The payment was made through cheques on Habib Bank which were handed over personally by General Azam in Dacca. We paid a sum of Rs. 3 crores in cash to the widows and orphans and all such small claimants in West Pakistan whose verified claims did not exceed Rs. five thousand.

* Land records.

THE KORANGI SCHEME:

The problem of shifting of thousands of refugees living in huts around the mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam's and other open spaces of the city was the most pressing problem of Karachi Administration. The Malir and Saudabad colonies were developed in 1952 and 1954 respectively. The P.W.D. constructed 7164 houses in Malir Colony and 1800 in Saudabad colony. Work on the Malir Extension Colony was taken in hand in March, 1957, and by January, 1958, 7658 houses had been constructed. But the real breakthrough came with the establishment of a new township at a distance of 7 miles from Karachi at the Korangi Creek.

It was the cabinet of General Muhammad Ayub Khan that gave approval to the construction of houses containing one/two rooms to be allotted to homeless refugees who were required to pay the price in easy installments. Water and sewerage pipes had to be laid on roads. Buildings for school, hospital and maternity home had to be completed before shifting them to the new site. All this was done by the continued efforts of the P.W.D. and the K.D.A. General Azam supervised and expedited the building operations at all stages. The township developed in the record time of one year. In all, 16532 houses were constructed and 95,000 persons were settled in permanent homes.

President Eisenhower of the United States of America visited Karachi on 8th December, 1960. I was called to a meeting at the President's House which was also attended by General Azam. We explained the Korangi Scheme to him. President Eisenhower showed much interest in the progress of this township and asked us how long it would take him to go round Korangi. I told him that by car it would take him 3 hours to cover the entire ground. He said he had very little time at his disposal and decided to see the Korangi Township by air. He left the President House in a helicopter and, after flying over the area, complimented the new regime for doing so much construction work in such a short time. The Ministry of Finance and the Planning Department kept on pointing out, from time to time, that the expenditure on Korangi Settlement was exceeding the sanctioned limits but the prestige of the senior-most Minister of the Martial Law regime carried the day. General Azam's reputation as a go-getter spread far and wide.

On 25th February, 1960, I was appointed Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, in addition to my duties as Chief Settlement Commissioner. In April, 1960, General Azam was transferred as Governor of East Pakistan. I had the pleasure of working with him again in East Pakistan when I took over charge as Chief Secretary in Dacca on 21st February, 1961, I will revert to the rest of

the story later on. General Azam wrote me the following letter from Dacca on April 19, 1960:

> My dear Hashim Raza,
>
> I am sorry I had to leave you at a very short notice and, as things were, it was not possible for me to convey my hearty gratitude to you and all the other officers who worked with me to fulfil the aims and objects of the responsibilities allotted to me. I have deeply appreciated the spirit with which you and all the other officers of the Ministry have worked. I would be grateful if my very best regards and good wishes are conveyed to them all.
>
> I have no doubt that you and your officers will continue to maintain the high standards that have been set and will finalise the scheme in a most praiseworthy manner. On my part, I shall continue to maintain feelings and regards for all those who worked so magnificently with me.
>
> Hope this finds you in very best of health and happiness. I shall miss you. You have worked with tremendous loyalty and devotion to duty.
>
> With regards.
>
> yours etc.
> Lt. General (Muhammad Azam Khan)

POPULARITY OF GEN. MUHAMMAD AZAM

LT. GEN. KHALID SHEIKH, Minister of the Interior, succeeded Lt. General Muhammad Azam as Minister of Rehabilitation. I had to work under him.

Four months later, the Ministries of Rehabilitation and Works were amalgamated with General Sheikh as Minister and I as the Secretary of the combined Ministry.

Although General Azam and General Sheikh had the same military background, they differed in temperament and in their public relationship. General Azam met the people with open arms and greeting smile. General Sheikh was, on the other hand, protocol conscious and showed little signs of warmth of feelings. General Azam became more popular than the popularly elected Ministers of the regimes which had preceded the Martial Law regime.

General Sheikh reopened the allotment of agricultural lands to the claimants of non-agreed areas. His point of view was that agricultural lands had been

allotted to the refugees coming from the agreed areas - East Punjab and Delhi - on the basis of the land records which had been exchanged between the Governments of West Punjab and East Punjab. The veracity of the copies of the revenue records which had been produced by the claimants of non-agreed areas'before the Claims Organisation was open to question. I pointed out that the Claims Commissioner and his subordinates had held high judicial posts and had given good reasons for their decisions.They had not accepted the claims in toto. On an average, they had upheld one third of the claim submitted by the applicants. I argued that if the verified claims of agricultural lands of Zamindars and Khatedars coming from non-agreed areas were revised on the ground that the original revenue records had not been produced, then the Ministry would have to revise the verified claims of claimants from agreed areas too, for their claims for shops and houses, industrial units and cinemas had been verified exactly on the same basis as the claims of non-agreed areas Zamindars and Khatedars for agricultural lands.

I also pointed out that a lot of labour had gone into the Settlement operations. We had divided the operation in two stages, Provisional Transfer Order and Final Transfer Order. The lapse of time between these two orders was meant to consider objections from the aggrieved parties or to conduct suo moto enquiries into doubtful cases. I argued that if the scheme was revised, it would amount to opening a Pandora's box. We would have to ask the Government of India to let us have not only the certified copies of Revenue Records of agricultural lands left by the claimants who had migrated from the 22 provinces of India but also certified copies of records of houses and shops, industrial units and cinemas and urban agricultural lands of the claimants from the agreed as well as non-agreed areas.

I did not succeed in driving home my points. General Sheikh took the matter upto the Cabinet. The Cabinet decided that a graduated cut should be imposed on the allotments of agricultural lands made to refugees from non-agreed areas. This was notified in Martial Law Regulation 89. The allottees concerned made strenuous efforts for the repeal or modification of M.L. 89 but their representations bore no fruit. However, there is a proverb 'what cannot be cured, must be endured'.

A veteran journalist, Muhammad Shafi, who took prominent part in the Pakistan Movement, whose column in 'Dawn' was received with much interest and who was a member of the Central Majlis-e-Shoora, wrote an editorial in his Urdu Weekly 'Iqdam' of Lahore dated 11th September, 1960, under the caption "Division of Muhajireen into agreed and non-agreed areas', which I translate:

Just as there are good and bad individuals among the local population, in the same way there are good and bad persons, among the migrants too. Unfortunately, some interested persons of late have been trying to drive a wedge between the migrants of various parts of India. They regard the migrants of agreed areas as angels and of the non-agreed areas as devils. We cannot but condemn this tendency with all the force at our command.

The fact of the matter is that just as some of the migrants of the agreed areas have exaggerated their claims and have occupied evacuee property in excess of their entitlement, so have the dishonest among the non-agreed areas acquired property in excess of their entitlement. It is the need of the hour to take action against all the unscrupulous persons who have transgressed the law whether they belong to the agreed or the non-agreed areas. We condemn the tendency to drag officers unnecessarily into this deplorable controversy.

I reproduce without comments, a representation submitted to the Government by All Pakistan Displaced Persons Conference in 1970, on M.L. Regulation 89:

WILL THE PEOPLE'S PARTY REDEEM ITS PLEDGE?

Repeal of MLR-89 demanded by (President) Mr. Z.A. Bhutto and People's Party at Election time.

Repeal of MLR-89 demanded by all political parties in particular by Mr. Wali Khan, and Mufti Mahmood.

Repeal of MLR-89 demanded by the National Press. The APWA and people concerned.

Repeal of MLR-89 recommended by Justice Shahabuddin of Supreme Court.

Reason: Why?

1) Refugees left India to build Pakistan and left their property and lands while migrating.
2) Hindus in India occupied those lands when the refugees left for Pakistan to settle down here.
3) Refugees were given lands abandoned by Hindus against their verified claims of agriculture lands which they had left in India, under orders of law courts after full deliberations of every case individually.
4) Ayub Khan for personal reasons and his band of prejudiced

officers snatched the agricultural lands only from a certain area. It was an attempt to discriminate them and to make them politically bankrupt. It was a most dishonest move to take away their land and then charge price of the same from them.

5) Law Court's judgements were set aside.
6) Ayub's action unprecedented in the annals of judicial settlement.
7) This discrimination was condemned by all Political Parties, the APWA and Press.
8) We appeal that there should be no discrimination among Pakistanis and, if price was to be taken from them for land given in lieu of their claims, it should be from all the refugees and not from refugees of a particular area. Even for those unfortunate and discriminated refugees, their urban property claims were accepted without question.
9) These discriminated refugees pray that discrimination should go as they were the people who sacrificed all they possessed for Pakistan. They were honest and sincere. They want EQUAL TREATMENT.
10) The discriminated refugees had paid enough and all future action be stayed.

WHY WAS MLR-89 ENACTED?

The Minister of Rehabilitation in 1961 made a statement to the press justifying the imposition of MLR-89, saying that judgements of courts were rechecked by the Settlement Department from "records" alleged to have been received from Government of India and only claims to the extent of 7% were found to be correct.

PLEA SUBMITTED BY ALL PAKISTAN DISPLACED PERSONS CONFERENCE:

In the Committee appointed by General Yahya Khan to examine the so-called records, the All Pakistan Displaced Persons Conference has proved that this allegation is a fabricated lie. It is now established that:

No authentic records were at all received from India

No comparison was made at all. The minister's statement was not correct.

PROOF:

1) Statement of Mr. Justice Khursheeduz Zaman.
2) Government withdrew reference made to Mr. Justice Fazle Akbar who was to find out the value of these records.
3) Claimants not permitted to see those so-called records for purposes of checking.
4) Claimants were not allowed to file objections.
5) Authority of Supreme Court and Law Courts to examine the validity of MLR-89 was taken away for fear of being exposed.
6) The records that were received were of post-abolition Zamindari period and were of only 25 out of 52 districts of one province (U.P.) out of all Indian provinces. They were not signed by the officers authorised to sign those documents. It was found that seals of one district were put on the records of quite a different district which could not happen in genuine documents. The Custodian certificates were apparently forged. The Settlement Department dared not send those records to the Claims Commissioner who had already rejected them. Even if the records of these 25 districts were authentic, how could the claims of provinces other than U.P. be rejected when their records had not been examined even to the extent of 7%? Is it not punishing the innocent to save the guilty? It is said that under M.L.R-84, many claimants did not file claims. But those who did file claims against threats of 14 years. R.I. for false claims, were held to be false claimants! Their claims were never adjudicated as false. Is it fair? Does this not prove that the intention was to deprive a section of the population of their legitimately earned property? Is it not discrimination?

The Executive exercised extra-ordinary power of setting aside the judgement of Law Courts which has not happened so far in any civilized country.

STATEMENT OF MR. JUSTICE KHURSHEEDUZ ZAMAN, CHIEF CLAIMS COMMISSIONER, 1961:

During my visit to India in 1957, I met Mr. Dharam Vira, Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India, and in course of discussion on questions relating to verification of claims I complained to him that the records of agricultural land of Non-Agreed Areas had not yet been sent to Pakistan although several reminders had been sent in this connection; Mr. Vira replied that

some of the records were ready for dispatch and he pointed out some wooden cases lying in the verandah. But at the same time he said that they were unauthentic and were not reliable.

It seems that these records were brought by Ch. Sultan Muhammad, Incharge of the Central Record Office, Government of Pakistan, but those records were never received in the Claims Department.

The question of their utilisation never arose; but the claims for agricultural land from Non-Agreed Areas were verified only in those cases where they were supported by certified copies of Revenue Records of title or by some unimpeachable authority such as registered deed or deeds of a Waqf Alal-Aulad.

No case of claim of agricultural land from Non-Agreed Areas verified on oral testimony, was even brought to my notice.

FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE OF PAKISTAN MR. JUSTICE FAZLE AKBAR'S STATEMENT:

I was requested by the Government of Pakistan to examine the records of cases of claimants from 'Non-Agreed Areas' regarding agricultural land on the basis of certain records said to have been brought from India.

I asked them certain questions. The Settlement Department insisted that I should examine only those cases that they would choose. My terms of reference did not make any such provision and I did not agree to their request.

The Commission was withdrawn and I had no occasion to examine any records.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONSTITUTION COMMISSION:

The Constitution Commission appointed by Ex-President Ayub Khan and presided over by Mr. Justice Shahabuddin of the Supreme Court, recommended withdrawal of MLR-89/91.

Chapter xvi-page 153 paragraph 213-Report of the Constitution Commission Pakistan 1961.

QUOTATION: In view of the fact that the Martial Law has to be lifted as soon as the Parliament meets the M.L. Regulation relating to Land Reforms should stand repealed that day.

NOTE: The Commission recommended repeal of M.L.R-89 on the ground that it was a discriminatory legislation.

MLR-89 was condemned by, 1) All Political Parties in particular the People's Party, 2) Sunni and Shia Ulema, 3) National Press of all shades and people from all walks of life.

SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO ALL:

i) Repeal MLR-89. Refund money obtained by force. Impose reasonable settlement fee which will bring enormous amount to pay out every one. Government loses nothing and gains in prestige and goodwill.
ii) If Government is unable to pay cash immediately, it can issue bonds. In as much as there is absolutely no moral justification for Government to pocket the money realised from displaced persons, it constitutes a sacred trust.
iii) If this is not possible, remove protection under Section 7 of the Interim Constitution.

ALLEGED COMPLICATIONS ARE BASELESS AND PURE IMAGINATIONS:

1) Those who could not buy surrendered land for lack of funds, have already received 1,500 units without payment and can be given bonds like others for the land surrendered by them. The percentage of such claimants is negligible.
2) Those who received no allotment on the date MLR-89 was promulgated, will revert to the position as existed on that date and enough evacuee lands exist to be given to them. They cannot stop justice being done to others. The allegation that no land is available, is wholly incorrect. No census has been taken so far by the Government. Percentage of such claimants is negligible.
3) Government have auctioned only 28,000 acres out of 190,000 acres available. There is thus enough land. But this is not an issue involved.
4) Land Reforms Regulation No. 64 is not discriminatory and it applies to all. It cannot be cited as an example. There is no public demand at all for repeal of that Regulation. There has been continuous demand for its Repeal since MLR-89 was promulgated, from all quarters on the ground of its being discriminatory, unjust and oppressive.
5) Those who sold their surrendered land-rights for money have abided by LAW and are paying instalments and constitute over

90%. They should not suffer for the sake of those who have not abided by LAW.

President Bhutto's proposal to appoint a committee to examine all the aspects of repeal is most welcome. Although in this election campaign, he was pleased to call for the repeal of MLR-89 immediately. Action till then under MLR-89 should be stopped.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY LEADERS OF PEOPLE'S PARTY:

Chairman, Pakistan People's Party, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, while addressing a mammoth Public meeting at Hyderabad on March 5, 1969, urged repeal of MLR-89. (Please see Morning News of 6th March, 1969):

HYDERABAD: March, 5: People's Party Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto last night demanded withdrawal of Martial Law Regulation 89.

He made this demand at the mammoth public meeting addressed by him at the Fort Grounds here.

He said ML Regulation 89 has done great harm to the Muhajirs and it should be done away immediately. - APP

STATEMENT OF MIR RASUL BAKSH TALPUR DAILY 'JANG' DATED 26TH DEC'69:

Mir Rasul Baksh Talpur at a public meeting at Sukkur appealed to Government to withdraw MLR-89 immediately.

At another meeting on December 31, 1969, at Sukkur Mir Rasul Baksh Talpur, in reply to a question by a 'Jang' representative, said "MLR-89 must be repealed immediately.

18

PAKISTAN STEP BY STEP

— Sir Syed Ahmed Khan warned the Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. He advised them to concentrate on education and eschew non-cooperation with the British Government.
— The two Nation Theory of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan found an echo in the hearts of the Majority of the Muslims.

QUAID-E-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI Jinnah declared, in his inimitable style, that Pakistan had come into being when the first Hindu embraced Islam. It was in Sind that young Muhammad bin Qasim gained a foothold for Islam in 712 A.D.

Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Indian Mahatma, joined issue with the Quaid on this score. He said that the sons of the converts could not claim to be a nation apart from the parent stock. The Quaid's reply to the Mahatma's observation was given in the course of his Presidential Address at the special session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation on 2nd March, 1941. His reply to Gandhiji was:

> Can't you see that a Muslim when he was converted more than a thousand years ago became an outcaste and he became a 'malech' (untouchable) and the Hindus ceased to have anything to do with him socially, religiously and culturally or in any other way? Such is your Hindu religion and philosophy that he belongs to a different order, not merely religious but social, and he has lived in that distinctly separate and antagonistic social and cultural atmosphere. Can you possibly compare this with that nonsensical talk that mere change of faith is no ground for a demand of Pakistan? Can't you see the fundamental difference?

Almost all prominent Muslim leaders had given expression to the view that the Muslims were vastly different from the Hindus. It was Shah Waliullah of Delhi, a great religious divine and scholar whose heart bled at the downfall

of Muslims in India after Emperor Aurangzeb, who said for the first time that Muslims were a 'qaum' (nation). It was another distinguished son of Delhi, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who was the founder of the Aligarh Movement and who, in 1888, endorsed the description of Muslims as a nation. In one of his speeches Sir Syed said:

> In spite of the fact that Hindus and Muslims draw water from the same well, breathe in the same atmosphere and have dealings with each other, the fact remains that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations. Suppose the British were to leave India with all their armies and weapons, who will rule over this country? Is it conceivable that the Hindus and the Muslims could sit on the same throne and share political power? This would be impossible. What will happen is that one nation will conquer the other.To expect that they will have equal rights, is to remain in a fool's paradise.

SIR SYED'S TWO-NATION THEORY

WHILE SHAH WALIULLAH'S TWO-nation theory was appreciated only by intellectuals who could read his works, the two-nation theory of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan caught the imagination of the Muslim masses of India. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan warned the Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. He advised them to concentrate on education and eschew non-cooperation with the British Government which the sullen Muslims had done after losing their first battle of Independence in 1857. The last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was the leader of what the British termed as the Mutiny. He was exiled to distant Rangoon owing to the role that he had played in the battle of Independence. Although the two-nation theory of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan found an echo in the hearts of the majority of the Indian Muslims, it was left to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to use it as a trump-card for the division of the Indian Sub-continent. I quote from Professor Sharif-al-Mujahid's book entitled '*Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah - Studies in Interpretation*':

> To give a capital instance of his (Jinnah's) clarity of thinking, his emphatic approach, his understanding of the Muslim mass mind of India and his intuitive appeal. Almost all Muslim leaders preceding Jinnah had deeply felt and even openly declared that the Muslims were vastly different from the Hindus. Some like Syed Ahmed Khan had even consciously used the meaningful epithet, QAUM ('nation'), to describe them. Yet, the concept of Muslim remained

> somewhat vague, elusive, intangible, at least at the popular level. Jinnah alone could bring it within the compass of popular comprehension by spelling it out in concrete, almost tangible terms. This enabled every Muslim not only to see the justice of Jinnah's claim of separate Muslim nationhood but also to subscribe to the logical corollary of the fact and recognition of that claim - the demand for a separate Muslim home-land.

The import of the two-nation theory was brought out by the Quaid succinctly and unequivocally in 1944 in the following words:

> We maintain that the Muslims and the Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value or proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all cannons of international law, we are a nation.

The Quaid-e-Azam was a great admirer of the Aligarh Movement which was spear-headed by Sir Syed and supported by his colleagues Mohsinul-Mulk, Waqarul-Mulk, Maulana Hali and Allama Shibli. The epic poem - *'Musaddas-e-Hali'* - which recounted the past glory of Muslims and exhorted the present generation to emulate their forefathers was the precursor of Iqbal's 'Shikwa' and 'Jawab-e-Shikwa'. Iqbal adopted the same Sixtain-form for his *'Shikwa'* and *'Jawab-e-Shikwa'*. Sir Syed was so fond of *'Musaddas-e-Hali'* as to say:

> When God will ask me what I had done for the Muslims, I would say that I had moved Hali to compose his 'Musaddas'.

Shibli's verses were also meant to arouse the Muslims from their stupor. The Quaid once observed that Aligarh was the birth place of Pakistan. On another occasion, he called Aligarh 'the arsenal of Pakistan'.

The Aligarh Movement turned out to be the harbinger of the Pakistan Movement. Every student of Aligarh learnt by heart Hali's 'Musaddas':

وہ نبیوں میں رحمت لقب پانے والا
مُرادیں غریبوں کی بَر لانے والا

Among the Prophets, God's greatest blessing he was,
The benefactor of mankind, the helper of deserving he was.

مصیبت میں غیروں کے کام آنے والا
وہ اپنے پرائے کا غم کھانے والا

The reliever of those who were in adversity,
The soother and comforter of all and sundry.

فقیروں کا ملجا، ضعیفوں کا ماویٰ
یتیموں کا والی، غلاموں کا مولا

The refuge of the old, the helper of the needy,
The guardian of the orphan, the liege of the seedy.

ہوئی پہلوئے آمنہ سے ہویدا
دعائے خلیلؑ اور نویدِ مسیحا

From Amna's bosom, came out the light,
For which Moses had prayed and foretold Christ.

Hali exhorted the youths in these words:

کھیتوں کو دے لو پانی اب بہہ رہی ہے گنگا
کچھ کر لو نوجوانو! اٹھتی جوانیاں ہیں

Water the field, the Ganges is in its flow,
O young men! youth demands not to be slow.

Shibli inspired them to emulate the achievements of their forefathers in such verses:

موقع ہے یہی ہنر دکھاؤ
جو کہتے تھے آج کر دکھاؤ

It's the time, show your skill,
Whatever you claimed, try to fulfil.

کر دو جو گذشتہ کی تلافی
ثابت ہو زمانے پر کہ اب بھی

Try to atone for the past,
Prove that you haven't yet lost.

گو دورِ فلک ہُوا دگرگوں
پھر بھی تو رگوں میں ہے وہی خوں

There's no doubt that time's changed,
But in your veins, the same blood's ranged.

اسلاف کے وہ اثر ہیں اب بھی
اس راکھ میں کچھ شرر ہیں اب بھی

The traits of ancestry persist,
Some sparks in ashes yet exist.

گو خوار ہیں طرزِ خو وہی ہے
مرجھا گئے پھول بُو وہی ہے

Though much is gone, much abides,
In the faded flowers, fragrance resides.

The literary giant, Muhammad Husain Azad, inspired youth of his time in these verses:

ہے سامنے کُھلا ہوا میداں چلے چلو
بادِ مُراد ہے ثمر افشاں چلے چلو

Unobstructed is the path, keep on marching,
No reward lies in sloth, keep on marching.

دریا ہو بیچ میں کہ بیاباں چلے چلو
ہمت یہ کہہ رہی ہے کھڑی ہاں چلے چلو

Whether it be wild or a boggy land,
The demand of valour is not to disband,

چلنا ہی مصلحت ہے مری جان چلے چلو
چلّا رہی ہے ہمتِ مرداں چلے چلو

The goal lies in perpetual pursuit,
No feat of bravery is without its fruit,

اور آپ بن کے شیرِ نیستاں چلے چلو
تھمنے کا یہ مقام نہیں ہاں چلے چلو

Be a lion all-raging, keep on marching,
Be never-ceasing, keep on marching.

SHARAR'S PROPOSAL FOR PARTITION

— "Matters have come to such a pass that neither of the two nations can celebrate their festivals without injuring the sentiments of the other. — Maulvi Abdul Haleem Sharar - 22nd August, 1890.
— At a conference of Socialists held in 1917, two brothers of a distinguished Delhi family, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Khairi and Professor Abdul Sattar Khairi presented a resolution, proposing division of India into Hindu - India and Muslim-India.

MAULVI ABDUL HALEEM SHARAR who wrote more than 100 books, 42 of them being novels, was a prominent historian and journalist. He edited 'Awadh Akhbar' of Lucknow and founded two weekly - 'Mahshar' and 'Mohazzab'. Although he was not a politician, he was the first person to make a concrete proposal for the division of India. In 1890, communal riots took place at a large scale in Bengal. Commenting on these riots, he wrote in Mohazzab of 22nd August, 1890, an editorial under the caption Hindu and Mussulman. I translate his observations:

> Matters have come to such a pass that neither of the two nations can celebrate their festivals without injuring the sentiments of the other. The masses of both nations have neither tolerance nor patience to forgive such excesses. In these circumstances, the only wise course is that India should be divided into Hindu and Muslim provinces and there should be an exchange of population between Hindu India and Muslim India.

The year 1906 was very propitious for Indian Muslims. On October 1, 1906, Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III led a deputation of leading Muslims to the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto. Although Sir Aga Khan was the youngest member of the deputation - being 29 years old - he was elected as the spokesman of the Muslims of India. The deputation succeeded in convincing the Viceroy that the interest of Hindus and Muslims clashed. The Viceroy conceded the demand for separate electorates for the Muslims. The same year on December 30, the All-India Muslim League was formed in Dacca. The host of that historic gathering was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. It was that political organisation which won the battle for Pakistan during the years 1937-1947 under the inspiring leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The late Aga Khan became a link between the Muslim League and Aligarh Muslim University. He was one of the founders of the Muslim League as well as Muslim University, Aligarh. He presided over the annual sessions of the Muslim League for eight years. It was he and Maharaja Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad who donated rupees one lakh each towards the 22 lakh required for raising M.A.O. College Aligarh to a University. The Aga Khan was the first Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. He was succeeded by Maharaja Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan as Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University.

Both Maulana Muhammad Ali and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried to bring about a political understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League. The President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Gokhle, described Mr. Jinnah as "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity". It was through the efforts of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah that an understanding was brought about between the Congress and the Muslim League which helped in holding their joint session at Lucknow in 1916. This agreement is known as the 'Lucknow Pact'.

A prominent Muslim religious leader, Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi Fazil, whose 'Naats' are well-known, opposed the Lucknow Pact and repeated Shah Waliullah and Sir Syed's two-nation theory adding that there was absolutely nothing common between the Hindus and the Muslims.

THE KHAIRI BROTHERS:

At a conference of Socialists held in Stockholm in 1917 two brothers of a distinguished Delhi family, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Khairi and Professor Abdus Sattar Khairi, presented a resolution, proposing division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. The Khairi Brothers had started taking interest in politics since their school days. Of the two, Sattar Khairi made a name for himself. He was a linguist of repute and taught German and French at Aligarh Muslim University. He underwent imprisonment for his political views. Since he had a German wife, he was interned in Dehra Dun Jail during the Second World War for two years. A well-known Socialist leader of Belgium, Campbell Hepzmann, was the Secretary-General of the International Socialist Conference held at Stockholm. He declared that the credit for the division of India should go to the Khairi Brothers. Professor Sattar Khairi wrote a letter from Dehra Dun Jail to C.R. Attlee and delivered it to Campbell Hepzmann. He passed on that letter to Attlee. C.R. Attlee later on became the Prime Minister of U.K. Attlee, in his reply to Campbell Hepzmann, wrote:

> I thank you for the letter of the two Indian delegates to the Stockholm Conference which was passed on to me. I vividly remember the participation of these two delegates at the Stockholm Conference. I compiled a report of this Conference in French which was published in 1918. You will find a summary of the report of the Committee of Indian Muslims at Pages 407 & 408. Although this is a summary, it establishes the point that has been made out in this letter. I support from my memory the contents of this letter. It is a fact that in the Stockholm Conference held in 1917, these two delegates had proposed the partitioning of India into Muslim India and Hindu India.

The views of the General Secretary of the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm and their endorsement by a political leader of the calibre of C.R. Attlee established the claim of the Khairi Brothers that they had proposed India's division into Hindu and Muslim States in 1917.

The decision to partition the Sub-continent into two sovereign independent states was taken by the British Cabinet headed by C.R. Attlee. The Conservative Party was opposed to the partitioning of the country.

Lord Wavell had opposed the partitioning of the Sub-continent on the ground that it was not practicable to divide the Indian Army. Winston Churchill too was against the partition. The arguments of the Khairi Brothers

for the partitioning of India must have left the impression on the mind of C.R. Attlee when he took the historic decision to divide the Sub-continent.

The undermentioned correspondence between Abdus Sattar Khairi, who was a member of the Muslim League Council and the Quaid-e-Azam will show how he respected the Quaid and how the Quaid responded to his suggestions:

23rd May, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is only with the purpose of strengthening your hands that I am writing this to you. We, here in Aligarh, have the fullest faith in you. We feel that the interests of not only 90,000,000 Indian Muslims are secure in your hands but also those of the generations to come. But it is rather disquieting to hear that pressure is being brought on you to bring about an understanding at any cost, provided some selfish members may be able to get a few big jobs.

Such a move shall be catastrophic at this stage when the Muslims are on the way to solidarity and organisation. The most fundamental fact and right that the 90,000,000 of Indian Muslims are in THEMSELVES A GREAT NATION and A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY must not be sacrificed. If the Congress Hindus are made to recognise this, then every other thing not inconsistent with this is a minor thing.

Such a demand is not even in the modern history and current politics is but a new thing. According to the Peace Treaty of St. Germain in 1919, the great Democratic Powers of the world (England, France, US) created a Democratic state, Czecho-Slovakia and granted to the Germans and the Slovaks equal rights with the Czechs. The Czechs were also signatories to the treaty. In this treaty the Germans were granted to have their own schools, their own courts and equal share in the government of the land. A sort of full autonomy, as in Switzerland, was promised to them. Of course the promises were not kept. The oppression continued till their brothers on the other side of the borders became strong.

The Muslims have been now aroused. The spirit which you have breathed into them is now a matter of fact and cannot be ignored.

I know, we are still disorganised, and the temptation to have a respite is great. Please do not yield to any kind of pressure. Act only according to your inner political self.

I pray that God shall give you strength in this great trial and true insight into the needs of the Indian Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Sattar Khairi,

A member of the League.

******

Bhopal,
18th September, 1938.

Dear Mr. Sattar Khairi,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th August, 1938, and I am sorry I was not able to reply to your letter because I was not well. I thank you for the paper called "The Spirit of the Time." I read it with interest and it is very good of you to promise to send me its copy regularly.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah.

******

District Jail,
Dehra Dun (U.P.)
Tuesday,
August 12, 1941.
8:00 p.m.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have the fullest trust in your leadership. Only a fool would not see what position the Muslim League has gained during the last three years. We have that too quite rapidly, in spite of the kind of following you have had. That in his last speech, Mr. Amery speaks of insuperable objections to such a scheme as the so-called Pakistan Scheme, at any rate in its extreme form, I find rather encouraging. There are still much more encouraging statements in his speech. He finally seems to dismiss the English parliamentary system as unsuitable for India. Then he seems to be positive that the Congress is never likely to enjoy such a powerful position in the Government of India as they would have enjoyed in the now dead constitution. But there is no finality in politics. Mr. Amery or Mr. Churchill or any body else is not going to fight our battles. We alone must solve our problems. Under your leadership, we hope we will do.

I know, we are still disorganised and the temptation is very great to have a respite. Please do not yield to any kind of pressure. Act only according to your inner political self. All you have been telling us shows that your inner political self is very sound and is fully Islamic.

I pray that God shall give you strength in this great hour of trial and true insight into the needs of the Indian Muslims.

Very sincerely yours,
Sattar Khairi,
A member of the League's Council.

******

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay. 27th August, 1941.

Dear Mr. Khairi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of August, and thank you for it. The various suggestions that you have made will certainly receive my careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah.

******

Muslim University,
Aligarh.
October 29, 1944.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peace. It is just to inform you that I have come back to Aligarh and I thank you heartily for all you did for my release during the early days of my detention. No one's efforts succeeded because Allah had planned for me. I know that even the Government could not release me though they tried more than once. But when the hour came, they could not keep me a day longer. I used to write to you from the Jail but in the Parole Camp at Naini Tal, I was told not to write to political personalities. I did not even need then to write. My faith in you by that time had grown so strong that I could call you "AMEEN" (trustee). I was never disappointed in all what you said or did. In fact, almost always I felt what your reaction to such and such a matter would be and I was always right.

What I feel and know and I am sure that you feel and know still more that we so-called Muslims lack Islamic character and, without it, nothing Islamic can be done. To-day is the first time I am writing any letter after my release. Mr. Jinnah I had unique opportunities to meditate, think and plan in jail and in the camp. I have not wasted my time. And when I feel to work, I feel twenty years' younger. I am sure that Pakistan will come but only then when we depend for our success only on Allah and on our own strength. That time is bound to come. Pakistan shall be achieved by the efforts of truly honest and sincere Muslims, how-much-so-ever unpleasant, disagreeable and

abhorrent it may be to others. I have faith in Allah, I have faith in you and I have faith in myself.

When I have work before me I am healthy, strong and young. I hope that you too are keeping good health and are feeling younger and younger. God may preserve you for the work to be done.

Yours sincerely,
Sattar Khairi.

******

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.
8th November, 1944.

My dear Mr. Khairi,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 29th, and I thank you for it. I am glad that you are a free man. Of course, I do not know why you were subjected to detention, but you know that I am always against any man's liberty being taken away without a judicial trial.

I am glad that you are well and full of hopes, and that you will work for the betterment of Muslim India. I know we have many difficulties, but I think we have made a tremendous progress, and we have every reason to be encouraged, having regard to the enthusiastic support and sympathy we have of millions of our people. If we work in an organised and united spirit, I am confident that we shall achieve our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah.

THE GREAT SOULS

— At the annual session of the Muslim League at Ahmedabad session in 1921, Hasrat Mohani Proposed that after the departure of the British, India should be divided into a Hindu-State and a Muslim State.

THE VETERAN CONGRESS, KHILAFAT and Muslim League leader, Maulana Hasrat Mohani was the first Indian leader to demand complete independence for India at the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Ahmedabad Congress Session in 1921. At the annual session of the Muslim League at Ahmedabad in 1921, Hasrat Mohani proposed that after the departure of the British, India should be divided between Hindu State and Muslim State.

Among the Hindu politicians, the first to propose a clear division of India

between Muslims and Non-Muslims was a patriotic leader of the Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai. He had studied Islam and could well appreciate the distinction between Hindus and Muslims. His plan was formulated in 1924. He published his plan under the caption 'My Scheme'. The areas in the West of India which he marked out for separation from India were exactly those which formed West Pakistan in 1947. He commented on the scheme of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the following words:

> Maulana Hasrat Mohani has said recently that the Muslims will never agree to India's having dominion status under the British. What they aim at are separate Muslim states in India united with Hindu states under a National Federal Government. He is also in favour of smaller states containing compact Hindu and Muslim population. If communal representation with separate electorates is to be the rule, then Maulana Hasrat's scheme seems to be the only workable proposition. Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim states:
>
> 1. The Pathan Province or the North-West Frontier.
> 2. Western Punjab.
> 3. Sind, and
> 4. Eastern Bengal.
>
> If there are compact Muslim communities in any other part of India, sufficiently large to form a province, they should be similarly constituted. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not a united India. It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, who had on his head a triple crown of Khilafat, Congress and Muslim League and who had tried his utmost to bring about an understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims, was disillusioned when the report compiled by Pandit Motilal Nehru was presented to an All-Party National Convention in December, 1928. He criticised that report bitterly and left the Congress. He urged the Muslims to refrain from taking part in the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Congress in 1930. Once he had expressed the view in his paper 'Comrade' that eventually a separate Muslim State would have to be constituted in India. A question was put to him by Mr. Walayat Ali - how would you solve the Hindu-Muslim tangle? He replied:

> The solution is that they must separate. The Northern part of India should go to the Muslims, the Central and Southern part to the

Hindus.

On November 8, 1927, the Viceroy announced the appointment of a statutory commission headed by Sir John Simon to advise the British Parliament on the next instalment of constitutional reforms in India. Both Congress and the Muslim League resolved to boycott the commission on account of its all-white character. There was a split in the Muslim League on the question of cooperation or non-cooperation with the Simon Commission. Mr. Jinnah's decision not to cooperate with the Commission was opposed by Sir Muhammad Shafi, who was Law Member of the Government of India. Thus, the Muslim League was divided into Jinnah League and Shafi League. Sir Muhammad Iqbal sided with Sir Muhammad Shafi. He was elected Secretary of the Shafi League.

On March 28, 1929, Mr. Jinnah presented his historic 14 points at the League Council Meeting, Delhi, which were approved without a single vote of dissent. These points crystallised the demands of the Muslims of India.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was appointed President of a Committee to draw up a constitution for India which he presented to an All-Party National Convention in December, 1928. Mr. Jinnah proposed several amendments to the proposals made by the Nehru Committee which were rejected in toto. Mr. Jinnah described the Nehru Report as:

> ....nothing more than a Hindu counter proposal to the Muslim proposals which were made in 1927 as far as the communal question was concerned.

Mr. Jinnah had referred to the meeting of prominent Muslims of India in Delhi on 20th March, 1927, in which the demands of Muslims popularly known as Delhi Muslim Proposals were formulated. After his bitter experience at the All-Party National Convention, Mr. Jinnah made no further attempts to bring Hindus and Muslims on the same platform. He told Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta, who attended that conference as a delegate from Sind, *"THIS IS THE PARTING OF THE WAYS"*.

After Mr. Jinnah had formulated his 14 points, the demands of the Muslims of India were presented by Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address over the Allahabad Session of the League in December, 1930. Allama Iqbal declared that:

> He was ready to stake his all for the freedom of India, if the Muslims of India were assured of their own homeland by the amalgamation of the Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan into

> single 'Muslim State'. To base a constitution on the conception of a homogeneous India or to apply to India the principle dictated by British democratic sentiments is to unwittingly prepare her for a civil war..... Self-Government within the British Empire or without it, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North-West India. I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting for an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

Allama Iqbal was a great poet and a profound philosopher. His poetry was purposeful. Two great poets emerged in India in the first half of the twentieth century - Muhammad Iqbal and Rabinder Nath Tagore. Rabinder Nath Tagore was awarded Nobel Prize for Literature. Allama Iqbal equally deserved this prize but did not get it because he had no lobby in Europe.

In his speeches and statements, Allama Iqbal advocated the formation of a Muslim State in India. The credit for coining the word PAKISTAN and giving a concrete name to the proposed Muslim State goes entirely to Chowdhary Rehmat Ali, a Cambridge student, who refused to be called an Indian. His first declaration 'Now or Never' was issued on 28th January, 1933. This was meant for the members of the Round Table Conference who were discussing the future fate of India. He wrote:

> My proposed Pakistan will be one of the 13 largest countries of the world. It will be one-and-a-half time the size of Egypt, twice that of Turkey, twice that of pre-War Germany and nearly three times that of Spain.

He wrote that he had to search far and wide to find supporters for his proposal in England. I quote from his book 'Pakistan, the Fatherland of the Pak Nation':

> To make the Declaration representative, I started a search of people who would sign it along with me. This proved to be a long and laborious search; for so firm was the grip of Indianism on our young intellectuals at English Universities that it took me more than a month to find three youngmen in London, who after reading and discussing the Declaration, offered to support and sign it. So with them as my co-signatories, I issued it from my address in Cambridge.

on 28th January, 1933.

None of these gentleman was a Cambridge man as stated by writers on this subject. Khan Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak was an Oxford man, Sahibzada Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq belonged to one of the Inns of Court in London; and Khan Inayatullah Khan was studying at a Veterinary College in England.

Chowdhary Rehmat Ali presented this pamphlet to all members of the Round Table Conference attending its session in 1933. Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Sir Zafrullah were attending the Round Table Conference in those days. The Quaid attended only one session of the Round Table Conference in 1930. Chowdhary Rehmat Ali described the reaction to his scheme in the following words:

> My scheme was condemned by our politicians as only a student's scheme, chimerical and impractical.

It was in August, 1931, that I met the Quaid when he came to Lucknow to appear in a Talukdari case pending before a Bench of the Oudh Chief Court which comprised Sir Wazir Hasan and my father, the late Justice Syed Muhammad Raza. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the cynosure of all eyes in the Court. He was a man of striking appearance, tall and handsome, immaculately dressed with a magnetic presence and an impressive delivery. His voice was low, extremely pleasing to ears and had a magnetic effect. I met him in the evening with a deputation of the Lucknow University Union. We invited him to give a talk on his impressions of the Round Table Conference. He addressed us on 11th August, 1931. His performance was memorable. He recapitulated his efforts to unite the Hindus and Muslims of India, his anticipation at the attitude of the Hindu leaders. However, by raising his fore-finger, Quaid-e-Azam summed up his estimate of the first Round Table Conference in the following words:

> We went round and round in London. We are still going round and round in India without reaching the straight path that would lead us to freedom.

ROLES PLAYED BY IQBAL AND REHMAT ALI

ALLAMA IQBAL, IN HIS letter dated 6th March, 1934, addressed to

Raghib Ahsan, a veteran journalist and an ardent supporter of the Pakistan Movement, stated that his scheme was quite different from the scheme proposed by Chowdhary Rehmat Ali. His letter was as follows:

6th March, 1934.

My dear Raghib,

I think it best to write to Fazil Rahmat-ullah and I will do so. But you should ask Mr. Shafi Daudi to draft a letter and send it to me. It should be signed by both of us.

I hope you will send me your detailed views about democracy and constitution as soon as possible.

I am enclosing two copies of Edward Thompson's (a well-known literary man in England) review of my book. It is interesting in many ways and you may like to publish it in your paper. Please send the other copy to the STAR OF INDIA (Calcutta).

Please also note that the author of this review confuses my scheme with PAKISTAN. I propose to create a Muslim province within the India Federation, the Pakistan Scheme proposes a separate federation of Muslim provinces in the North West of India outside the Indian Federation and directly related to England.

Do not fail to point it out in your introductory comments and draw the attention of the editor of STAR OF INDIA also to this point.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal,
Lahore.

Chowdhary Rehmat Ali described the Round Table Conference as a British-Bania Alliance. I quote from his book:

> Such was the situation when, beginning with 1930, a series of Round Table Conferences was held in London to devise a new constitution for 'India' and to these conferences were invited the government-nominated 'delegates' of all 'communities'. In all, perhaps, 125 delegates, of whom I think 26 were Muslims, attended the Conferences and participated in their deliberations and decisions.
>
> Now, coming events always cast their shadows before. So did the federal event, which was cleverly inspired by the British-Bania* Alliance. It was clear from the outset that the real aim of the Conference was the establishment of an Indian Federation. In other

* Bania means 'grocer' in the English language. This word refers to the Hindus.

words, it was the fullest integration of the Indian nation by the final 'Indianization' of our people. On this any lingering doubts were quickly removed when, after a preliminary exchange of views, it was officially announced that the new constitution for 'India' would be federal.

In the light of what has already been said about the fatal effects of federalism on our distinct nationhood, it is clear that this was a dangerous, decisive development. It portended an immediate peril to the life and liberty of our nation, a peril made mortal by the attitude of Muslim delegates who had demanded Indian Federation in our name and accepted it when it was offered in London; and who were co-operating with the British-Bania Alliance in framing the Federal Constitution.

Like millions of other Muslims, I watched this development with poignant anxiety. I warned the Muslim delegates I knew that their action had obliterated the twelve centuries of our history, destroyed the very foundations of our heritage, and crippled all hopes of the fulfilment of our mission. I begged them to realise their responsibility before Allah (God) and His Rasool (Prophet), and to withdraw their demand for the Indian Federation, withhold their participation in framing the Indian Federal Constitution, and ask for a separate federation of our north-western homelands. But all without result. There was no realisation, no response. On the contrary, there was every resolve to victimise anyone who might dare to oppose or expose them and their policies.

After this disappointment, I hoped against hope that at least some prominent Muslims, not connected with delegates, would still disown them, denounce our inclusion in the Indian Federation, and declare for our distinct nationhood in our homeland. But time passed by, the Second Round Table Conference ended, and none came forward. Yet every day saw the federal fetters grow stronger and the possibility of our escape from them grow fainter. It was incredible to me that there was such a noble task and yet no one could do it! No patrician or politician to attempt it!

The feeling gripped me that, on the failure of them all, Allah had assigned that fateful task to me; that He commanded me to do it; that He wanted me to challenge the mighty, to oppose the Indian Federation, to propose the Islamic Federation .... Once that feeling came, it possessed me; it governed my life; it directed my activities.

Inspired by the sense of a divine mission, I reviewed the situation most solemnly and came to the conclusion that it was 'now or never'; that any further silence would be fatal. For that would mean our general acquiescence in the policies of our "delegates".

Chowdhary Rehmat Ali considered Allama Iqbal as:

> .... that immortal poet of Islam whose poetry served as a beacon-light in the darkest period of our history and whose message will ever help us on the way to our destiny.... It must be gratefully remembered that Iqbal's suggestions for the amalgamation of the four provinces made a profound contribution to our cause. Though it infuriated our politicians and convulsed the Caste Hindus, it re-inspired our people to think in terms of consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future, and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of 'India'.

Yet, for all practical purposes, it came to nothing. It was opposed by our politicians, and repudiated by Iqbal himself. How hostile were the politicians towards it, may be judged from the following statement of Malik Barkat Ali:

> I am glad to be able to say that Sir Muhammad Iqbal has since recanted it ... Even if Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal had not recanted it as something which could not be put forward by any sane person, I should have emphatically and unhesitatingly repudiated it as something foreign to the genius and the spirit of the rising generation of Islam.

Rehmat Ali wrote afterwards:

> No wonder therefore that Iqbal participated in framing the official Federal Constitution for India, in which not only were our people treated as a minority community of the Indian nation, but also each of the provinces he had wished to see amalgamated was treated as a mere administrative district of the Country of India.

Allama Iqbal had given to Indian Muslims inspiration, but it needed a man to lead them to action so as to achieve the destined goal - Pakistan. The Lahore Resolution of 23rd March,1940, popularly known as "Pakistan Resolution", was passed two years after the death of Allama Iqbal. I quote the Resolution:

> Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the

North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussulmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

Jinnah transformed into reality what some of the delegates to the Round Table Conference termed as a student's scheme. On August 14, 1947, Pakistan emerged as the largest Muslim State of the day and the 5th biggest state of the world.

19

PUNDIT NEHRU ON KASHMIR

— By all tests of religion and culture, history and geography, trade and commerce, language and tradition, Kashmiris and Pakistanis are one people.
— Of the 562 Indian states, only three states became the subject of dispute between India and Pakistan.
— If the first Prime Minister of India, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had not been a Kashmiri by origin and had he not a sentimental attachment with Kashmir, the problem of Kashmir could have been settled amicably.
— There have been three wars between India and Pakistan. The problem of Kashmir still remains unresolved.

KASHMIR CONTINUES TO BE the main obstacle towards friendly relations between Pakistan and India. The State of Jammu & Kashmir has an area of 84,471 square miles. It was the second biggest state in pre-partition days next only to Hyderabād State. According to the census of 1941, the total population of the State of Jammu & Kashmir was 40,000,000; 77% being Muslims. In the province of Kashmir, Muslims were 93%; in the Jammu province the Muslim population was 61%; and in Gilgit it was 100%.

By all tests of religion and culture, history and geography, trade and commerce, language and tradition, Kashmiris and Pakistanis are one people. The three main rivers of West Pakistan, the Indus, the Jehlum and the Chenab have their sources in Kashmir. Kashmir was linked with the rest of the world by two roads only, both of which lay through Pakistan. The means of all communications of Kashmir open towards Pakistan.

On 25th July, 1947, Lord Mountbatten advised the Indian princes to accede to India or to Pakistan bearing in mind the geographical situation of their respective States, the composition of their population and the wishes of their people.

Of the 562 Indian States, only three States became the subject of dispute

between India and Pakistan. Hyderabad and Junagarh were ruled by the Muslims, but their subjects were predominately Hindus. The ruler of Kashmir was Hindu, but his subjects were overwhelmingly Muslims. If the will of the ruler was to be taken as a determining factor, then Junagarh and Hyderabad should have been part of Pakistan and Kashmir could have been part of India. The ruler of Junagarh had actually acceded to Pakistan. The Nizam of Hyderabad had a standstill agreement with both India and Pakistan, and left to himself, would have acceded to Pakistan. The Indian Government argued in the case of Junagarh that one person could not decide the fate of the majority. Then the Indian Government forcibly occupied Junagarh and the Nawab of Junagarh had to leave for Pakistan as a refugee.

The Government of India sent its troops to Hyderabad calling it Police Action. The Razakars of Hyderabad were no match to the massive Indian troops who killed Muslims on a large scale. Both the States of Junagarh and Hyderabad were occupied by force by a nation whose Mahatma had advised them to remain non-violent. If in accordance with the argument of the Indian Government, the Nawab of Junagarh could not decide the fate of the majority in his State, how could they accept the accession of the Maharaja of Kashmir?

After the announcement of the Partition Plan on 3rd June, 1947, the Indian leaders pressurised the Maharaja to accede to India. These included Gandhiji, Acharya Kirpalani, the then Congress President and the Maharajas of Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala. The Indian Government was determined to get Kashmir by using force as it had done in Junagarh and Hyderabad. The Maharaja of Kashmir was fully aware of the wishes of his subject for accession to Pakistan. He made a standstill agreement with Pakistan which debarred the State from having any relations with any country other than Pakistan. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru termed this standstill agreement as an error on the part of the Pakistan Government and stated on 26th September, 1947:

> If Pakistan Government persistently refused to see its error and continued to minimise it, the Indian Government will have to go to war against it.

The boot was on the other leg. Ian Stephens, formerly Editor of the British-owned newspaper 'Statesman' of Delhi and Calcutta, speaking of the fate of the Muslim population of Jammu, records:

> These half a million or so had almost totally disintegrated in the autumn of 1947.
>
> About 200,000 simply vanished being presumably butchered or killed by epidemics and exposure while seeking to get away. The rest

had fled into Pakistan Punjab. Now the forces of the Maharaja were engaged with the patriots everywhere in the State and on 22 October Pathan and Frontier tribesmen entered into Kashmir.

In the Security Council, India charged Pakistan for sending these tribesmen into the territory of Kashmir. She described Pakistan as an aggressor in Kashmir. This was a baseless charge. It was claimed by the Indian representative in the Security Council that the whole trouble in Kashmir was created by the tribesmen. He further said that there had been no killing of Muslims nor any Muslim was expelled before the entry of the tribesmen. This was a mere lie. Sir Zafrullah Khan justified the entry of tribesmen into Kashmir. He said, 'That kind of thing could be expected of angels but it cannot be expected of human beings. I will say that a man would be coward if, under these circumstances, he did nothing to help his brothers.

The Maharaja wrote a letter to Lord Mountbatten on 26th October. I quote:

Naturally they (the Government of India) cannot send the help asked for by me without my state acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the instrument of accession for acceptance by your Government.

It is significant that before this letter was received by Lord Mountbatten, the airborne Indian troops landed at Srinagar airport on 27th October, 1947, at 9:00 p.m. The Government of Pakistan protested against this unjustified accession and also informed the Security Council that the Government of Pakistan had not accepted and could not accept the accession of Kashmir and Jammu State to India. Pakistan considered this accession a violence and fraud.

The anxiety of the Quaid-e-Azam to settle the Kashmir problem amicably is evident from his proposal to hold a conference of the Governor-Generals and Prime Ministers of both the countries. The date for this conference was fixed for 29th October, 1947. Lord Mountbatten flew to Lahore alone to meet the Quaid on 1st November. Pundit Nehru did not accompany him on account of his indisposition. The Quaid's proposals for solving the tangle which were conveyed by Lord Mountbatten to Pundit Nehru were not accepted by the Government of India. After some time, Pundit Nehru, while commenting on Jinnah-Mountbatten talks, stated that Lord Mountbatten had agreed to holding a plebiscite in Kashmir under the auspices of U.N.O. On 8th November, 1947, Pundit Nehru said, the Government of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to the U.N.O. to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date. The plebiscite never took place even though the Plebiscite Administrator was appointed. He was Admiral Nimitz. The efforts of the

United Nations representatives, Sir Owen Dixon, Dr. Frank P. Graham and Mr. Gunner V. Jarring for mediation on the Kashmir tangle resulted in failure.

In the Security Council, the U.S.S.R. came to the rescue of India by exercising its power of veto. The unwarranted and illogical attitude of India on Kashmir was pinpointed by LeMonde, a national daily of Paris. I quote from an editorial of this prestigious paper:

> If the Indians do not get all the sympathy they desire from other countries, it is undoubtedly because they defend their sovereignty over Kashmir with contradictory arguments. Their planning reminds one too often of the quarrel between two neighbours - first you did not lend me the saucepan. Secondly I returned it to you in perfect condition. Thirdly it already had a hole when you lent it to me.

As predicted by Pundit Nehru, there have been three wars between India and Pakistan. The problem of Kashmir still remains unresolved. It is my firm belief that if the first Prime Minister of India, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, had not been a Kashmiri by origin and had he not a sentimental attachment with Kashmir, the problem of Kashmir could have been settled amicably. Had the first Prime Minister of India been Mr. Rajgopal Acharia or Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Kashmir dispute would not have dragged on as it has upto now. However, Kashmir has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan during the last 40 years or so. These strained relations are likely to persist between the two countries as long as this problem remains unresolved. For Pakistan, Kashmir has the same importance which the jugular vein possesses in a human body.

AYUB'S AIDE MEMOIR ON KASHMIR

JACK CALLAHAN, A CORRESPONDENT of the New York Times, who in 1953-54 was stationed in Karachi, told me that when he broached the topic of Kashmir in his interview with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi, Punditji remonstrated him for being pro-Pakistan and said that he was not prepared to discuss a problem which he considered to be purely personal. Soon after Martial Law was imposed in Pakistan in October, 1958,President Muhammad Ayub Khan observed:

> We have to continue the struggle for the liberation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In no case can we give up that struggle.

When Punditji visited Islamabad, President Muhammad Ayub Khan devoted a whole morning to discuss the Kashmir problem with him. When I took over charge as Secretary, Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction in 1961, President Ayub enlightened me on the conversation which he had with the Indian Prime Minister about Kashmir in September, 1960. I reproduce President Muhammad Ayub Khan's aide memoir for students of history:

> On the morning of 21st September, 1960, I met Pundit Nehru separately, and broached the subject of Kashmir. I told him that this was the most propitious moment for settling this dispute to bring India and Pakistan to peace as he was undoubtedly an accepted leader in India; and perhaps people in Pakistan would listen to me too even if I ask them to accept something which was not palatable. Such a coincidence will probably never recur in the history of two countries. So, it will be a great pity if we miss this opportunity. India will undoubtedly have great men after him, but it was highly unlikely that they will find themselves in his position and command the same respect.
>
> As far as Pakistan is concerned, any thought that time will make us forget the need for having a satisfactory solution of Kashmir is highly unrealistic. If any thing on which the people of Pakistan are united, it is the Kashmir problem; and even if they forget its importance, no Government of Pakistan can forget it, and certainly Pakistan army can never forget it.
>
> Pointing to the map of Kashmir and West Pakistan, I drew his attention to how all the major rail and road communications and the canal head-works were completely outflanked. So, the security of Pakistan alone will not allow people in this country to forget the importance of Kashmir apart form the sympathy for the people of Kashmir; and another compelling reason is now economics that West Pakistan is reduced to the use of waters of only three rivers.
>
> The population in Pakistan is increasing and we are losing vast amount of land every year through salinity and waterlogging. In consequence, after a few years' time, Pakistan will be compelled to conserve every single ounce of water in these rivers, and this can only be done in the hilly areas of Kashmir. Similarly, further power requirements of Pakistan can only be met by hydro-generation in those areas.
>
> These are not new factors and perhaps are not unknown, but all I can say is this that if India needs neighbourly relationship with Pakistan, then she has to pay this price for settling with us over this issue which in any case she will have to do one day. The advantages are enormous for both. There is no reason why India then cannot

reduce its army by half and save enormous expense in spite of Chinese threat. Similarly, we too could reduce our military expenditure proportionately.

I told Pundit Nehru that my reading of the partition and post-partition events is that we got caught up in mass hysteria and anger. Also, unfortunately in India and particularly in Pakistan, national military officers were not in commanding positions at that time who could advise their inexperienced governments about the correct attitude towards the areas which became the cause of conflict. Fo instance, if I had been the Commander-in-Chief in 1947, I would never have allowed the attitude that Pakistan took about Hyderabad; and I have no doubt that there would never have been a need for struggle in Kashmir. For India too, occupation of Hyderabad as well as vast portion of Kashmir, was not soundly advised. She only created complications for herself. All this can now be put right if Mr. Nehru is ready, and we certainly are; failing which we shall have no option but to continue this struggle until such time that a satisfactory solution is found.

Pundit Nehru started replying very haltingly but deliberately. He said that Kashmir problem had become very complicated with the passage of time. Hard and fast positions had been taken and it is not easy to go back on them. Two elections have been held in Kashmir and a third one is in the offing, and enormous amount of money, apart form military expenditure, has been spent on development work so as to improve the lot of the people. There is then also the question of large Muslim minority in India, which is being integrated. Any hasty action on Kashmir will undoubtedly upset this process. Further, India's aim has been to divert peoples' attention into constructive channels, and make them concentrate on development and progress. All this is liable to get a setback if status quo is disturbed in Kashmir.

I told Pundit Nehru that superficially these arguments look cogent, but he would not be in a position to retain Kashmir in the long run, especially in the event of the Russian or Chinese attack. Who knows that in the near or distant future, the Russians or the Chinese may be interested in Kashmir that Kashmiris themselves strive for freedom. In that case, they would make every effort to use us against India which will be so difficult to resist; though in the end, both India and Pakistan will be enslaved.

I did not agree that the Muslim minority is being integrated in India. In fact, minorities in India and Pakistan are suspect and will remain so, as long as India and Pakistan do not come to terms over Kashmir. The business of keeping the peoples' mind diverted to

constructive work is again not the final solution. Human needs are material in the first instance, but thereafter is an ideology which fills the psychological vacuum. Indian society will remain vulnerable so long as it lacks an ideology.

After arguments and counter-arguments of this nature, Pundit Nehru said that accepting the fact that there is a need for peace between the two countries, and also accepting the fact that the room for manoeuvre for settlement of Kashmir is limited, what is the next step that I would suggest. I told him that I would prefer to hear his solution. However, on his insistence I said the first step is to determine the aim which we would like to achieve. Thereafter, create an organisation which will thrash out the best method of achieving that aim.

To my mind, the aim should be to work out a solution that will satisfy the three parties to the dispute on Kashmir, i.e. the people of Kashmir, Pakistan and India. Once that is accepted, it should not be beyond human ingenuity to find out a solution, which though not satisfying everybody in toto, should be reasonably acceptable. In order to thrash out such a solution, I was prepared to personally discuss it with him, or a couple of his and our Ministers could thrash it out, or else we could put it in the hands of officials to do so.

Pundit Nehru thought over it and said that he foresaw meeting serious political opposition from his opponents like the Communists and others, and at the same time from his party members. I told him that he himself was big enough to face all that provided he picked up the necessary courage which he must. In any case, I am not demanding an immediate 'Yes' or 'No' answer. He can go back and think over this proposal, and if he thought there was any future in it, he should let me know.

On another occasion when he was inviting me to visit India, and inquiring when I could come, I told him quite frankly that I could only come if he was prepared to settle Kashmir dispute with us, or anyhow make a beginning. I then jokingly told him to pick up courage and not lose that golden opportunity, when the bulk of his people are so anxious to have peace with us.

At one time he quoted the instance of occupation by China of Indian territory, and how violently the Indian opinion had reacted. I told him that the loss of Indian territory to China was not a correct parallel to any possible loss of territory in Kashmir to Pakistan. The people of India had every right to feel hurt on forceful occupation of their territory by a country which was regarded as the closest friend, as you had been telling them so. They felt that they had been stabbed in the back. Loss of territory, if any, in Kashmir would on the other

hand be due to mutual understanding, and for mutual benefit which thinking people in India cannot fail to understand and appreciate. I also told him that all the good that was being done in other spheres was liable to be nullified so long as Kashmir remains unsettled.

On another occasion, Pundit Nehru raised the question of one million pounds belonging to Nizam and lying in a bank of England in the name of Ibrahim Rahimtoola. I told him that the answer was to turn it into a trust to be administered by the Indian and Pakistani High Commissioners for the benefit of students from Hyderabad and Hyderabad refugees in Pakistan for education in England. He thought it was the best solution. I told him that if we were not quick and if either the Nizam or Ibrahim died, most of the money would be taken over by the British Government in death duties. Foreign Office had been told to finalise it in consultation with the Indian Foreign Office.

One thing that gave me a lot of satisfaction and pride in our people was the manner in which they received Pundit Nehru. They showed traditional Muslim generosity and hospitality. There was perfect discipline and decorum everywhere. At the same time, it was quite clear from their faces that they regarded him in no small measure responsible for the trials and tribulations which this Sub-continent had to face and was still facing.

THE ROLE OF MOUNTBATTEN

ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN did not expect an immediate answer from the Prime Minister of India and suggested that he should take his own time to respond to his proposals, Pundit Nehru never responded to the well-reasoned and practicable proposals made by President Ayub Khan.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru told an American correspondent:

> The way Calais was written on the heart of Mary, the same way Kashmir is written on mine.

On 6th October, 1960, President Ayub Khan in a public statement emphasised how important Kashmir was for Pakistan. He said:

> Our communication, our rivers, and even the ceasefire line in Kashmir, are sufficient factors to indicate that our neck is in the grip of others.

The history of Kashmir shows how Islam and Muslim culture permeated this hilly Kingdom which was a meeting-place of India, Tibet, China and Russia. It was at beginning of the fourteenth century when the Hindu king fled and the Muslim rule began in Kashmir. Sikander - the ruler of Kashmir occupies in the annals of Kashmir the same position which Aurangzeb occupies in the history of India. Like Mahmud Ghaznavi, he is known as 'Butshikan'. His son, Zainul-Abedin whose reign began in 1420, was of a contrasting temperament and adopted an entirely different attitude towards his Hindu subjects. He allowed many Hindus who had been banished by his father to return to Kashmir and appointed them to high jobs. Like Akbar, he followed a policy of conciliation towards his Hindu subjects.

Akbar annexed Kashmir and appointed a Mughal Governor. Since the court language of the Mughals was Persian, the Kashmiri kings adopted Persian as their court language. There were eminent poets and writers who composed and wrote in classical Persian. Kashmir became known as 'Iran-e-Saghir'. It is significant that Allama Iqbal whose ancestors came from Kashmir composed his Persian verses with the same ease - or perhaps more - as his Urdu verses. The Sikhs ruled over Kashmir for over 27 years from 1819 to 1846.

After the British defeated the Sikhs under the Treaty of Amritsar, Gulab Singh was made the ruler of Kashmir by the British. He was a Dogra Rajput. He paid to the British a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs. There is no parallel in the history of the world where such a big kingdom was bought for such a paltry sum.

The British had been hostile to the Muslims of Kashmir as would be evident from Despatch No. 8 of 1846 to the East India Company by the Governor-General, Lord Harding. I quote from the Despatch:

> A Rajput principality of the hill districts has been constructed extending from the Ravi to the Indus, and including the province of Kashmir. The Maharaja - Gulab Singh - has been declared by the treaty, independent of the Lahore State and under the protection of the British Government. As it was of the utmost importance to weaken the Sikh nation before its Government could be re-established, I considered the appropriation of this part of the ceded territory to be the most expedient measure. I could devise for that purpose by which a Rajput dynasty will act as a counterpoise against the power of a Sikh prince, the son of the late Ranjit Singh and both will have a common interest in resisting all efforts on the part of any Muhammeden power to establish an independent state on this side of the Indus or even to occupy Peshawar.

History repeated itself when the last Viceroy and Governor-General of

India, Lord Mountbatten, helped the Government of India to occupy a major portion of Kashmir by force. The tribesmen who had gone to rescue their Muslim brothers of Kashmir from Indian domination were only 4 1/2 miles away from Srinagar when the Indian Military forces landed and drove back the tribesmen. None of the Indian leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had ever wielded a gun. It was the master-mind of an Admiral of the British navy which directed and supervised the Military operation resulting in the occupation of Kashmir by India.

In order to give a semblance of constitutional move, which was actually naked aggression, Mountbatten made a public statement that while accepting the Maharaja's decision to accede to India, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people when law and order had been restored. Mountbatten took no steps to fulfil his promise, and ascertain, the wishes of people of Kashmir during the time that he stayed on in India as the first Governor General of India.

A cease-fire was proclaimed on lst January, 1949. The cease-fire line was demarcated in July, 1949.

Lappierre and Collins, the well-known authors of the book entitled *'Freedom At Midnight*'*, despite their bias against Pakistan and its founder, have stated Mountbatten's role with regard to Kashmir, in the following paragraphs:

> Mountbatten received the news as he was dressing for a banquet in honour of Thailand's Foreign Minister. When the last guest had left, he asked Nehru to stay behind. The Prime Minister was stunned by the news. There was scarcely a piece of information that could have upset him more. He loved his ancestral home above all places, like 'a supremely beautiful woman whose beauty is almost impersonal and above desire'. He loved 'its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees'. Time and again during the struggle for freedom he had gone home to contemplate the 'hard mountains and precipices and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below'.
>
> The Governor-General was to discover another Nehru on the Kashmir issue. The cool, detached intelligence Mountbatten so admired disappeared, to be replaced by an instinctive, emotional response fuelled by passions even the Kashmiri Brahmin could not control. 'As Calais was written upon the heart of your Queen Mary,' Nehru would cry out to him one day to explain his attitude, 'so Kashmir is written upon mine.'

* 'Freedom At Midnight', Lappierre and Collins, Pages 353-354, 3rd edition, Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd., New Delhi India, 1978.

Still another stormy interview, this one with Field-Marshal Auchinleck, remained for Mountbatten. The Supreme Commander told the Governor-General he wanted to airlift immediately a brigade of British troops to Srinagar to protect and evacuate its hundreds of retired Britishers. If they weren't got out, he warned, they would be the victims of a frightful orgy of rape and massacre.

'I am sorry,' Mountbatten said, 'I cannot agree.'. However ghastly that prospect was, he could not endorse the use of British soldiers on the soil of a sub-continent become independent. If there was going to be military intervention in Kashmir, he declared, as far as he was concerned it would have to be by Indian, not British, forces.

'Those people up there will all be murdered and their blood will be on your hands,' an angry Auchinleck protested.

'Well,' the unhappy Mountbatten replied, 'I shall just have to take that responsibility. It's the penalty of having the job. But I'm not going to answer for what will happen if British troops get involved.'

The following afternoon a DC3 of the Royal Indian Air Force put down on the abandoned dirt strip of Srinagar Airport. It carried V.P. Menon, the civil servant who had presided over so many princely accessions to India, Colonel Sam Manekshaw of the Indian Army, and an air force officer.

The decision to send the three men to Srinagar had been taken by an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet's Defence Committee that morning. The committee had been confronted with a plea for help from the beleaguered Maharaja. Worried by his conversation with Auchinleck, aware of how intense Nehru's feelings were, Mountbatten had realised military intervention was likely. Determined it should have a legal framework, he had convinced his government that India should not send her troops into Kashmir until the Maharaja had officially acceded, thus making his state legally a part of India.

He went even further. He was as attached to certain democratic nations in India's service as he had been in the service of George VI. Just as he had always believed it would be impossible for Britain to remain in India against India's will, so he believed there could be no solution in Kashmir that ran athwart the sentiments of its Moslem majority. He had no doubt what they were. 'I am convinced', he would write in a report to his cousin the King on 7 November, 'that a population containing such a high proportion of Moslems would certainly vote to join Pakistan.'

Despite Nehru's reservations, he persuaded his Prime Minister and his Cabinet to attach to Kashmir's accession a capital provision.

The Maharaja's accession would be considered temporary. It would be rendered permanent only after law and order had been restored and it had been confirmed as representing the will of Kashmir's population by a plebiscite.

V.P. Menon was ordered to Srinagar to present the Cabinet's terms to the Maharaja while the officers accompanying him studied the military situation. While they flew off, the former Supreme Allied Commander South-East Asia set in motion the preparations for an historic airlift to Kashmir. He ordered all India's civil air transport to drop their passengers wherever they were and head for Delhi.

To continue the version of the same authors again:

As soon as they'd returned to Delhi, V.P. Menon and the two officers who'd accompanied him to Srinagar made their report to another meeting of the Cabinet's Defence Committee. Their words made sombre hearing. The Maharaja was ready at last to present Kashmir to India, but the Pathan raiders were only 35 miles from Srinagar and could at any moment seize the only airport in Kashmir on which India could land her troops.

The British commanders of India's army and air force both raised objections to military intervention. It would be a distant, dangerous operation in the midst of a population which could well prove hostile. Sensing the intensity of Indian emotion on the issue, Mountbatten overruled them. He warned that the operations they were embarking on could be long and involve far more men and resources than anyone might foresee. But with his Cabinet determined to act, Mountbatten threw the full weight of his own military experience into the balance.

He ordered an airlift to start flying troops to Srinagar at dawn the following morning. Every available transport in the country, civil and military, was to be used in the effort. The troops would have to cling at all costs to the airport and Srinagar until reinforcements were ordered to leave immediately by the only land link joining India to Kashmir, the inadequate road Cyril Radcliffe's pencil had providentially delivered to India when he had assigned New Delhi the town of Gurdaspure with its largely Moslem population.

While the frenzied preparations for the operation were under way, Mountbatten ordered V.P. Menon to fly to Jammu. Hari Singh would not die of a bullet in the brain on the first night of his flight. V.P. Menon reached his bedside before the expiration of the ultimatum the Maharaja had given his ADC. With him, awaiting only Hari

> Singh's signature, was the Act of Accession which would provide a legal framework for India's action.
>
> V.P. Menon was back in his Delhi home late on the evening of that same Sunday, 26 October. Alexander Symon, Britain's Deputy High Commissioner, joined him for a drink a few minutes after his return. Menon was jubilant. He poured them each a stiff drink. As they sat down, an enormous smile spread across his face. He raised his glass to Symon. Then he pulled a piece of paper from his jacket pocket and waved it gaily towards the Englishman.
>
> 'Here it is,' he said, 'We have Kashmir. The bastard signed the Act of Accession. And now that we've got it, we'll never let it go.'

Had Mountbatten left India after 15th August, 1947, he would not have been accused of his double-faced policy in respect of Junagarh and Kashmir. As Viceroy, he had advised the rulers of Indian States to take into consideration the wishes of their people before acceding either to India or to Pakistan. Did not Mountbatten know that the Maharaja of Kashmir was pressurised to send his Instrument of Accession? Did not Mountbatten know that an overwhelming majority of Kashmiris were anxious to accede to Pakistan? Mountbatten's attitude amounts to 'head I win tail you lose.'

When Mountbatten had consulted his friend, the Nawab of Bhopal, who was at one time Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, whether he should accept India's offer to him to remain as Governor-General after 15th August and in the absence of a similar offer from the Muslim League, the Nawab had advised that he should remain in India if both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League invited him to remain as Governor-General of both the Dominions. If he did not have a joint invitation, the best thing for him would be to leave India in a blaze of glory. Mountbatten did not accept the Nawab's advice and exposed himself to the charge of partiality to India. By being the first Governor-General of free India, Mountbatten perhaps wished to have his name in history as he did not appear to be satisfied with his role as the last representative of the British Crown. But there might be another reason: the pressure of Lady Mountbatten who was believed to have a very very soft corner for Pundit Nehru. The authors of 'Freedom At Midnight' too have broached this theme as follows*:

> His (Mountbatten's) friendship with the Indian Prime Minister had grown too. Women like Edwina Mountbatten were rare in the world and rarer still in the India of 1947. No one had been better able to draw Nehru from his shell when doubts and depression gripped

* Reference Page No. 125

> him then attractive aristocrat who radiated so much compassion, intelligence and warmth. Often, over tea, a stroll in the Mohgul Gardens, or a swim in the viceregal pool, she had been able to charm Nehru out of his gloom, redress a situation and subtly encourage her husband's efforts.

H.N. Pundit, a well-known Indian journalist and author, in his book 'Fragments of History' (1982), has observed:

> Mountbatten gave different versions of his advice to the Maharaja of Kashmir. He told Allen Campbell Johnson that he had asked the Maharaja to join either India or Pakistan by 14th August. He told Nehru that he had told the Maharaja not to do anything till 14th August. He told the authors of 'Freedom at Midnight' that he had asked the Maharaja to have his State acceded to Pakistan.

20

LAHORE: THE CULTURAL CAPITALOF PAKISTAN

— King Shahjahan invited his mother Noor Jehan to move to Agra from Lahore, she declined to leave Lahore and composed a verse in Persian which she wrote to Shahjahan.

IN OCTOBER 1960, I proceeded on four months leave for rest and change. I spent two months in Lahore and two months in Karachi. Lahore is very pleasant in November and December. The trees on the Mall Road are well planted and well trimmed. The lawns of Atchison College, the G.O.R., and Mayo Gardens are lush green. When I lived in Lahore as Chief Settlement Commissioner, I had no time to wander on the streets and to explore the old parts of Lahore. Most of the time, I was thronged by applicants and complainants.

I got an opportunity to move in the literary circles of Lahore and to enjoy the company of veteran journalists like Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik and Aga Shorish Kashmiri, eminent literary figures like Syed Rais Ahmed Jaffery and Muhammad Tufail of Nuqoosh, renowned poets like Hafeez Jullundhari, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Tufail Hoshiarpuri, Ehsan Danish, Abdul Hameed Adam, Hakim Nayyar Wasti and Syed Muhammad Zamir Jaffery.

Syed Rais Ahmed Jaffery had written about 350 books in the course of his distinguished literary career. Among his well-known writings are (a) translation of Nahjul-Balaghah in Urdu (b) The Life and Time of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, (c) The Life and Time of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He honoured me by dedicating his book "Tareekh Daulat-e-Fatmiah" to me. His theme was that the Fatimid rulers of Egypt were enlightened and tolerant. Everyone in the state had full liberty to follow his Fiqh.

I attended a couple of well organised Mushairas and addressed a large

meeting convened by Majlis-e-Fikro-Nazar, in which I read my poem on Allama Iqbal. The poem was as follows:

میں تیرے شہر میں آیا ہوں شہر یارِ سخن
وہ شہر چھوڑ کے جو تھا کبھی دیارِ سخن

O poet of poets! I have come to visit your dwelling,
I left my place, which was indeed the temple of learning.

طویل دورِ غلامی میں تُو نے شاہی کی
بجائے جبرِ ملا تجھ کو اختیارِ سخن

During the days of slavery, you reigned supreme,
For the wounded hearts, your poetry was all-soothing.

اسی زمیں میں راوی کے دو کناروں پر
ہیں محوِ خواب جہانگیر تاجدارِ سخن

On this land, on the banks of the river Ravi,
Jehangir and the monarch of poetry are sleeping.

نشاں نگارِ جہانگیر کا رہے نہ رہے
رہے گا نام ہمیشہ ترا نگارِ سخن

Jehangir's name may last long, it may go to oblivion,
Till eternity, your name shall never come to nothing.

شرابِ تُند کی مانند تھا ترا "شکوہ"
"جوابِ شکوہ" سمجھ لیجیے خُمارِ سخن

Your poem named 'Shikwa' was like a bitter wine,
Delectable was 'Jawab-e-Shikwa', it was intoxicating.

مِلا جواب میں شکوے کے ہم کو پاکستان
خدا کی شان کہ اتنا بڑھا وقارِ سخن

Pakistan was the product, of that ebullient poem,
Great was your poetry, and its effect culminating.

No better place could be selected for the grave of Allama Iqbal than the courtyard of the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore. In my poem, I have made a reference to the Mausoleums of Emperor Jehangir and Empress Noor Jehan. Jehangir's grave lies in a grand building which is well maintained. The mausoleum over Noor Jehan's grave is neither impressive nor well-kept. It was this contrast which had moved the well known Urdu poet, Arzoo Lakhnavi, to compose a ghazal which contained these two lines:

قتّال جہاں معشوق جو تھے سوتے ہیں پڑے مرقد ان کے
یا مرنے والے لاکھوں تھے یا رونے والا کوئی نہیں
بیٹھے ہیں کہاں اہل مسند آغاز وہ نیک، انجام یہ بد
یا عیش و طرب یا کنج لحد یا وہ مجمع یا کوئی نہیں

The phantom of beauty one who was, deserted is her grave,
Ten thousands were her lovers, but mourner isn't even a knave,
Where are those throne-sitters? what a happy beginning, what a sad end!
There's no pomp and show, no assembly of people, but a lonely cave.

Had Noor Jehan died in the life-time of Jehangir as Mumtaz Mahal had died in the life time of Shahjehan, Jehangir would have undoubtedly raised a grand structure over her grave on the bank of Ravi like the Taj Mahal on the bank of Jamna. Shahjehan had invited his mother Noor Jehan to move to Agra from Lahore but she declined to leave Lahore which had witnessed scenes of her glory. She composed a verse and wrote to Shahjehan:

لاہور را بجاں برابر خریدہ ایم
جاں دادہ ایم جنتِ دیگر خریدہ ایم

Better than Lahore, there's no merchandise,
It's paradise, paradise, paradise.

I found peace of mind at two places in Lahore - the Badshahi Mosque and the Mausoleum of Data Ganjbakhsh. The charms of Lahore grow upon one gradually.

During my stay in Lahore, I spent a good deal of time in the company of Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, Justice Shamim Husain Kadri and Justice Muhammad Rustam Kayani. Hakim Qarshi was a well-known Hakim and had treated Allama Iqbal during his illness. He was a friend and an admirer of Iqbal and told me many stories about the human touch and sense of humour of that great poet.

Justice Shamim Husain Kadri took prominent part in the Pakistan Movement and served to the best of his ability the uprooted refugees from East Punjab who wended their way to Lahore. He has good literary taste. His book 'Creation of Pakistan' published by Wajid Ali's of Lahore in 1982, is worth reading and is of great value to the students of the history of Pakistan. He has retired from the high office of the Chief Justice of Lahore High Court.

KAYANI, A MAN OF QUALITIES

CHIEF JUSTICE M.R. KAYANI was one of the most fascinating personalities of his time. He had innumerable qualities of head and heart and possessed a keen sense of humour. I had known him since 1958 when I used to occupy a house close to his residence in the G.O.R. We used to walk together frequently. An advocate of Lahore High Court often joined him in his walk. Since he had to work with advocates the whole day, he did not feel at ease when that advocate joined him in his walk but he was too courteous to exhibit his real feelings. However, that advocate ceased to visit him in the evenings after the following conversation had taken place between them. One evening when Kayani could not go out for a walk on account of an attack of asthma, the advocate asked him as to how long he had been suffering from periodical attacks of asthma. Kayani replied since 1927. The advocate inquired how he got his first attack.

"This is a sad story," said Kayani, "it happened in 1927."

The advocate could not resist his curiosity and inquired of the circumstances in which he fell prey to that disease. Kayani replied,

"I and S.A. Rehman (who retired as Chief Justice of Punjab High Court and a Judge of Supreme Court of Pakistan) were together in Cambridge. During the winter holidays, he was wise enough to go to Nice, South France, which is warmer than any place in England and I was foolish enough to go to Edinburgh in Scotland which is much colder than Cambridge. I hired a room in a Boarding House for bed and breakfast as I could not afford the charges of a hotel. The landlady told me that I should get back before 11:00 p.m. otherwise she would not open the entrance door. I complied with her wishes but one night

when I had gone to see a play, I arrived at the Boarding House at 12:00 midnight. I rang up the door bell without any response. I spent the night in a nearby Cricket pavilion. The wind was biting. In the morning, I was shivering like a leaf and I had to be removed to a hospital. My health was shattered in one night. My asthma is the legacy of that night."

The advocate who was a very talkative person asked Kayani, "Why could you not move to a hotel for one night or if hotel was so expensive, why did you not spend the night in the waiting room of Edinburgh Railway Station?"

Kayani put a counter question to the advocate, "Why did you not meet me at the steps of the Boarding House in Edinburgh when I was ringing the door bell? The proper time to give that advice was in Edinburgh 33 years ago and not in Lahore in 1960."

After that exchange, I never saw the advocate at Kayani's residence.

Justice Kayani was an ideal judge. He was a man of great integrity and independence and his sense of justice was as remarkable as his sense of humour. Extremely bold as he was, he never cared for anyone howsoever high or mighty that person might have been.

When he assumed charge as Chief Justice of West Pakistan High Court on 1st April, 1958, he replied to an address presented to him by the Advocate-General and the President of the Bar Association in the following words:

> Gentlemen, it is nine years and a day since I joined this court as a Judge. It was the 1st of April, as Mr. President has pointed out, and considering that it was the 1st of April, I have not at all done badly. When I told the Chief Justice of Pakistan that I had joined on the 1st April, he looked at me with amusement and said: 'In that case I am not surprised.' I am myself not surprised, and if I have done anything unorthodox, anything which had the scented breath of 1st April, the breeziness of spring about it, then you must remember that your estimate of me also should share the same attribute. It was a great effort that I put into making today the 2nd of April. In nine years I have succeeded in altering the programme by one day only. But in your future judgement on me, you must remember that it is only one day removed from 1st April, and that by taking a new oath as Chief Justice I do not any the less remain a judge, subject as before to the breezy influences of 1st April. So far as the taking of oaths goes, my brother Ortcheson has by now taken eight of them, and he is still suffering from good health.
>
> And now, Mr. Advocate General and Mr. President, since you have referred to my bright career and my well-merited promotions, let me confess to you frankly that all that glitters is not gold. For you have today before you a person whose little failures in life will

> encourage you never to despair of God's favours, provided you do not give up in despair. You will no doubt say that this particular favour has just fallen in my way, but you forget that the favour of becoming a Judge did not fall in my way. And here I must contradict, most emphatically, a statement in the press and by the Advocate-General that I came over to the judicial side of the Service because I had an inclination in that direction. I deny this not because I am unhappy - it may be that I have discovered my line - but because I do not wish to take false credit of having been what I was not. The judicial career was thrust on me because of my unsuitability to the executive. I shall not go into the details of my unsuitability, but what I could not explain to myself was that I was not more suitable to the judicial side. For, about the same time, a District Magistrate, reporting on my work as a Sub-Divisional Officer, had remarked that I wrote very hard judgements, tried to be funny and was often ridiculous. These were the very words used - 'tries to be funny', as though I did not succeed even in being funny.

At an address of welcome to Major-General Iskander Mirza, President of Pakistan, at the Second Annual Dinner of the C.S.P. Association on the 17th March, 1957, Kayani observed:

> So I permit you to smoke, and if you have started smoking already, I hereby validate your smoking, under the Validation of Laws Act. The practice of a whole decade (The reference was to the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Governor-General, the abrogation of all laws passed by it and the necessity of subsequent validation by himself....) has made me loyal to the laws of the country.

How candid Justice Kayani was when he made the following remarks:

> In the High Court, the Judges call themselves brothers: my brother Kaikaus, my brother Ortcheson, I must add that the Chief Justice is excluded from this brotherhood; he is called My Lord the Chief Justice. I once suggested that when we differ from another Judge, we should say, my step-brother Kaikaus. 'And what about the Federal Court' asked Chief Justice Munir - it was then the Federal Court. 'Oh,' I said, 'that presents no difficulty. We should say, our step-father Sir Abdur Rehman, our step-father Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram.' ..... Sir, I conclude by proposing the toast of Pakistan - this country that was carved out by the iron will of a single person - but that is a sad reflection and sometimes these words have brought

tears to my eyes:

دیکھتا ہے میرے منہ کی طرف
قائدِ اعظم کا پاکستان دیکھ

My face has nothing, nothing to reveal,
Better look at the Quaid's Pakistan.

To quote again a few of his words:

> I drink to Pakistan. May she have a leadership which guides her to solidarity, firmness and above all, integrity.

THE LONE VOICE AGAINST AYUB'S MARTIAL LAW

M.R. KAYANI'S ADDRESS to the Karachi Bar Association on 11th December, 1958, after the promulgation of Martial Law in Pakistan on the night between 7th & 8th of October, 1958, is a classic document. He said:

> Gentlemen, you have said nothing in your address relating directly to the Martial Law, perhaps out of fear that it may hit some Martial Law Regulation, but your reference to the Fundamental Rights and the supervisory jurisdiction of the High Court has a direct bearing on the subject. Before, however, I discuss these matters, I wish to tell you that criticism which is clearly in good faith and is for the benefit of a Government can be resented only by an unwise Government, and if you have no fear about your own intentions, you will have no fear - you cannot possibly have any fear - about your intentions being misconstrued. I take this opportunity of suggesting to members of the Government to invite healthy criticism, so that people are not oppressed with the weight of their own thoughts. Now as regards the Fundamental Rights, they are so fundamental that you cannot abrogate them. The liberty of speech, the opportunity to the accused person to defend himself, the equality before the law are not matters which require a declaration of fundamentality. We have always upheld them by different processes. Did the Fundamental Rights and the writ jurisdiction exist when we released the prisoners in the Pindi Conspiracy Case in 1955? It was a bad year for the rule of law, and the atmosphere was surcharged with the fear of despot-

ism. We neither approved of those prisoners nor disapproved of them but we released them in order to maintain a balance of forces on society and to allay fears. We wanted disorderly persons of all classes - religious, political, social, martial - to have an equal opportunity and interfered only when they were 'dangerously disorderly'. Perhaps you have forgotten that the law of civil necessity had come to our land like casual food and was in danger of sweeping men off their political feet. We stabbed civil necessity, and now you have created for us a military necessity. We have done a great many things which you will inscribe on our graves, after our death, but I shall not permit any grave to be dug for me while I am living.

I reproduce the opening part of his speech at the Fatima Jinnah Medical llege for Girls, on 27th February, 1960:

For you it is an ordinary occasion to have a guest of honour at your annual dinner; for the guest it is an honour of no ordinary kind to be among the most youthful feminine talent of the country. But you can see from my face that I am a tired person and, therefore, avoid these functions unless duty of some kind compels or impels me. Now this is a case, not of compulsion, but of impulsion, and the impelling forces are two, both of them selfish.

Firstly, the invitation came from a quarter for which I have affection and regards: it was Dr. Shujaat Ali's daughter reinforced by Dr. Shujaat Ali himself. Secondly, my wife and I both need doctors and shall need them for the next 20 years, unless it be some doctor's pleasure to exploit the will of God and despatch us to our eternal abode sooner.

This is a true story I am going to tell you, and it was a doctor himself who related it to me. Someone died and his soul went up or went down to some place where the souls receive orders of allotment to heaven or hell. Since the presumption generally is that a man will go to hell - in our swear-words we always say ; To hell with you - the attendant entrusted the soul to the keeper of hell. The keeper consulted his registers and said: 'There is no reservation for you here, my dear fellow. I am afraid you will have to go to heaven.' The attendant then entrusted him to the keeper of heaven, who found that there was no reservation for him in heaven either. This perplexed the attendant and the matter was reported to higher authority. Whether it was St. Peter or the Archangel Gabriel, I forget, but the higher authority questioned the dead man's soul as to his last residence on earth, and found that he was a patient in the Ganga Ram Hospital. 'Who was your doctor?' asked the higher authority, and the patient

named - well, let us say, Dr. Smith. 'Ah! that rascal,' said the higher authority, 'I thought it must be he because he always sends his patients to us ahead of schedule - many days before the appointed time.'

Justice Kayani hailed from Kohat District. He was once invited to the Government Kohat College as a chief guest. He told me that as soon as he arrived, he saw students collecting printed copies of the Address of the Principal which had been distributed before his arrival. This appeared curious to him. He asked the Principal why the copies already distributed were being withdrawn. The Principal made the excuse that since there were several printing mistakes, he thought it better to withdraw the copies. Kayani insisted on seeing what the printed mistakes were. He found that there was only one printing mistake. In the Address, he was described as the Thief Guest instead of the Chief Guest. This mistake tickled him and he read over the mistake to the amusement of all present.

Once when he came to Karachi on tour, I called on him to enquire about his health as I had been told that he had not been keeping well. Since he had gone out when I called, I left my visiting card and got the following reply:

برادرم ہاشم رضا

اَلسَّلامُ عَلَیْکُمْ! یہ آپ نے کیا مخول بنایا ہے کہ پہلے تسلّی کر لیتے ہیں کہ مَیں گھر میں نہیں ہوں اور پھر آ کر کارڈ چھوڑ جاتے ہیں۔ لاہور میں ایسا ہی ہُوا۔ اب کے کراچی میں بھی وہی کام کیا اور اب دُعائیں بھی میرے پیچھے لگا دی ہیں۔

کل میں نے گورنر کو قسم دینا ہے اور گورنر نے مجھ کو دینا ہے میں اس کو لوگوں کے سامنے دو نگاہ علیٰحدگی میں نہیں، کس کا اعتبار زیادہ ہوا؟ پھر میں ججوں کو دوں گا۔ قسموں پر قسمیں کھاتے جاتے ہیں اور توڑے جاتے ہیں اور کفارہ دیتے جاتے ہیں۔

محترم کو آداب

مخلص

محمد رستم کیانی

Lahore,
7th June, 1962.

Brother Hashim Raza,

What kind of joke it is that you visit and drop a card after having confirmed that I am not at home. It happened in Lahore. The same thing you did in Karachi. Now you have set at me your blessings too.

Tomorrow I have to take oath from the Governor and he has to take from me. I shall take this oath in the very presence of people, and he will do it in privacy. Which of us is to be relied upon more? Afterwards, I shall take oath from the Judges. They keep on taking oaths, violating them, and making atonement for them.

With highest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,
Muhammad Rustam Kayani.

On my return from East Pakistan in 1962, I met Mr. Justice Kayani and conveyed to him the request of the Press Club of Dacca who were keen to see and hear him since they had enjoyed very much his speeches delivered in West Pakistan. He told me that he would visit East Pakistan as soon as he had retired from service, a promise which he fulfilled inspite of his illness. He was suffering from blood cancer and, against the advice of his doctors, he went to Dacca and from Dacca to Chittagong. He died in Chittagong. In my obituary tribute to him on Radio Pakistan, I said:

> Kayani was a Pakistani par excellence devoid of any provincial or parochial tendencies. In his death he proved his love for all parts of Pakistan. Chittagong is situated in the far-East of Pakistan and Kohat, which was his home town, is located in the far-West of Pakistan. His funeral prayers were offered at the airports of Chittagong, Dacca, Lahore and Peshawar. He was buried in Kohat and his death was mourned in every corner of Pakistan. May his soul rest in eternal peace!

21

EAST BENGAL: THE LAND OF FINE ARTS

— The people of East Pakistan are proud of their language and culture, their poetry and paintings, their drama and folk dances and their artistic tastes.

I WAS INVITED TO address the annual function of the Rotary Club of Dacca. The President of the Club in 1961 was Justice Abu Saeed Chowdhary who became President of Bangladesh when fate separated the two wings of Pakistan in 1971. During the course of his speech, Chowdhary recounted the services rendered by the Rotarians of Dacca in alleviating the sufferings of the victims of the cyclone that had hit Dacca on 9th May, 1961. In my reply, I complimented them on their performance and remarked that they lived upto the Rotary motto "Service before Self".

I referred to a dispute over a piece of land in Tangail, District Mymensingh. The plot in question was located in between the "bastis"* of the local barbers and the sweepers. Both claimed the vacant space for the expansion of their ever-growing families. Owing to the prevarication of the local authority, the dispute took an ugly turn when the barbers decided not to cut the hair of the sweepers and the sweepers resolved not to sweep the lanes of the barbers. The stench of the garbage was all over the town. I remarked that it was a pity that there were no Rotarians in Tangail who could put service before self by sweeping the lanes of the barbers and shaving the heads of the sweepers!

ART AND CULTURE:

The people of East Pakistan are proud of their language and culture, their poetry and paintings, their dramas and folk dances and their artistic tastes. This

* Settlements.

was evident to me when I attended the functions convened by the Bengal Academy, the Arts Council, the Bulbul Academy, the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu and The Seven - a cultural society. What I said at a meeting convened by "The Seven" was reported in the 'Morning News' of Dacca dated 28th April, 1961:

> The Chief Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, who presided over the function, confined himself to stating that before coming to East Pakistan he had been told that the province abounded with art and culture. That this was true would be obvious when one considered the fact that during the past eight weeks that he had been in East Pakistan, he had attended not less than 16 such (art and culture) functions.

TAGORE AND NAZRUL ISLAM:

Both Tagore and Nazrul Islam are universally acknowledged as the greatest poets of Bengali language. Rabindara Nath Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He founded Shanti Niketan - a school of music, dancing art and literature. The veteran Muslim League leader, Raja Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmudabad, wrote in his autobiographical notes that in his student days he wanted to join Shanti Niketan but could not do so as Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom he called uncle, asked him to join the school of politics - Muslim League. Tagore's poems thrill the Hindus, Nazrul Islam's verses inspire the Muslims.

The year 1961 was celebrated as the hundredth birth anniversary of Tagore and the 61st birth anniversary of Nazrul Islam. Nazrul Islam was born on May 24, 1899. He was the sixth child of his poor parents. On the death of his father, he stepped into his shoes as a "Muazzin"[1] and "Khadim"[2] of the local mosque. He left home and went to Asansol, tackled a job there in a baker's shop on meagre wages. He was still in his Matriculation class when Nazrul went to Calcutta and joined the 24th Bengali Regiment during the First World War as an ordinary soldier.

Nazrul lived in Karachi in the Abyssinia Lines when his Regiment was shifted from Calcutta to Karachi. He was promoted as Havildar but did not see active service. When in Karachi, he learnt Persian and translated into Bengali some of the quatrains of the great Persian poet, Hafiz-e-Shirazi. He burst like a storm in Bengali literature. His contributions in prose and poetry were

1. One who gives clarion call for five times congregational prayers everyday.
2. Servant.

published in various journals of Calcutta in which he described himself as Havildar Qazi Nazrul Islam, 49th Bengali Regiment, Karachi.

He left the Army when the First World War ended and embarked upon a literary career which lasted for 25 years. His literary output was colossal, more than 50 published books of poems, songs, ghazals, stories, dramas, novels and essays. Tagore recognised Nazrul's merit by dedicating his drama "Vasant" to Nazrul Islam when the latter was in jail for sedition at the age of 23. He was transformed from a soldier to a rebel. He launched a continuous crusade against the tyranny of foreign rulers, the inhuman behaviour of landed aristocracy in Bengal and the exploitations of the capitalists of India. His mind worked ceaselessly till he lost his reason in 1942.

Tagore was a poet of the elites, Nazrul was a poet of the masses. The Bengali Academy and the Iqbal-Nazrul Islam Society celebrated the 61st birthday of Nazrul Islam with considerable enthusiasm. The Bengali Academy arranged an exhibition of Nazrul's published works, unpublished manuscripts and letters. It attracted large crowds. An account of these two functions was published in two issues of the 'Morning News' as follows:

GLOWING TRIBUTES
PAID TO NAZRUL:

> Glowing tributes were paid to Nazrul Islam yesterday afternoon at a function organised by the Iqbal-Nazrul Islam Society at the Islamic Academy.
>
> Syed Hashim Raza, Chief Secretary, Government of East Pakistan, who presided over the function, recited one of his own poems, which he had composed 29 years ago, after being inspired by a translation of Rebel, an epoch-making poem by Nazrul Islam.
>
> The verses, dated back to 1932 when the Chief Secretary was in the early period of his educational career, demonstrated his poetic vision which also proved to be prophetic. In his short poem, Syed Hashim Raza had visualised the prospects of an end to slavery and the beginning of an era of independent nationalism.
>
> A lively discussion, on the literary contributions of Nazrul Islam was also held at the meeting, in which prominent poets and writers participated. Among others, Qazi Motahar Husain, Mr. Mizanur Rehman and Mr. Amirul Islam Sharqi, discussed various aspects of his poetry.

******

NAZRUL'S WORK
A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION:

Syed Hashim Raza, Chief Secretary to the Government of East Pakistan, yesterday emphasised the need for preserving Nazrul Islam's works which were an eternal source of inspiration.

The Chief Secretary was inaugurating an exhibition of the published works, a few manuscripts and letters of Nazrul Islam at the Bengali Academy.

Syed Hashim Raza said that besides being a source of inspiration, Nazrul Islam's verses were the embodiment of beauty and would continue to be "a joy for ever".

He said that he was a new-comer to this province but he was eager to learn the language in which the rebel poet communicated his inspiring messages to the people.

Earlier, Syed Ali Ahsan, Director, Bengali Academy, welcoming the Chief Secretary, said that it was the first exhibition of its kind to be held in East Pakistan where a genuine effort had been made to collect and display Nazrul Islam's works. This exhibition, he said, depicted all aspects of Nazrul Islam's life.

Besides the published works, manuscripts and letters of the poet, some critical appraisals of the poet's contributions and other materials on his life are being exhibited in a small room of the Bengali Academy.

The specimens of Bengali and Urdu handwriting of the poet and photographs, depicting the various stages of his colourful life, are the most interesting features of the exhibition.

The exhibition will continue till May 31 and will remain open to the public from 3:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

I reproduce my poem on Nazrul Islam to which a reference had been made in the news items:

نوائے آتشیں

زباں پہ تیری نیا ترانہ نگار کے طور والہانہ
سنبھل سنبھل کے چلے زمانہ کہ تیرے تیور ہیں باغیانہ

New rhythm, your poetry has got,
Appeal, in fact, it possesses a lot,
Your spirit knows no onslaght,
Free is the rebel, from slavery's knot.

خزاں کی راتوں کی تیرگی میں　　بہار کے تو نے خواب دیکھے
عجب نہیں زندگی میں تیری　　بنے حقیقت یہی فسانہ

In the dark and dreary night,
There dawned the image of light,
There's no doubt, that you may sight,
A world of immense delight.

دِکھائے تو نے زباں کے جوہر　　بِلائے لفظوں میں لعل و گوہر
جہاں جہاں قحط تھا سخن کا　　لُٹا دیا ہے وہاں خزانہ

Magic of poetry, you certainly revelled,
So great was its effect, that men marvelled,
All darken'd lands, where light hadn't travelled,
You filled them with lustre, hence light it swelled.

اسیر ذہنوں کو حرّیت دی　　جہاں دماغوں کی رہبری کی
اُٹھے گا جب شاعری کا پرچہ　　تو دنگ رہ جائے گا زمانہ

Slavish minds, you liberated,
Young rebels, you captivated,
All forms of tyranny, you truly hated,
Your tale will spread, though belated.

کہے گی قصّہ زبانِ خنجر　　بڑے بڑوں کے جھکیں گے یاں سر
جہاں پہ تنہا علم ہے تیرا　　وہاں سے ہوں قافلے رواں

Time will change but in your favour,
Big-wigs will bow heads, at your altar,
Freaks of fortune will remain no longer,
You will be a deity to many a worshipper.

خدا کرے دور ہو اندھیرا　　خدا کرے جلد ہو سویرا
جہاں پہ تنہا عَلَم ہے تیرا　　وہاں سے ہوں قافلے روانہ

May the bleak darkness change into light,
And there be a dawn, resplendent and bright,
May with each passing day, you attain new height,
Of glory and fame, of majesty and might.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF NAZRUL'S WORK

MR. MIZANUR REHMAN, CHAIRMAN Iqbal-Nazrul Islam Society, whose scholarly work on Nazrul Islam was republished in May, 1960, recited English translation of some stanzas of Nazrul Islam's poems as follows:

THE REBEL
(Vidrohi)

Composed in 1921, on the poet's return to Calcutta from military service. The poem made great sensation in view of its unique conception, sonorous sweep and rhythmic grandeur. It made Nazrul Islam the REBEL POET, as he is generally called. VIDROHI is the first poem of its kind in Bengali literature. It was first published in the Bijali and Muslim Bharat of Calcutta, since defunct, but was reproduced in many other periodicals. It has been translated into different languages. It is recited, off and on, in literary meetings. Nazrul was a young man of twenty-two when he wrote the poem. A section of orthodoxy, mistaking poetic licence for personal conviction, felt chagrined at certain sentiments expressed in the poem, which however, enjoyed wide popularity despite sectional objection. The poet has played a hero's role right through; so the poem may be treated as a picture of the Poet himself.

THE POEM

Proclaim, Hero! proclaim:
Towering high is my head
At the sight of which the
Himalayan peak bends low.
Proclaim, Hero! proclaim"
Tearing the great firmament of
the great universe;
Transcending the moon and the
sun, the planets and the constel-
lations;
Piercing the heart of the earth,
the celestial spheres and the
cosmic path,
And through Allah's Arsh* - the
Mercy Seat,
I have risen as the wonder eter-
nal, of the Lord of the universe,
With the mark of majestic might
on my forehead blazing bright!
Proclaim, Hero! proclaim: My
head is ever held high.
I am the Cyclone; I am Destruc-
tion.
I am the Terrible Terror, and
Curse of the earth.
I am to be stopped by none.
I tear all things to tatters.
I am Indiscipline; I am Chaos.
I trample down all fetters, all
rules and regulations.
I acknowledge no law whatso-
ever.
I am the Rebel, the rebellious
child of the Lord of the universe.
Proclaim, Hero! proclaim: My
head is ever held high.

* The Abode of God.

I am Tempest; I am Tornado.
I shatter all that I encounter before me.
I am the dance-mad Rhythm.
I dance to my rhythmic tune, being the delight of life, free and full.
I am restless for the move, with turns and twists, dash and dance.
I jump and bump, jostle and leap thrice over hissing and singing as I move.
I am the wildest of waves with lightning speed.
I do whatever my mind prompts me to.
I clasp the enemy to my bosom, and fight the duel with death.
I am mad; I am Tempest.
I am the Great Pestilence; I am the terror to the earth.
I am the Dread of Administration; I am Destruction:
I am hot and burning and restless for ever.
I am for ever wild and invincible.
I am indomitable, with my cup of life always full of overflowing wine.
I am the fame of sacrifice;
I am the priest; I am the fire itself.
I hold in one hand the curved bamboo-flute,
and in the other, the trumpet of war.
I am black of throat, having drunk the poison churned from the Ocean of Pain.

I am, by turns, placid and calm,
obstinate, wild and warm.
I am the youth with crimson blood;
I am the smasher of deity's pride.
I am the tempest's sigh and the ocean's wild commotion.
I am glittering, brilliant, bright.
I am the murmur of over-flowing waters;
I am the dash and dance of rolling waves.
I am the maiden's plait untied, and the fire in her blooming eyes.
I am the lotus of love in the heart of a girl of sixteen.
I am the wildest love and the serene satisfaction.

Another famous poem of Nazrul Islam is given as under:

ALLAH IS MY LORD: NO FEAR FOR ME

Allah[1] is my Lord: no fear for me.
My Prophet[2] is Muhammad, of whom the world is full in praise.
With the Quran[3] as my trumpet of life, what can terrify me?
Islam[4] is my Code of life, and Muslim my name to identify!
The Kalima[5] is my Talisman of life, and Tauheed[6] my real Guide.
The Imam[7] is my protecting shield,
and the Hilal[8] my pole star of

life!
"Allah-o-Akbar[9]" is my War-cry in the Jihad of life; my goal is Firdaus[10] with Allah's Arsh[11]- the Seat of Mercy Divine!
Arabia and Egypt, China and Ind,[12] the Muslim world at large, are peopled by my brethren in Faith: none too high, none too low; all on equal footing to grow: the same in body, heart and soul be the princes, or the humblest poor. On the same Takbeer, all of them rise.
Win we must the Battle of Life.

Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, East Pakistan

JUSTICE SYED MAHBOOB MORSHED, Bar-at-Law, who retired as Chief Justice of East Pakistan High Court, was in 1961 the President of the East Pakistan branch of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu. He was an eminent scholar of literature and law. The energetic Secretary of the Anjuman was Habib Ansari who belonged to a learned family of Farangi-Mahal, Lucknow. The Anjuman was fairly active and organised a grand 'Mushaira' - 'a poetical gathering in which poets recite their verses', in Dacca on Saturday, April 29, in the Gulistan Cinema Hall. Justice Morshed presided. The hall was full to its capacity. Prominent officials and non-officials of Dacca including General Mohammed

1. The Arabic word 'Allah' means God.
2. The Prophet of Islam is Hazrat Muhammad (p.b.u.h.).
3. Quran: the holy book of Muslims which is the last and final message of God.
4. Islam is not only a religion but a way of life.
5. In the Arabic language, the word 'Kalima' means a vow. The actual Kalima is, "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger." It is after reciting the Kalima that a non-Muslim comes into the fold of Islam.
6. 'Tauheed' means that God is one and Indivisible.
7. 'Imam' means leader. Here it refers to Imam Ali and his eleven descendants.
8. 'Hilal' means the crescent and rising moon.
9. 'Allah-o-Akbar' is a slogan and a war-cry in Islam.
10. 'Firdaus' is a Persian word which means Heaven.
11. 'Allah's Arsh' means the Empire where God is present.
12. Ind: It's the short form of India.

Azam Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mr. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Noorul Amin, Nawab Askari, Dr. Mahmud Hussain Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, and Dr.Mahmud Hasan, Chairman, Public Service Commission attended that 'Mushaira'. Twenty poets recited their verses to an appreciative audience, 10 of whom were local and 10 who came from West Pakistan. The local poets included A.M. Salimullah, Fahmi, Askh and Andaleeb Shadani. The visiting poets were Josh Malihabadi, Mahirul Qadri, my brother Masud Raza, Adeeb Sahranpuri, Raz Muradabadi, Iqbal Safipuri, Himayat Ali Shair, Shaukat Thanvi, Syed Muhammad Jafri and Zarif Jabalpuri. The Mushaira lasted from 10:30 p.m. to 2:15 a.m. It was good to witness so much enthusiasm for Urdu poetry in East Pakistan. General Muhammad Azam invited all the participating poets to tea at Government House the next afternoon.

I recall an amusing story in connection with that Mushaira. The Protocol Officer of the Government of East Pakistan received the visiting poets at the Dacca Airport on my behalf. The Bengali alphabet, like the Urdu alphabet, has letters 'j' and 'z', but 'j' is pronounced as 'z' and 'z' is pronounced as 'j' in Bengali. The Protocol Officer had a list of arrivals. When he received Syed Muhammad Jafri he asked his name and said "Welcome Mr. Zafari". Zarif Jabalpuri followed Syed Muhammad Jafri and when the Protocol Officer asked his name, he replied "I am Jareef Zabalpuri". The Protocol Officer said "Welcome Mr. Zarif Jabalpuri." I heard a similar story. When Mr. Abdul Rehman Siddiqui was the Governor of East Pakistan, the Chief Engineer Jalil Ahmed called on him. When the Governor asked him his name, he said "Zaleel Ahmed". The Governor raised his eyebrow and remarked "How could you call yourself Zaleel Ahmed? You are Jalil Ahmed."

On 1st June, 1961, I inaugurated a Seminar on the teachings of Islam at the Madarsah-e-Aliyah, Dhaka. The 'Madarsahs' in undivided Bengal had been institutions of learning and culture. The teachers were well versed in Arabic, Persian, Bengali and Urdu. The students also learnt all the four languages. They were respected in the countryside and were appointed caretakers and Moazzins of mosques. The 'Morning News' of 2nd June 1961, published a summary of the opening day of that Seminar. 'Pakistan Observer' of June 10 commented on the Seminar. The two cuttings are given below:

RELIGIOUS LEADERS REMINDED OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY:

> The Chief Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, yesterday reminded religious leaders of their responsibility in rescuing Muslim young men from the corrupting influence and of reinculcating in them a respect for the basic principles of Islam.
>
> Religious leaders, he added, were perhaps in a better position to

reach the people than the Government itself and they should, therefore, help the Government in fighting the 'waves of materialism' that occasionally threaten us. The Chief Secretary, who was inaugurating seminar on the teachings of Islam at the Madarsah-e-Aliyah. Bakhshi Bazar, yesterday morning said the proverb that a little knowledge was a dangerous thing applied rather aptly to the condition of modern young men, who gained a little Western education and then started considering a good job, a fat salary and a big car as the be-all and end-all of life. They forgot simple living and high thinking. It was in bringing home this fact to young men that the ulema and religious leaders could be of great use, possessing, as they did, the best platform to reach the people. Even the Government did not have any organisation for imparting religious education, though it undoubtedly had a myriad departments and bodies for almost every other thing.

The Chief Secretary, who spoke in Urdu, earlier described the condition of Muslims in India before independence and made particular mention of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's role in providing Muslims with a separate identity. He quoted a number of couplets from Akbar Allahabadi, that vitriolic critic of the evils of Western civilisation, and said the poet was quite right when he lamented that 'on awakening one hears the whistle of an engine and not the call of the muezzin (prayer-caller).'

He said there were good and bad people in every section of society and it was possible that, even among ulema, there might be those who preached vehemently but did not practise what they preached. But, generally speaking, religious leaders were held in great esteem by both the Government and the people in Pakistan and great hopes were pinned on them in saving society from the evils of materialism. The seminar is being attended by 75 ulema and imams from all over the province. After three days of discussion, a two-month training course will be held and 37 persons educated in religious precepts. The Chief Secretary was welcomed by Hafiz Abdul Hafeez, Principal of the Madarsah-e-Aliyah, who appreciated the fact that the present leaders of public opinion in the country were more conscious of the importance of religious teachings and of the part to be played by ulema in the advancement of the country. However, by and large the imamate had been reduced to such a farce that people who could not get a job anywhere else became imams and religious leaders. This tendency had to be stopped by improving the standards of ulema and imams.

SEMINAR ON ISLAM:

The eloquent and thought-provoking inaugural speech of our Chief Secretary in the Seminar on Islam has been highly appreciated by the Muslim intelligentsia who were looking forward for such a move for the rejuvenation of human materials in Pakistan which was really achieved for the service of Islam and we should not forget this fact. We are committed to the nation to raise the standard of life according to Islamic ideas and ideals. It will be a laudable experiment no doubt to train up Imams of the Mosques but it is to be considered dispassionately if these trained Imams alone with their limited resources and within their limited share will be in a position to wield any influence on the people.

It cannot be denied that there is a section of people, both official and non-official, who are living a care-free life. They are materialistic and stiff-necked in their attitude towards life. These people do not visit mosques for prayers. If this huge task of re-orientation is left to the poor Imams alone, the scheme will be treated as a half-hearted measure. Effective and efficient implementation of the scheme would only demand that officials should be closely associated with the scheme. Government should come forward with a bold and ambitious scheme to bring back the officials of all ranks to the path of righteousness by a Governmental directive. If the officials, particularly high officials, are made to live as good Muslims, a change in the whole community is bound to come. Honest and sincere initiative should come from the official side.

It should be remembered that one who does not do justice to oneself, cannot do justice to others. The Prophet of Arabia (peace be upon him) adopted the same principle and changed the face of Arabia within a very short time. In our opinion, officials of different department, if they honestly work in a team spirit as they are doing now in the field of developments, are in a better position to inspire enough public confidence to change their attitude towards life and create in them a spirit of service and dedication (according to the standard of Islam). Character roll of the officers and their Annual Confidential Reports should be recorded on the basis of how they live. Observance of religious injunctions, enjoined by Allah, reveals true character: real integrity and a sense of responsibility of a person. Our beloved Prophet (peace by upon him) has left a clear saying that the character of rulers greatly affects the subject.

Let us strive hard in the name of Allah to produce human materials of the highest order for the all-round development of the country.

Abdul Mansoor,
Baldev Para,
Rajshahi.

22

HOW GENERAL AZAM WON THE HEARTS OF BENGALIS?

— It is my firm belief that the greatest tragedy that befell Pakistan in 1971 would have been averted if the people of West Pakistan could mingle freely with the people of East Pakistan.
— Maulana Bhashani was an ardent supporter of Pakistan in prepartition days.He lived and dressed as a peasant like the Indian Mahatma, M.K. Gandhi.
— Before the division of 1947, the province of Bengal was divided in 1905 into Easterna and Western Bengal by one of the ablest Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon on purely administrative grounds.

I ARRIVED IN DACCA on 21st February, 1961, and took over charge from my old friend, Muhammad Azfar as the Chief Secretary of East Pakistan. He had been selected for an important assignment to administer Somalia on behalf of the United Nations. I called on the Governor, General Muhammad Azam Khan, the same evening and had a long session with him which lasted till midnight. He had taken over charge of the most important province of Pakistan on 15th April, 1960. Before he briefed me on the problems of East Pakistan, he asked me what progress had been made in the settlement and rehabilitation of refugees since he left 10 months earlier. He had a father's affection for refugees.

Prior to my arrival, the 'Pakistan Observer' had published this item:

> General Azam Khan while referring to the new Chief Secretary Syed Hashim Raza said that he was an old friend.

The Staff Reporter of the 'Morning News' who interviewed me at the airport, published the following item on the next day - 22nd February:

> Raza, who is well known for his dynamic performances during his tenure of office as the Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation and

> Works, held out a categoric assurance on his arrival at Dacca that he would try his best to serve the people and achieve the targets set by the new regime.
>
> He said, "I deem it a great honour and privilege to have been called upon to serve East Pakistan. I shall try my best to make my humble contribution to the well-being and prosperity of a great people under the able guidance of a grand and go-getter Governor.

I was greatly encouraged by these references at the start of my tenure.

More people lived in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan. In 1947, the population of Pakistan was 94 million - 51 million in East Pakistan and 43 million in West Pakistan. In 1971, the population of East Pakistan was 6,42,00,000 and that of West Pakistan 5,64,00,000. The position in respect of land was the reverse. The total area of Pakistan was 357,573 square miles - 303,591 square miles in West Pakistan and 53,982 square miles in East Pakistan. The average rain-fall in East Pakistan was 88 inches per annum. During the rainy season when I took a trip in a helicopter, I saw water everywhere. The cities looked like islands in sea.

The prospect of working with General Muhammad Azam Khan, who was then Governor of East Pakistan, was very pleasing. The opportunity to know the people of East Pakistan well was God-sent. I am reminded of the lines of a patriotic English poet. 'What do they know of England who only England know.' I can use his phraseology and say 'What do they know of Pakistan who only West Pakistan know.'

It is my firm belief that the greatest tragedy that befell Pakistan in 1971 would have been averted if the people of West Pakistan could mingle freely with the people of East Pakistan. The barrier was the one thousand mile of hostile territory that intervened between the two wings of Pakistan.

General Azam did more than any West Pakistani leader or Governor to win the hearts of the people of East Pakistan. He served them most sincerely and faithfully. He also shared with the Bengalis joys and sorrows. He was their fearless spokesman in the Governors' Conference and in the meetings of the Economic Sub-Committee of the Cabinet. General Azam was able to secure more funds for development of East Pakistan than those allotted to West Pakistan during the years that he was at the helm of affairs. He made friends with all those politicians who mattered in East Pakistan. The present (1985) Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Ataur Rehman Khan, was a frequent visitor to Governor's House Dacca.

Maulana Bhashani was in detention when General Azam took over. The Governor asked me to study his case and give my views as to his further

detention or release. Bhashani was an ardent supporter of Pakistan in prepartition days. He played a prominent part in the referendum held in the Sylhet Division of the Province of Assam. In that referendum 239,619 voted for joining East Bengal and 184,041 voted for joining Assam. Maulana Bhashani lived and dressed as a peasant like the Indian Mahatma, M.K. Gandhi. Unlike Gandhi, he was not a politician. He was fundamentally an agitator. The Maulana could arouse the masses to take law in their own hands whenever he felt strongly on any issue. His actions were guided by passion and emotion rather than reason. For these reasons, he had been imprisoned from time to time. I decided to have a heart-to-heart talk with him before making my recommendation. He had been detained in a bungalow situated in Dhan Mandi. I called on him and inquired whether he had any grievances. He said he had none and asked me where and how Raja of Mahmudabad was. The Raja was an old friend of mine and I had met him in Karachi only a month earlier. Therefore, I could give him all the news he wanted. He said:

> Do remind him about me when you meet him next. He is my ideal. He gave his 'tan-man-dhan*' to Pakistan and took nothing in return - no office, no house, no land and no industry.

I remarked that in this world there are takers and givers. The takers eat well, the givers sleep well.

After these pleasantries, I asked him why he invariably crossed the path of the administration. He said he could not tolerate injustice and must expose those who were unmindful of the interest of the people. I said that the interests of the people and of the Government were not the same in the days of the British but they had changed after 1947 when we achieved our independence. I added that he could bring to the notice of the Government all cases of injustice; he was at liberty to write to the press. What Government expected of him was to avoid agitational politics. I asked him what opinion he had formed of General Azam. He said "I consider him to be a sincere man." I then invited him to come with me to meet General Azam which he did. They had very frank discussion about the burning topics of the day. General Azam decided to release him.

*Literally, body, soul and wealth, meaning sacrificed all.

THE URDU-BENGALI CONTROVERSY

— I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan.
— Let me make it very clear to you that the state language is going to be Urdu and no other language. I ask you one question, do you believe in Pakistan (Cries of Yes, yes) are you happy that you have achieved Pakistan (Cries of Yes, yes). - Quaid-e-Azam meeting at Dacca on March 21, 1948.

FEBRUARY 21: THIS DATE has a special significance in the history of relations between East and West Pakistan. It was on 21st February, 1952, that the students of the Dacca University led a procession in defiance of section 144. They marched on the Provincial Secretariat raising slogans against the Government and the Urdu language. It was the Urdu-Bengali controversy that was the first sign of disunity among the people of East and West Pakistan. On his visit to East Pakistan as Governor-General, the Quaid-e-Azam referred to this unfortunate controversy. At a public meeting at Dacca on March 21, 1948, which was attended by over three lakhs of people, the Quaid cautioned the people of East Pakistan in unequivocal terms. He said:

> I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan. I want you to be on your guard; I want you to be vigilant and not be taken in by attractive slogans and catch words. They say that the Pakistan Government and the East Bengal Government are out to destroy your language. A bigger falsehood was never uttered by a man. Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few communists and other agents financed by foreign help and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted. The idea that East Bengal should be brought back into the Indian Union is not given up, and it is their aim yet, and I am confident - I am not afraid, but it is better to be vigilant - that those people who still dream of getting back East Bengal into the Indian Union are living in a dream-land .... My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning: you will be making the

greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or other. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change. It is our own Government. We are a free, independent and sovereign State. Let us behave and regulate our affairs as free man; we are not suppressed and oppressed under the regime of a foreign domination; we have broken those chains, we have thrown off those shackles. My young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be - in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State - to devote your attention to your studies. If you fritter away your energies now, you will always regret. After you leave the portals of your universities and colleges, you can play your part freely and help yourself and the State. Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan and province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism.

As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanise yourself into a really true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pathan and so on. They are of course units. But I ask you: have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? If I may point out, you are all outsider here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal - not those who are now living. So what is the use of saying 'we are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis.' No, we are Muslims.

Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi, or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali, it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism - Shia, Sunni, etc..... Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch, and many more. Well, there they are. They had many difficulties. But mind

you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations, whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realised their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time, they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman or a Spaniard, but as AMERICANS. They spoke in this spirit: 'I am an American' and 'we are American'. And so you should think, live and act in terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani.

Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. Please do not think that I do not appreciate the position. Very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali, he says; 'Yes you are right, but the Punjabi is so arrogant'; when you speak to the Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says; 'Yes, but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out'. Now this is a vicious circle, and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, more statesmanlike and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind, and from today, put an end to this sectionalism.....

Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be URDU and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you, is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be URDU. But, as I have said, it will come in time.

I ask you one question. Do you believe in Pakistan? (cries of yes, yes.) Are you happy that you have achieved Pakistan? (cries of yes, yes.) Do you want East Bengal or any part of Pakistan to go into the Indian Union? (No, No.).....

Just one thing more. Do not feel isolated. Many people have spoken to me that East Bengal feels isolated from the rest of Pakistan. No doubt there is a great distance separating the East from the West Pakistan, no doubt there are difficulties, but I tell you that

> we fully know and realise the importance of Dacca and East Bengal. I have only come here for a week or ten days this time, but in order to discharge my duty as the Head of the State, I may have to come here and stay for days, for weeks, and similarly the Pakistan Ministers must establish closer contact. They should come here and your leaders and members of your Government should go to Karachi which is the capital of Pakistan. But you must have patience. With your help and with your support, we will make Pakistan a mighty State.

Alas! the Quaid's wish to revisit East Pakistan was not fulfilled as he died six months later! The leaders of East Pakistan ignored his warnings in 1971. It is for the leaders of the remaining four provinces of Pakistan to ponder over his words of wisdom and practice 'Unity, Faith and Discipline'.

SHAHEED MINAR A SYMBOL OF HATRED AGAINST CENTRE

— Every where, man is by and large at the mercy of nature! but nowhere so utterly at the mercy of nature as in East Bengal.

I HAVE QUOTED EXTENSIVELY from the Quaid's speech - one of the finest made by him - to show his clear perception of problems, his analytical mind and his foresight. Had the Quaid-e-Azam lived longer and had Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan not been callously assassinated in 1951, the foundations of our State would have been laid firmly and the two parts of Pakistan would not have fallen apart.

Urdu had been the link language of the eleven provinces and numerous states of India in the pre-partition days. Urdu was not going to replace any provincial language of Pakistan. It was meant to replace English in due course. Although 40 years have passed since the Quaid's verdict that Urdu was to be the State language of Pakistan, it has not yet attained that status. English still reigns supreme.

Bengali remained the official provincial language of East Bengal. To remove any doubts on that score, both Urdu and Bengali were declared as national languages of Pakistan according to the Constitution of 1956. Even this deviation from the Quaid's directive did not pacify the agitators of East Bengal.

The 'Shaheed Minar' erected in 1952, to commemorate the death of four students, became a symbol of hatred against the Central Government as well

as the Provincial Government of the day. The God-fearing Khawaja Nazimuddin, who succeeded the Quaid as Governor-General, was hooted by students when he repeated in Dacca the words of the Quaid on the language issue; the straightforward Chief Minister, Noorul Amin, became so unpopular that he was defeated by a student in the Provincial elections of 1954. In these elections which were ably conducted by Muhammad Azfar as Election Commissioner and were acknowledged as free and fair by all concerned. The Muslim League was able to win only nine seats of the Assembly. The veteran politician, Fazlul Qadir Chowdhary, who could not secure the Muslim League ticket, contested as an Independent and was elected. Had he got the Muslim League ticket, his fate might have been the same as that of Nurul Amin! After being elected, Fazlul Qadir Chowdhary joined the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. It was his magnanimity that he joined the Muslim League which could not function as a political group, the reason being that the number of minimum membership was 10.

Year after year, the students of Dacca University had indulged in violent acts, the most recent being on 14th February, 1985, when a student was killed in an anti-Government march on the University Campus. I quote from a news item circulated by Reuter:

> Dhaka, Feb. 17: Bengladesh President Hussain Muhammad Ershad has said that he will deal sternly with newspapers if they incite violence or fail to act responsibly.
>
> Law of the land is equally applicable to all, including the newspapers. The tendency by a section of the press to instigate violence and hooliganism by printing unconfirmed, concocted, baseless reports must be curbed,' He told a high-level Government meeting last night. The President apparently was referring to newspaper reports alleging that a Government-backed student organisation was responsible for Thursday's killing of a Dhaka University student leader, Rauful Basunia.
>
> Basunia was shot dead during an anti-Government march on the Campus which sparked clashes between students and police. Authorities later shut the University until tomorrow.
>
> General Ershad yesterday also asked the police and other law-enforcing agents to prevent 'with heavy hands' those trying to create lawlessness.

Another news item appeared at Dhaka on March 2, 1985, which is as follows:

> The Government has closed sine die all Universities of the

country following deterioration of educational atmosphere in campuses after the killing of a student in Chittagong. Students living in dormitories and hostels, were asked to vacate them.

I do not know of any Shaheed Minar erected by the rulers of Bengladesh to commemorate the memories of students killed since 1971.

Everywhere, man is by and large at the mercy of nature: but nowhere so utterly at the mercy of nature as in East Bengal. Except for the Chittagong Hill area, the fate of the people depends upon the flow of the mighty Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers and their tributaries. When they are flooded, the houses are half under water, the snakes and other reptiles as well as insects take refuge in the dry patches. The animals stand in water, the trees stand with submerged trunks, their branches spreading over water and small boats are tossed to and fro. When these rivers are in spate, half of people live on land and half on water. Sometimes when the floods subside, people discover that the river has altered its course. When the river's bed is changed, passengers travelling along in steamers, are stranded and grounded on hidden sand banks. In the worst years, villagers have to be moved to new sites. In such years, the dwellers of boats do not fare so badly, as the dwellers of houses. They live altogether on their boats, they catch fish for their meals, they transport rice and other commodities for their living. These good-natured people sing their songs with the same gusto as the Volga boatmen. Their voices are rich and sonorous, their rhythms indicate the work they do, of rowing or padding. These traditional folk songs are known as the Bhatiali. Their themes are God Almighty, their homes, their love and the reward of their toil. In contrast to the stormy waters, there are 'beels' which are called 'dumb waters' because they do not bubble but are still and silent. These are formed when the river enters a depression in the land and spreads out over it in a wide expanse of shallow water. On this expanse grows the blue water hyacinth and the wild iris.

The landscape is most attractive for the eye and looks like an enchanted land, the songs of the boatmen and the bamboo flutes of the herdboys are most pleasing to the ear.

But nature assumes a fearful look when the tornado hits a village or the cyclone sweeps an area. The damage to the dwellings and crops is colossal, the trees are uprooted and blown into the fields, the tin roofs fly like leaves, the houses lie in ruins, the steamers are wrecked and piled up on the 'bunds'. One sees signs of the 'wrath of God' for miles and miles.

During my nine months stay in East Pakistan, I witnessed the ravages of both tornado and cyclone. The story of the tornado was reported in the 'Statesman' of Calcutta on 21st March, 1961, which I reproduce:

Dacca, March 20: At least 32 persons are reported to have been killed and some 100 injured in two villages in the Mymensingh and Rangpur districts of East Pakistan by last Saturday's severe tornado which swept several parts of the province, and (as briefly reported) caused considerable material damage in a village at Faridpur.

Meagre details of the Mymensingh and Rangpur disaster reportedly came to hand at the Provincial headquarters only late tonight because of disrupted telecommunication links with these areas. The reports indicate that 300 to 400 houses have also been destroyed in these areas.

Another official message received late tonight says that Nawabganj, a village about 26 miles from Dacca, has also suffered damage, but precise details are not yet available. Relief supplies have been sent to Nawabganj by helicopter, while relief work in the North Bengal areas has already been started by local officials.

The only clear picture available today was of the damage in Ujanchar, the affected village in Faridpur District. Less than 36 hours after the disaster, the Governor, General Azam Khan received a firsthand report from the Provincial Chief Secretary, Mr. Raza, who with two senior officials visited the area yesterday.

Mr. Raza's statistics show two deaths, serious injuries to some 26 people, and 152 families affected. Property and other damage have been put at Rs. 41,000.

The seriously injured have been removed to Bajbari hospital while an emergency hospital and relief camps, fully supplied with medicines, food and clothing, sent from Rajbari and other places, are already functioning.

Bamboo shelters are going up, corrugated iron shipments to other places have been diverted and some four tubewells are expected to be sunk by this evening in the affected area.

The Chief Secretary's report lays emphasis on the people's high morale, a cliche which takes on special meaning in this case. Never before in the province's history has assistance been forth-coming so promptly nor has attracted the personal inspection of the province's top administrative hierarchy so quickly. It surely indicates that under the Governor's guidance last October's lessons have been well learnt.

Worst affected among the Government buildings were the police barracks and the police station building, the veterinary hospital, the X-ray department of the Sadar Hospital, the transport garage and the PWD godown.

Four miles from the town, at Porapara and Nazirpara, at least 60 thatched houses were destroyed. There was no loss of life but four

persons were injured, three of them seriously.

'The Mail' of Dacca of 21st March, 1961, gave the following report:

HASHIM RAZA VISITS AFFECTED AREAS:

Syed Hashim Raza, Chief Secretary to the Government of East Pakistan, arrived yesterday on the site of the tornado - devastated area of Ujanchar near Goalundo in the district of Faridpur, according to a message conveyed on the telephone to the Governor, Lt. General Muhammad Azam Khan.

The Chief Secretary passed on a firsthand report to the Governor on the loss of the lives and extent of damage in the area affected by the tornado on Saturday.

The tornado covered an area of three miles in length and 100 yards in width.

The Chief Secretary reported to the Governor that relief work in the area was in full swing.....

General Azam in a statement to the Press yesterday congratulated the efforts of the Councellors of Basic Democracies in ameliorating the distress of the affected people. He also praised the officials for their quick and expeditious relief work.

He also paid rich tributes to the people for the fortitude and forbearance in braving the natural calamities.

THE 1961 CYCLONE

— We left Narayanganj by the Steamer Ostridge at 3 AM, and reached GoaLundo at 7 PM. I visited the scene of devastation. We saw people making preparations for a 'milad' to invoke the blessings of God Almighty and our Holy Prophet (S) for their rehabilitation.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE tornado that hit Ujanchar was heightened on that day at 5:00 p.m. (Sunday, March 19, 1961). As soon as the District Magistrate of Faridpur conveyed the sad news to me, I rang up Mahmud Hasan, Senior Member, Board of Revenue, and Wahid Baksh Kadri, Commissioner of Dacca, requesting them to come along with me. We left Narayanganj by the steamer 'Ostridge' at 3:00 a.m. and reached Goalundo at 7:00 p.m. When my two colleagues and I visited the scene of devastation, we were struck by the morale of the people. Some of them were already reconstructing their houses. At one spot, we saw people making preparations for a 'milad'* to invoke the

* A religious festival celebrating the birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

blessings of God Almighty and our Holy Prophet (S) for their rehabilitation. We visited the relief camps where meals were being served to people whose houses had been wiped out. Mattresses, corrugated iron sheets and bamboos were being distributed for reconstruction of dwellings. When we returned to Dacca, we got a report that four other villages had been hit by the tornado. A small church in Nawabgunj collapsed and some of the people who were singing hymns, were silenced for ever.

THE CYCLONE OF 9TH MAY, 1961:

On the 8th of May, I had accompanied General Azam to Tangail in Mymensingh District for the opening ceremony of a bridge. When we returned to the camp, we got a wireless message from the Meteorological Department that cyclonic winds were rushing from the Bay of Bengal towards Chittagong. In October, 1960, two cyclones had swept Chittagong and the news of a third cyclone within a period of 6 months was very disconcerting. We rushed back to Dacca. General Azam had earned the admiration and gratitude of the inhabitants of Chittagong and the surrounding areas for the prompt action which he took in visiting the affected sites and supervising the relief operations. I was not in East Pakistan in October, 1960, but I had seen his photographs crossing nallas and standing knee-deep in water giving on-the-spot instructions and distributing food and clothes among the victims of the cyclone. I had read in papers how much and how quickly he had relieved the misery of people and inspired the district administration to put the harassed people on their feet again. By the time we reached Dacca, we got the news that the cyclone had by-passed Chittagong and was heading towards Dacca.

It rained cats and dogs throughout the night. General Azam rang me at midnight and asked to call a meeting of Secretaries and Heads of Departments at Government House Dacca at 8:00 a.m. It took me an hour to inform all concerned. When I left for Government House next morning, I found the streets flooded with water and several cars stranded in lanes and byelanes. The old Government House of Dacca comprised three buildings. The main building was used for office, entertainment and ceremonial purposes. It was a pretty structure of wood-like, the cottages on hills. A big lawn intervened between this building and the residential portion which too had an office, a drawing room and a dining room. The third part of the Government House comprised several guest rooms.

Our meeting had proceeded barely for an hour when the wind began to blow with tremendous velocity. From sixty miles per hour at 9:00 a.m., it increased to nearly hundred miles per hour by 11:00 a.m. We then gathered in

the main hall and saw the entrance door shaking to and fro. We had left the hall a few minutes before the door was unhinged and fell off with a bang. The corrugated iron sheets of the roof were blown off hither and thither. That was the end of the old structure. A new Government House was constructed at the old site. The storm abated by midday when we dispersed to undertake the relief measures assigned to us. We could not use our cars since all the roads were blocked by the uprooted trees.

I accompanied General Azam on foot to various parts of the city till dusk. We had to wade through water to rescue the marooned people in the low-lying areas. The Municipal and P.W.D. people worked throughout the night to make the roads passable. It was a pleasant surprise to see the cars and buses moving normally on the main roads next morning as if nothing had happened. Thanks to the prompt relief measures that the even tenor of life was resumed within twentyfour hours.

The cyclone of 9th May also hit Khulna, Barisal, Noakhali, Chittagong, Camilla and Faridpur. Next day I accompanied General Azam who flew over the affected areas to assess the extent of damage and to galvanise the relief measures. The sight by air of uprooted trees and marooned animals was heart-rending: The number of animals who were swept away were estimated to be (7000) seven thousands.

We were alerted on the 29th of May that another cyclone was on its way to Dacca. It did not reach Dacca and was confined to Khulna, Barisal and Noakhali. Its damage was also small.

The President arrived in Dacca on 22nd March, 1961, to inaugurate the celebrations of the Pakistan Day on 23rd March and to preside over a Governors' Conference fixed for the 25th, 26th and 27th of March. He stayed in a newly-constructed, spacious and well-furnished residence designated as President House. The city wore a festive appearance on 23rd March. The day dawned with the booming of the guns. At 8:00 a.m. the President took the salute at an impressive parade which was witnessed by a very large crowd who shouted at the end of the parade 'Pakistan Zindabad', 'Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad', 'President Ayub Zindabad', 'General Azam Zindabad'. At 11:00 a.m. there was a coffee party at the President House to which were invited all the prominent citizens of Dacca. At night, there were illuminations and fireworks. The day was rounded up with a largely attended dinner at the Officers Mess.

The following distinguished guests attended my Coffee Party at the Chief Secretary's residence on the 24th of March:

President Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, General Muhammad Azam Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mr. A.K. Fazlul

23

MY TOP-MOST APPOINTMENT

JUNE, 23, 1961: IT was a pleasant surprise to listen to the 5:00 p.m. news bulletin of Radio Pakistan which announced my appointment as Governor of East Pakistan in place of General Muhammad Azam Khan who was proceeding on leave to West Germany for an ear operation. He was on active service in South-East Asia during the Second World War. He exposed himself to several hazardous situations. Once a shell burst very close to his trench and damaged one of his ear drums. He did not pay any heed to his ailment till June 1961, when he decided to undergo an operation at a clinic in West Germany by a Surgeon who had earned a good reputation for successfully performing complicated ear operations.

General Azam was accompanied by my friend, Nazir Ahmed, who had worked with him as Secretary, Rehabilitation. Nazir Ahmed had a keen sense of humour and was good company. He told me on his return that the clinic where General Azam was operated upon was situated in picturesque rural surroundings. As General Azam lay unconscious for nearly 24 hours after the operation, Nazir Ahmed sat by his bed-side reading magazines. The nurses on duty were very competent and none of them was younger than 60. Nazir Ahmed asked the Doctor:

"Is 60 the minimum age for recruitment of nurses in your Clinic?"

The Doctor laughed and replied, "Mr. Nazir Ahmed, our nurses belong to a religious order. They are in fact mothers."

Nazir Ahmed quipped, "To me, they appear to be grandmothers."

When General Azam told me that he would be proceeding on leave to West Germany, I was under the impression that the Chief Justice of East Pakistan High Court will take over from him, as was the practice in those days.

I felt gratified and elated when I was called upon to take over from General Azam. The Dawn of Sunday, the 24th June, 1961, published the following

Haq, Mr. Noorul Amin, Mr. Fazlur Rehman, Jamal Mian Farangimahli, Chief Justice Imam Hussain Chowdhary, Mr. Justice Syed Mahboob Morshed, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Minister for Information, National Reconstruction, Fuel and Power, Hatch Barnwell and Mahmud Hasan, Members Board of Revenue, Muizuddin Ahmed, Additional Chief Secretary, Nazir Ahmed, Secretary, Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction, Wahid Baksh Kadri, Commissioner, Dacca Division, and Kazi Anwarul Haque, Secretary, Local Bodies.

The editors present at the party were:

Mr. Altaf Hussain 'Dawn', Mr. Muhammad Sarfraz 'Pakistan Times', Mr. Fakhre Matri 'Millat', Mr. M.A. Zuberi, 'Evening Star', Mr. Khalilur Rehman 'Jang', Mr. Hamid Nizami 'Nawa-e-Waqt', Malik Tajuddin, A.P.P., Mr. Abdul Majid 'Civil and Military Gazette', Mr. Umar Farooqi 'Anjam', Mr. G.A.. Chowdhary 'Nai Raushni', Mr. Mushatq Ahmed 'Morning News', Mr. Moazzam Ali, P.P.A., Mr. S.M. Mobin 'Unity' Chittagong, Mr. Abdul Khaliq 'Azadi' Chittagong, Mr. Abdus Salam 'Pakistan Observer', Mr. Abul Kalam Shamsuddin 'Azad', Mr. Tafazzal Hussain 'Ittefaque', Mr. S.G.M. Badruddin 'Morning News' Dacca, Mr. A.M. Azim, A.P.P., Dacca, Mr. Zahur Husain Chowdhary 'Sangbad' and Mr. Mustafa Hasan 'Pasban'.

communique:

> Murree, June 23: The East Pakistan Governor, Lt. General Muhammad Azam Khan, is proceeding on leave to West Germany from July 1 to 25, it was officially announced here today.
>
> A Press note issued here today said the President has appointed the Chief Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, to officiate as Governor of East Pakistan during the absence of Lt. General Azam Khan.
>
> The Press note further added: As Mr. Moizuddin Ahmed, Additional Chief Secretary, East Pakistan, is also accompanying the Governor to West Germany, Kazi Anwarul Haque, Second Additional Chief Secretary, has been appointed to officiate as Chief Secretary, East Pakistan, vice Syed Hashim Raza.

Later on, General Azam extended his leave upto 9th August.

The topmost appointment to which a member of the Indian Civil Service could aspire was the Governorship of 8 out of 11 provinces of India. The Governorship of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were reserved for the members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. I thanked God on bended knees in all humility when I reached the highest rung of the Indian Civil Service ladder. I recalled the saying of Somerset Maugham:

> The desire for approbation is perhaps the most deeply seated instinct of a civilized man.

GOVERNOR HOUSE ENGAGEMENTS

> ***— I acknowledge with thanks your two telegrams and the letter indicating that you have taken over the Governorship of East Pakistan, for me it was a real pleasure to do this for you, and I am sure you justify this trust. - President Muhammad Ayub Khan letter dated 5th July, 1961.***

THE IMPERIAL DEFENCE COLLEGE team had a busy programme. I accompanied the team in the Governor's Boat - Mary Anderson - to Narayangunj where the visitors were deeply impressed by the lay-out and working of the Adamjee Jute Mills. We spent 5 hours at that boat and crossed three rivers - Sattiya Lakha, Dhakeshwari and Buri Ganga. It was a cloudy day and the bank of the rivers presented many picturesque sights.

At the end of the journey, Air Vice-Marshal Philpott and his companions told me that was the most pleasant day they had spent after leaving England.

He further said that an English man took to water like a duck. I keep below a report of their schedule as published in the 'Morning News' of 8th September:

> Members of the Imperial Defence College team now on their last leg of an extensive tour of Pakistan, met the Chief Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, at the Provincial Secretariat yesterday morning. The Martial Law Administrator and G.O.C. Brigadier Khawaja Wasiuddin, the Additional Chief Secretary. Mr. Moizuddin Ahmed, and Member, Board of Revenue Mr. S.M. Hasan, were also present during the meeting.
>
> Later, accompanied by the Chief Secretary, the members toured the Adamjee Jute Mills at Adamjeenagar and then went for a river cruise on the Governor's yacht, "Mary Anderson".
>
> In the afternoon, the visitors, who arrived in Dacca on Wednesday, visited the East Pakistan Rifles Headquarters at Peelkhana. They had dinner with the Martial Law Administrator at the Cantonment.
>
> They leave this morning for Chittagong, from where they will visit the paper mills at Chandragona and leave on Saturday for Ceylon.

In reply to my letter and telegrams to President Muhammad Ayub Khan, I received his letter, dated 5th July, 1961, which I reproduce:

> My dear Hashim,
>
> I acknowledge with thanks your two telegrams and the letter indicating that you have taken over the Governorship of East Pakistan. For me it was a real pleasure to do this for you, and I am sure you justify this trust.
>
> For one reason or another, my trip to the United States has become rather serious in nature, and people seem to expect far too much. I cannot promise miracle, but everyone should rest assured that I shall do my best promoting the cause of the country.
>
> With very best wishes,
>
> Yours sincerely,
> M. Ayub Khan.

General Azam wrote to me from West Germany on 12th July, 1961. I reproduce his letter:

> My dear Hashim,
>
> You will be glad that by God Almighty's Mercy and Grace, the operation has been successful and the left ear hearing is restored to

normal. A very complicated and delicate operation but I had to take it. Your prayers and the prayers of our good people and friends helped me at this hour.

I have yet to go very carefully, so this letter is short. Thank you for your cable and all the news. I am glad you are happy and all is going well. God willing, I shall be soon with you all. I shall come out of the hospital on 19/7. Professor Wullstein has done a very good job and the hospital has taken great care as regards nursing and healing of my delicate wounds affecting all my nerves.

My deep regards to you and Begum Sahiba. Hope this work has not been strenuous as you were to start a new year with a bang. Remember me to my friends and our people.

With fond regards,

Yours,
M. Azam.

On 7th August, 1961, when I was informed that a Royal Air Force Javelin was missing in the East Pakistan territory, I called the Officers-in-charge of the Pakistan Air Force and Civil Aviation and asked them to make a thorough search of the missing plane. The plane was eventually located and fortunately one of the two airmen was saved. I received the enclosed letter from A.R. Adair, Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, stationed in Dacca.

My dear Governor,

I was most touched by your warm letter of sympathy about the Royal Air force Javelin crash and have telegraphed your message to London so that the family can be informed. I know that this expression of sympathy will be a source of comfort to them in their grief.

Indeed, the kindness shown and help rendered by everybody have been wonderful. It is in times of adversity that one knows one's true friends. I am more than grateful for the splendid cooperation of Services and Civil Air authorities - indeed of all your Officers who have been in any position to help - and I am sure if it is humanly possible to save the other missing airman he will be found.

With again my grateful thanks and appreciation.

Yours very sincerely,
(A.R. Adair)

My 40-day term as Governor of East Pakistan was for me the most memorable and peaceful period of my service career. I received, like General

Azam, cooperation from officials as well as non-officials, teachers and students, employers and workers, literary and art circles and editors and reporters of newspapers. It was sheer luck that there was not any tornado or cyclone during that period, no strike, no student agitation and no problem of law and order. The press gave wide coverage to my activities as the Governor.

BRIEFING THE IMPERIAL DEFENCE COLLEGE TEAM:

It was on September 7, 1961, that I addressed a team of Imperial Defence College comprising 13 officers holding the King's Commission, led by Air Vice Marshal P.T. Philpott, a senior member of the Directing Staff of the Imperial Defence College.

I told them that had I not been appointed Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan in 1958, I would have attended the annual I.D.C. Course in 1959. I would then have been at the receiving end of the Imperial Defence College.

I explained the working of administration from grass root - the Thana, Sub-Division, District, Commissioner's Division upto the Governor's level. The Provincial Assembly and Ministers did not function in 1958 owing to the promulgation of Martial Law in the country. The Martial Law regime had initiated a system designated as Basic Democracy. The elected representatives ran the rural and municipal services. They also formed an electoral college for the election of the President and the National Assembly.

I was asked the genesis of partition. I explained the two-nation theory on the basis of which the Indian Sub-continent was divided in 1947 into two sovereign and independent states after ascertaining the will of the people through Central and Provincial elections in 1945-46.

I said that long before the Divide of 1947, the province of Bengal was divided into Eastern and Western Bengal by one of the ablest Viceroys of India, Lord Curzon, on purely administrative grounds. This division was made in 1905. A new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was created on 16th October, 1905, with Dacca as its capital, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Bempfylde Fuller, I.C.S., was appointed Lt. Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Muslims of Eastern Bengal and Assam were jubilant at this partition. Their morale rose high. The Indian Muslims did not have any political organisation till 1906, while the All-India National Congress had been founded in 1885. The All-India Muslim League was founded at the Dacca Session of the Muhammedan Educational Conference on December 30-31, 1906, with Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca as the moving spirit of that session which was attended by prominent Muslims of all the provinces of India. The Hindus of Bengal were very unhappy and carried on a virulent

agitation against the partition of Bengal. They exploded bombs and made several attempts on the lives of English officers. Although the Congress called itself National, it was largely communal in its outlook. The Indian National Congress opposed the partition of Bengal. When it met in Dacca in 1905, for its annual session, even a liberal like Gokhle expressed his resentment at the partition of Bengal. Gokhle enjoyed the esteem of Muhammad Ali Jinnah who once described his ambition to be a Muslim Gokhle. Gokhle had great affection for Muhammad Ali Jinnah whom he had described as the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindus launched a movement for the boycott of British goods. Hindu organisations all over India were unanimous in pressurising the Government of India to undo the partition of Bengal and were threatening of dire consequences if their demand was not accepted. Lord Curzon was a strong administrator and did not give in to that agitation, but his successor succumbed to the Hindu pressure.

In complete disregard of the interests of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal and Assam, King George V announced the annulment of the division of Bengal in his address to the Princes and people of India at the Delhi Darbar held in December, 1911.

The Muslims of East Bengal were treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water by the Hindu capitalists of Western Bengal. While most of the golden fibre-jute was produced in East Bengal, all the jute mills were located in Calcutta which was in West Bengal. The owners of all those mills were Hindus, mostly Marwari magnates. It was only after partition, 1947, that jute mills were established in East Pakistan. I said that in 1961 there were 14 jute mills in East Pakistan - one for every year of independence. The Adamjee Jute Mill in Narayanganj was the biggest jute mill in the world.

I was asked how the two wings of Pakistan, separated by over a thousand miles of Indian territory, were getting on. I replied that there were three things which linked East and West Pakistan: Islam, Pakistan International Airlines and the English language. But for the bonds of Islam, it would not have been possible for these two wings to form one state. What I stated in 1961 was, unfortunately, belied in 1971, when fate separated the two wings and a new Sovereign State - Bangladesh - came into existence as a result of collaboration between Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and the Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman.

24

BACK TO THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

— General Azam said that all out efforts should be made to provide all relief to the common man.
— You are to understand not only papers but man also. - General Azam Khan while addressing Senior Officials in former East Pakistan.
— General Azam was as reluctant to spare me, as I was desirous of serving in East Pakistan but orders were orders.
— I was honoured at Farewell parties at the Governor's House, Dacca Club, Press Club and hotel Shahbagh.

WHEN GENERAL AZAM RETURNED to Dacca on the 10th August, there was a very big crowd to welcome him back. General Azam loved people and people reciprocated his love. The airport resounded with cheers and Azam Khan Zindabad.

He told me that his doctor had advised him rest for a month after leaving the hospital but the call of duty brought him back to Dacca. Since he had set an example of hard and sincere work, he could inspire his subordinates to follow suit. I reproduce a report in the 'Morning News' of September 21, containing his typical exhortations to the officials of East Pakistan:

> The East Pakistan Governor Lt-Gen. Azam Khan, called upon the officials yesterday to devote their heart and soul to their jobs with the sole objective of delivering goods to the masses.
>
> He stressed the need for able and efficient team-work to provide good guidance and honest leadership so that the country could be led on the road to progress and prosperity.
>
> The Governor was talking to the Secretaries of Departments and Heads of Directorates and Autonomous Bodies. The Commerce Minister, Mr. Hafizur Rehman, and the Chief Secretary Kazi Anwarul Haque, were also present.
>
> General Azam asked the officials to come out with a spirit of

dedication to implement the various projects of the country so that results could be achieved as expeditiously as possible. He was confident that the Second Five-Year Plan would produce a tremendous impact on the economy and the people. Signs of development were already in evidence in the countryside and a sense of satisfaction in the masses. 'We want to see results on the ground', he said.

The Governor asked for proper planning of projects with necessary technical data. He told them to spend money properly. While implementing the schemes, proper guidance and training should be given to those who work on the projects to enable them to acquire technical skills and scientific knowledge which were so vitally needed to build up a country on modern lines.

ALL-OUT EFFORTS:

General Azam said that all-out efforts should be made to provide all relief to the common man. He urged them to take into account the human part of it while dealing with their problems. 'You are to understand not only papers but the man also", he said. He asked them to spare no pains to make the best use of opportunities and also to create opportunities to serve the people. This sacred trust of service which they had been entrusted with, should be undertaken with a sense of pride and satisfaction. Unless keen interest was taken in performing a job, a happy accomplishment was not possible, the Governor said. The basic honesty of the common man and the zeal and enthusiasm with which he comes out to participate in nation-building activities can inspire anybody. 'I myself draw all my inspiration from our good and wonderful people', he said.

The Governor also made some prefatorial remarks in the meeting about the new Chief Secretary, Kazi Anwarul Haque, who took over on Tuesday. He paid tribute to him for his ability and efficiency and the reputation he had built up as an honest and devoted officer. The Governor was confident that the province would be able to boost the development activities with the new Chief Secretary and his team of officers.

RICH TRIBUTE:

The Governor also paid glowing tributes to the outgoing Chief Secretary, Mr. S. Hashim Raza for his services. The Minister for Commerce, Mr. Hafizur Rehman, while addressing the meeting, joined the Governor in his call to officials for inculcating the spirit of dedication in accomplishing the job they were entrusted with. He

referred to the progress the province achieved during the last 2 years, and said that it was the untiring zeal and sincere devotion of the Governor, who had dedicated himself in seeing the province prosper with the band of efficient officials and the all co-operating public.

Mr. Hafizur Rehman said that there had been a change in the process of adjustment. Instead of Crown servants, we were now servants of the public. The neglect of public welfare in the past was now totally absent. To achieve all round progress in every sphere of national life was our aim and we hope that the officials would rise to the occasion and prove themselves worthy of the task.

Before the conclusion of the meeting, the Governor complimented the officers on their hard and honest work and told them to continue their work in a dedicated spirit.

On 24th August, 1961, the following message of Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, was received for General Azam, the Governor of East Pakistan:

Grateful for your letter. I expect you to release Hashim as he is needed in time before constitutional affairs get going. I believe Kazi Anwarul Haque would do you well and it will also satisfy Bengalees' demand. Yes, you can certainly have some time off towards the end of the month.

General Azam replied to this message in his letter of 29th August, 1961. I quote two paragraphs of this letter relevant to my posting:

I am informed that you would like to have Hashim Raza's services for the Ministry of Information &Reconstruction. Assuming that you would like me to say something about it and that your mind is still open, I would suggest that Hashim Raza may be allowed to remain as Chief Secretary a bit longer. He has now got to know the province and its needs, with this knowledge and hard-work, he will be very useful to the province. In my absence, he did very well and has gained the confidence of the people and the services.

If, however, you have taken a final decision in the matter and if you think that Hashim Raza will be more useful to you in the Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction than as the Chief Secretary in East Pakistan, I shall then spare him as soon as possible as your need supersedes all other considerations.

General Azam was as reluctant to spare me as I was desirous of serving in East Pakistan, but orders were orders. I flew from Dacca to Rawalpindi with members of my family on the morning of 19th September.

I was honoured at farewell parties at the Governor's House, Dacca Club, Press Club and Hotel Shahbagh. The proceedings of the parties given by the East Pakistan Union of Journalists and Mr. & Mrs. Zahur Hussain Chowdhary, Editor of 'Sangbad', were reported in the 'Morning News'. These are given as under:

> For me it has not only been a pleasure, but a discovery too.' This is how the out-going Chief Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, described his seven-month stay in the province at a farewell party given in his honour by the East Pakistan Union of Journalists at the Press Club yesterday afternoon.
>
> Syed Hashim Raza, who is leaving Dacca on Tuesday morning to assume charge as Secretary of the Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information, said his new appointment would provide him with increased opportunities to meet East Pakistani journalists, whose problems he would endeavour to solve.
>
> When I meet you next time', he added, 'I will exclusively devote myself to your problems'.
>
> Syed Hashim Raza's address was studded with amusing and interesting anecdotes and he confessed that in his younger days he had thought of becoming a journalist, but had felt that he did not have the amount of 'courage' that was required for the 'hard life' of a journalist.
>
> Earlier, the Chief Secretary referred to his new appointment and his previous association (as Joint Secretary) with the Ministry of Information, saying that he was going back to the Ministry like, 'a bad coin'. He was happy however, that the appointment would provide him an opportunity to help journalists in the country.
>
> He concluded by saying that his stay in East Pakistan had perhaps been 'so very sweet' because it had been short.
>
> The reception was largely attended by local journalists, editors and officials of the Central and Provincial Information Departments.
>
> Syed Hashim Raza later read out a paper written in Urdu by him on Maulana Muhammad Ali who as editor of the 'Comrade' had first attracted the writer towards journalism.
>
> Later, Syed Hashim Raza and Begum Hashim Raza attended a dinner given in their honour by Mr. Zahur Husain Chowdhary, Editor 'Sangbad', and Mrs. Chowdhary at Hotel Shahbagh.

The following is the translation of extracts taken from the report published in the daily 'Sangbad' dated 15.9.1961, under the heading 'Farewell Party to Hashim Raza':

> The EPUJ gave a farewell party to the outgoing Chief Secretary,

Syed Hashim Raza, on Thursday last in the local Press Club. Mr. Hashim Raza is leaving for Pindi on Sunday next to assume charge as Secretary of the Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information.

On the eve of his departure from the province, after a stay of only seven months, he said in course of his address that his stay in the province was most pleasant.

Known is the circle of journalists as *THE EMPEROR OF STORY-TELLERS*, the outgoing Chief Secretary presented some interesting and amusing stories in that homely function.

After his address he read out a well-written article in Urdu entitled 'My most favourite leader Maulana Muhammad Ali'. In that article, he narrated some important episodes in the life of the late Maulana.

I was very happy to hand over charge to Kazi Anwarul Haque, formerly a high ranking Police official, who rose to be a Central Minister within a couple of years.

The enclosed cuttings from 'Young Pakistan', a weekly paper of Dacca, will show how Kazi Anwarul Haque's appointment as Chief Secretary was appreciated and in what esteem General Azam was held by the people of East Pakistan.

Among the memories of East Pakistan which I treasure are two more cuttings - one from the daily 'Sangbad' of 15th September and the other from the 'Morning News' of 18th September:

The appointment of Mr. Kazi Anwarul Haq as Chief Secretary of East Pakistan Govt. is significant in more ways than one. It is the first time that an East Pakistani is holding the highest position in the administrative set-up of the Province. Secondly, breaking an established tradition, a non-C.S.P. Officer has been given charge of this topmost job in official hierarchy. Both are welcome changes in that the time had come when an East Pakistani should adorn this post and the misnomer removed that only the 'heaven-born' deserve such posts. The hope that the new incumbent will do credit to the job is well-placed because of his fine qualities of head and heart and his good administrative background which should stand him in good stead. Succeeding a man of Mr. Hashim Raza's stature and calibre, he must try to maintain the traditions of courage and efficiency so exuberantly set by him. His success will also prove that C.S.P. officers alone do not possess monopoly of administrative talents, though admittedly some of them are superior to those of other ranks.

VIJAYALAKSHMI - SYED HUSSAIN AFFAIR

— The attitude of her mother re-inforced the two nation theory, on the basis of which the battle for Pakistan was won.
— I have visited Pakistan twice - Vijayalakshmi Pundit wrote in her letter of 15th July, 1979 to Syed Hashim Raza.

TWO OF MY COLLEGUES of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (1953-55), were F.D. Douglas, Principal Information Officer, Government of Pakistan, and Syed Ahmed, Director, Public Relations, Government of East Pakistan , a nephew of the well-known freedom fighter, Dr. Syed Hussain, who edited Pundit Motilal Nehru's paper 'Independent' (Allahabad). Mrs.Lakshmi Pundit, in her autobiography, 'The Scope of Happiness' wrote the following lines about Syed Hussain:

> A couple of years earlier, while still in my teens, I had become attached to a young man, Syed Hussain, whom my father had appointed editor of a newspaper he had just started, 'The Independent'. In an era that proclaimed Hindu-Muslim unity, and belonging to a family that had close Muslim friends, I must have thought it would be perfectly natural to marry outside my religion. But in matters such as marriage the times were deeply traditional, and I was persuaded that this would be wrong. My mother felt, in any case, that my Western oriented upbringing encouraged me in unorthodox ways. So she welcomed Gandhiji's suggestion that I should spend a little time with him in his famous ashram.

This statement of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit prompted me to write to her and make the point that the attitude of her mother reinforced the two-nation theory on the basis of which the battle for Pakistan was won. Even though her father, Pundit Motilal Nehru, and her brother, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, opposed the two-nation theory, they could not countenance the union between a girl of their family and a highly eligible, educated and handsome young Muslim who was a scion of a very distinguished family of Bengal. I reproduce copies of my letter to her and her reply:

1st June, 1979.

Dear Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit,

Since I have enjoyed reading your eventful autobiography 'The Scope of Happiness' I write this letter to compliment you on your style and frankness which I found most refreshing.

Your book was sent to me by my daughter, Nasreen, who lives in Washington. Her husband, Wasay Moini, is an officer in the World Bank. When she was getting married in 1961, I sent off an invitation to your cousin Bijju who was my contemporary in Oxford and with whom I shared many joys of youth. I enclose a copy of his letter which speaks for itself.

My career in the Civil Service ended in 1966. Lucknow used to be my home town before 1947. I opted out for Pakistan because I believed in the two-nation theory. You do not accept this theory and on the issue we may agree to differ. On page 65 you have referred to the late Syed Hussain. As an enlightened person, you thought it would be perfectly natural to marry outside your religion. I disbelieve the rumour that you actually married Syed Hussain who had to divorce you at the intervention of Gandhiji and the late Maharaja of Mahmudabad. You say that you were persuaded that this would be wrong. Your decision does not negate but confirms the two-nation theory. I hope you will forgive me for trespassing on your privacy but your own adherence to truth encouraged me to raise this point.

It is a great pity that India and Pakistan have not lived as good neighbours. There is no earthly reason why they cannot co-exist as helpful neighbours. After all, the partition took place as a result of an agreement between the Congress and the League.

You, madam, have very good reasons to thank God for showering His blessings on you and your family. Your views about the United Nations are shared by me, although my experience of the U.N. was limited to 1974 and 1976 only.

You are growing old gracefully in idyllic surroundings. I spent several summers in Dehradun and Mussorie in my student days. I am reminded of the poem composed by Chakbast Lucknavi, a very good Urdu poet, on Dehradun. I reproduce the opening verse:

عجیب خطّۂ دلکش ہے ارضِ دہرادون
یہیں بہار کا پہلے پہل ہوا تھا شگون

Dehradun is a wonderful piece of land,
The early visit of Spring made it bland.

May you live long and happily!

Yours sincerely,
S. Hashim Raza.

******

MRS. PUNDIT'S REPLY:

Dear Mr. Hashim Raza,

Your letter made me very happy. I would have written much earlier but for the fact that a continuing period of indisposition came in the way of the correspondence.

I was so touched that you should have thought of writing to me and I value your opinion. I also enjoyed Bijju's letter, so like him! Perhaps you know he now lives in Chandigarh or rather his family lives there while he wanders restlessly round the world. He is the Dada of several small granddaughters and ten-month-old grandson.

I have visited Pakistan twice. First on an official visit with my brother and some years later, to see my daughter whose husband Ashok Mehta (not the Socialist leader!) was our Deputy High Commissioner in Karachi at the time. It was like going home - so many friends, so much affection and so my poignant memories of things shared. It is my earnest hope that India and Pakistan will come together in understanding and cooperation because we need each other.

Sincerely,
Vijayalakshmi Pundit.

I withheld this letter owing to a postal strike!
V.L.P.
15-7-1979.

Syed Hussain never gave his version of his romance or alleged marriage with Vijayalakshmi. He might have acted on the advice of Hasrat Mohani to lovers in general:

شیوۂ عشق نہیں حسن کو رسوا کرنا

It beholds not love to belittle beauty.

Vijayalakshmi married Ranjit Pundit, a lawyer. She read in 1920 an article of her would-be husband in the 'Modern Review' of Calcutta, entitled 'At the feet of the Guru'. By Guru\Ranjit Pundit meant her brother, Jawaharlal Nehru. The article was an adoration which Ranjit Pundit had developed for Jawaharlal

Nehru.

But Syed Hussain decided to marry none after his attachment with Mrs. Pundit. His father, Nawab Syed Muhammad, was a distinguished writer of Urdu prose. His book *'Nawabi Darbar'* and his witty and humorous articles in the 'Oudh Punch' of Lucknow gave him a high place among Urdu writers.

Syed Hussain was an Aligarian and started his career as a journalist and politician. He worked on the editorial board of the 'Bombay Chronicle' (1917-19) and became the Editor of 'The Independent' of Allahabad in 1919. He was a member of the Muslim League as well as the Congress. He became a member of the Muslim League Council and later on was elected as Secretary of the London Branch of the Congress. He edited a paper from London named 'India'. Syed Hussain had gone to London in 1920 with the Khilafat deputation. Instead of returning to India, he preferred to be an exile and proceeded to the U.S.A. He became Lecturer in Indian History and Culture at the University of Southern California. He edited 'New Orient', New York and was the Founder-President of National Committee to publicise Indian independence movement. That great journalist returned to India in 1946 and was appointed India's Ambassador to Egypt (1947-49). He died in Cairo on 26th February, 1949. Had he stayed on in India after 1920, he would have attained fame like his talented cousin, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy. It is said that when Pundit Motilal Nehru mentioned to his intimate friend, Akbar Allahabadi, Vijayalakshmi-Syed Hussain romance, his comment was:

انڈ پینڈنٹ کیوں کیا تھا اُسے

'Why did you make her independent?'

It was the paper 'Independent' which had brought Miss Pundit and Syed Hussain together.

LOVE FOR NEW HOME

I RESUME MY STORY. The period from 13th December 1958, to 11th October 1960, when I held various charges as Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan, Rehabilitation Commissioner of Pakistan, Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation and Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works, simultaneously was as stormy and challenging as my tenure as the First Administrator of the first Federal Capital of Pakistan (1948-51).

During both these periods I had to deal with people whose minds were

agitated, who had left their ancestral homes and had to start life afresh in unfamiliar surroundings. I was impressed by their love for the country of their dreams and their patience to bear the hardships which came in their way. During that most difficult period of their lives, they showed a spirit of forbearance which enabled me to serve them to the best of my ability. My reward was their goodwill and their good words. I received innumerable letters of appreciation which could fill dozens of pages. I reproduce three of them:

Respected Syed Sahib,

Salam Masnoon,

It is with a very heavy heart that I am writing the following few lines.

Your exit from the office of the Chief Settlement and Rehabilitation Commissioner, Pakistan has very profoundly and deeply affected the sentiments of an individual from amongst the members of the Bar who not only respected you but almost loved you. This was because of the integrity and the super-natural guts shown by Syed Hashim Raza in the display of his judicial functions and administrative capabilities. I have had the experience of dealing with almost all the Rehabilitation Commissioners, who held this celebrated office right from Syed Akhtar Hussain to that of your goodself. With due respect for all, I can safely say that the manner in which Syed Hashim Raza conducted himself as a supreme head of the Department, as a judicial officer and as the Administrator was unique in its nature and I would not be exaggerating myself if I say that the prominent members of the Bar also share the same views as expressed by me and they say that in the realm of the Rehabilitation Commissioners, perhaps, Syed Hashim Raza was a man worth worshipping.

Anyhow, Sir, I did not have the opportunity of seeing you off on the eve of your departure for Rawalpindi when you had left the post. How and under what environments you left the post, is a subject beyond my scope and I would refrain from commenting upon it but I can safely say one thing that this transfer at the time when the Department had reached its climax would be not less than a national loss for all who have got right type of thinking. I shall ever remember you as the noblest soul I have ever come across and I pay my homage and deepest respects to you because of the super-fine man which I have seen in the person of Syed Hashim Raza. May you live long along with all the members of your family and have the illustrious and prosperous future before you.

With sincerest regards,

Yours affectionately,

Muhammad Sadiq.

******

Exalted Sir,

Admitted is the fact that the most challenging jobs entrusted to you as the first Administrator of this Capital city of Karachi and the Chief Settlement Commissioner of Pakistan in a new Country of motley people were the over important and the most significant posts of highest responsibility.

The gloom and glitter, the furbish and burnish which radiated out of your lustrous genius in the discharge of your duties, keeping a full eye on the administrative politics of the day and night changes, makes you a Hero of Pakistan acknowledged universally by Saint, by Sage and Savage alike, worthy to be inscribed in the characters of Gold. Analysts like my badself will paint the Annals of the Country in Colour.

Penitent, painful and penniless although I am in this 82nd year of my wretched life, still I have the noble idea of completing my book 'The two Decades in Pakistan' before I breathe my last.

Ever Yours,
Syed Qasim Hussain,
(a refugee on death-bed)

******

Affectionate and Respected Sir,

Assalamu-Alaykum!

Your unique contribution as a gallant gentleman, a great Muslim, an intrepid dedicated Civil Servant and a valiant defender of human rights and dignity to the construction of our beloved Pakistan, and the yeoman services rendered by you in various capacities will live forever in history and evoke the gratitude of succeeding generations. You are one of those men of strong principles who can withdraw, but whom neither their country nor their friends and admirers can forget.

I wish and pray to Allah, the Merciful, for your blissful life and perpetual happiness and hope that your rich experience and wise counsel would remain available to our beloved country for many more years to come.

With affectionate regards,

Very sincerely Yours,
Muhammad Sulaiman Jaffery.

MRS. KENNEDY & THE JINNAH CAP

— When they got down, President Muhammad Ayub Khan was bare-head and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy was beaming with joy wearing his Jinnah cap.

THE FIRST LADY OF the United States of America, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, paid a short visit to Rawalpindi in March, 1962. As President Muhammad Ayub Khan drove her to the Chaklala Airport, she admired the Jinnah cap which he was wearing. Gallantly he took off the cap and presented it to her. When they got down, the President was bare-headed and Mrs. Kennedy was beaming with joy wearing his cap. The exchange of headgears used to be a sign of fraternity in the past. When she proceeded to shake hands with the Central Ministers and the Federal Secretaries, she stopped when she saw my Jinnah cap. I was the only person wearing a Jinnah cap among those who had gathered to see her off. She turned to me and said:

"How nice that we are wearing similar caps;" and added, "Your President was good enough to give this beautiful cap to me.

I replied, "Madam, this cap suits you admirably. I hope you will wear this in your country and set a new fashion."

She replied, "Sure I will do that".

The P.P.A.circulated her remarks which received wide publicity.The Pakistan Times of Sunday, March 25, published her smiling photograph in the Jinnah cap with the undermentioned story:

> If America's First Lady sets the tone of fashion in her country, Pakistan's Jinnah cap is bound to become a popular headgear among the fair sex in the US.
>
> When Mrs.Kennedy arrived at the Chaklala Airport for departure to Peshawar, all eyes were set on her head for she was wearing a black Jinnah cap.
>
> And as the story goes, seeing President Ayub wearing the black Jinnah cap, she could not resist asking him to make a present of it. The President, it is stated readily obliged.
>
> The Secretaries of the Central Government were perhaps the most inquisitive about the fascinating cap. When she came to shake hands with them the Information Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza, confronted her with the question:

How did you get this cap, madam? And do you like it?"

I took it from the President," was the prompt reply of Mrs. Kennedy.

Syed Hashim Raza thanking her said, "I hope madam, it would now set a fashion for the women of the world.

Since the Ministry of Information had been entrusted with the duties of national reconstruction, I made it a point to address students whenever I visited a new place. Allama Iqbal had said:

نہیں ہے نا اُمید اقبالؔ اپنی کشتِ ویراں سے
ذرا نم ہو تو یہ مٹی بڑی زرخیز ہے ساقی

Disappointed is not Iqbal, with his efforts sterile,
A little moisture will indeed, make the land fertile.

The hopes which he had reposed in the students of his days were fully justified since the students of the Sub-continent in general and of the Aligarh University in particular, played under the guidance of the young Raja of Mahmudabad, a significant part in publicizing and popularising the Pakistan Movement. In many cases, the students converted their elders to the ideology of Pakistan.

A batch of 200 students from the tribal area of NWFP was taken round Pakistan on an educational and cultural tour.

They were received at the President's House by General Muhammad Ayub Khan, who was good enough to spend an hour with them stating his policies and answering their questions. After that they gathered at the Railway Institute Hall which adjoined Secretariat No. 1. I addressed them on the Pakistan Movement - the two-nation theory of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the proposal of Maulana Abdul Haleem Sharar in 1890 to divide the Sub-continent into Muslim India and Hindu India, the proposal of Allama Muhammad Iqbal in 1930, to merge the provinces of the Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and Sind into one State, the resolution passed on 23rd March, 1940, in Lahore and the unique leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah which brought about the emergence of the fifth largest state of the World - Pakistan on 14th August 1947.

I spoke for an hour and the question-and-answer meeting lasted for another hour. I was struck by the enthusiasm of the students. They asked me why the Government of Pakistan had kept Kashmir in cold storage and why a call for

jehad* was not yet given. I told them that Pakistan had already fought a war against India on account of Kashmir, the Security Council of the United Nation had supported Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State, and that while India inherited a well-established system of administration, Pakistan had to start from scratch. The colossal problems of defence and refugees which Pakistan had in early years, would have broken the back of many old countries. I told them that Rome was not built in a day and that Pakistan had the potential of becoming a great state in due course.

General Ayub Khan, the President, opened a new railway bridge to link the twin cities of Sukkur and Rohri. I witnessed a large gathering in a festive mood. The old railway bridge - Lansdowne Bridge - was built in 1898. It had a unique architectural steel structure and was commonly known among the people as "Qainchi wala Pul" (Scissor-cutting-bridge). When it was declared as unsafe for railway traffic after 60 years of good use, the Pakistan Railways abandoned it and constructed two bridges, Ayub Bridge and Sukkur Channel Bridge for railway traffic. But the old bridge was not dismantled. It was considered safe for vehicular traffic. The Lansdowne Bridge, Ayub Bridge and Sukkur Channel Bridge present a grand site and attract a large number of tourists throughout the year.

*Holy war

25

THE CONSTITUTION THAT NEVER WORKED

I ASSUMED CHARGE AS Central Secretary, Ministry of Information & National Reconstruction on the 19th of September, 1961, in the afternoon. My tenure in that Ministry lasted for 8 months only till 23rd May, 1962. The normal tenure of a Central Secretary is four years. My appointment to that Ministry was for a specific purpose - to explain the salient features of the new Constitution framed by President Muhammad Ayub Khan to the press, politicians and public at home as well as abroad. My task was over in 8 months. The Constitution was promulgated on 8th June, 1962. My next assignment, which was my last assignment in Government Service, as Central Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour & Social Welfare lasted for over 4 years from 1st June 1962 to 31st July 1966, when I retired from the Civil Service of Pakistan.

Constitution-making and breaking in Pakistan is a sad story. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met on the 11th of August, 1947,.3 days before the actual transfer of power took place. When Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah presided over the inaugural meeting of the Constituent Assembly, he addressed his colleagues in the following words:

> I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity for the honour you have conferred upon me - the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer - by electing me as your first President.

It was in this address that he laid down the guidelines of his administrative policies. His concluding sentence was:

> My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look

> forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

Alas! he could not preside over the destinies of Pakistan for more than 13 months. If his successors had pursued his policies, we had every chance of becoming one of the greatest nations of the world. I feel as if we were on the top of a greasy pole, from where we slided, till we reached our nadir in December 1971, when our country was torn asunder as a result of the foolish policies of our rulers as well as the Agartala Conspiracy between Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the Indian Government to break Pakistan.

The record of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan is unfortunately a dismal one. The members went about the task entrusted to them in a most leisurely fashion till they ceased to be on the same wave-length as the people of Pakistan. In a public statement made on the 13th June 1948, at Quetta, when he received the members of the Parsee community, the Quaid-e-Azam observed:

> In the very nature of things, it will take 18 months to two years before the new Constitution of Pakistan is ready.

That Assembly could not frame a Constitution till 1954. The reason why the Members of the First Constituent Assembly failed to frame a Constitution within a reasonable time is that they got involved in political quagmire. They did not think or behave like statesmen. George Bernard Shaw remarked 'Politics is a smug's game.' He was not a politician but was a shrewd observer of men and matters. A very experienced politician, Lord Morley, was perhaps very true when he defined politics. He said 'Politics is neither a science, nor an art but a dodge.' Other political thinkers have endorsed Morley's view. Some one defined a politician as a man who will find excuse to get out of everything except out of office.

On 17th April 1953, the Governor-General of Pakistan Malik Ghulam Muhammad, dismissed the Prime Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Nazimuddin, who had a majority of 67 in a House of 80. Shortly before his dismissal, Khawaja Sahib had received the full support of the House in getting his annual budget passed. He was also the President of the Party which had formed the Government, viz., the All-Pakistan Muslim League. His dismissal, in fact, was a *coup d' etat,* which thwarted the course of democracy in Pakistan. When the Governor-General appointed a new Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, the Muslim League instead of protesting against the unconstitutional dismissal of its leader from Prime Ministership, became a hand-maiden of the Government. The League removed Khawaja Nazimuddin from its President-

ship and elected Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra as President in his place. It was against all the established practices of democratic Government. It is the function of the political party which commands a majority in an elected House to conform and control the Government of the day. Those who controlled the destinies of the Muslim League at the time forgot the guidelines laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam in the following words:

> It can never be unpatriotic to take your country's side against your Government. It must always be unpatriotic to take your Government's side against your country.

After 1953 the Muslim League, which had successfully fought British Raj and Ram Raj at the same time, ceased to hold that privileged position. Its rival group in India - The Congress, is still controlling the Central Government and most of the Provincial Governments in India.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra's position as Prime Minister of Pakistan was very weak. He was, in fact, the nominee of the Governor-General. He tried to strengthen the position by framing a Constitution in which the Governor-General was made the constitutional head of the state. In his effort, he was helped by a vast majority of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, especially Mr. Fazlur Rehman and Mr. M.H. Gazdar. Thus was framed the Constitution of 1954, which never saw the light of day. As soon as the Governor-General came to know that the Assembly had framed a Constitution in which his powers had been pruned, he cut short his tour and returned to Karachi. He called the Secretary of the Law Department Sir Edward Nelson, and gave him orders that the new Constitution would not be brought on the Statute Book. When Mr. Bogra was away in America, the Governor-General decided to stage another *Coup* in October 1954, by dissolving the Constituent Assembly. The Governor-General asked Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra to cut short his visit to the United States and return home. Mr. Bogra complied with those instructions and arrived at the Karachi Airport on the evening of 23rd October 1954. He was asked by the Governor-General to go straight to him from the Airport which he did. A stormy night was in store for him at the Governor-General's House. One can only guess what transpired between the Governor-General and his Prime Minister as neither of them left any record of the meeting or made any statement on this subject. Since Mr. Bogra spent several hours with the Governor-General, it is obvious that he initially resisted the Governor-General's proposal to dissolve the Constituent Assembly but in the end he acquiesced to the fateful step contemplated by the Governor-General. On the following morning, 24th October, the Constituent Assembly

was dissolved.

The Central Cabinet was reconstructed at the same time. Only the Prime Minister and 3 of his colleagues were retained in the new Cabinet: 9 new Ministers were appointed, none of them was a member of the dissolved Assembly. Among the new Ministers was General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, who became the new Defence Minister. As advised by the Chief Justice of Supreme Court in the case of Maulvi Tamizuddin versus Ghulam Muhammad, a new Constituent Assembly was elected not through a direct vote but from the Provincial Legislatures elected after independence. The new Constituent Assembly took its task in all seriousness and succeeded in framing a Constitution which was passed unanimously on 23rd March 1956. The credit for this goes to every member of the new Constituent Assembly, particularly to Chowdhary Muhammad Ali, Prime Minister and Mr. Fazlul Haq, Minister for the Interior. There was give-and-take on both sides. The members from West Pakistan agreed to give the status of national language to Bengali in addition to Urdu. The members from East Pakistan agreed to have parity of representation in the National Assembly although they could have asked for 55% representation on the basis of their population.

THE NIGHT OF THE GENERALS

— On 24th October 1954, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by the Governor General Malik Muhammad Khan.

— Among the new Cabinet, General Ayub Khan the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, was included as Defence Minister.

— The coup d'etat of General Ayub Khan brought the end of Parliamentary democracy in Pakistan.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1956 was a good Constitution and it is a great pity that during the night of 7-8th October 1958, a group of Generals led by General Muhammad Ayub Khan, who had taken oath to defend the Constitution, seized power, dismissed the Central and Provincial Cabinets, dissolved the Central and Provincial Legislatures, abolished all political parties and imposed Martial Law throughout the country.

The two civilian coups, engineered by Malik Ghulam Muhammad, paved the way for the military coup, commanded by General Muhammad Ayub Khan. The *coup d' etat* of General Ayub Khan brought the end of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. General Iskander Mirza, then President of Pakistan, was the first victim of that new coup. He was removed from his office within

weeks and banished to distant Britain.

The night between the 7th and 8th October was in fact the night of the Generals. Martial Law lasted upto June 8 1962, when President Muhammad Ayub Khan promulgated a new Constitution. That could be appropriately termed as the Ayub Constitution. Even though he had appointed a Constitution Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge, Justice Shahabuddin, Ayub Khan paid scant attention to the recommendations of that Commission. The late Justice Shahabuddin was very unhappy at the fact that his report had not been made public. He told me that many people were under the misapprehension that the Constitution promulgated on 8th June 1962, was based on the recommendations of the Commission which he had headed.

The new Constitution had been conceived by late Ayub Khan, and it was drafted by his Foreign Minister Mr. Manzoor Qadir.

The Law Minister, Mr. Justice Muhammad Ibrahim, resented that encroachment on his functions and left for Dacca, never to return to his job.

Mr. Manzoor Qadir's role in the framing of the Ayub Constitution was highlighted by our national poet, Rais Amrohvi, in the following quatrain:

متعیّن وہی حسبِ دستور ہے
مقرّر وہی چشمِ بد دور ہے
غرض یہ کہ منظورِ قدرت وہی
جو منظورِ قادر کو منظور ہے

The same it is, what's customary,
There's no change in what is necessary,
However, the same is the Will of God,
Beyond doubt, Manzoor Qadir's will is primary.

The Constitution comprised 250 articles. Even though the opening words of the Preamble were the same as in the 1956 Constitution namely, "Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority exercisable by the people is a sacred trust," the nomenclature of the State was changed to the Republic of Pakistan from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The composition for Central and Provincial Legislatures was described in Articles 19, 20, 70 and 71, as follows:

19. There shall be a Central Legislature of Pakistan, which shall consist of the President and one House, to be known as the National Assembly of Pakistan.

20. (1) There shall be one hundred and fifty-six members of the National Assembly. One half of the members shall be elected in accordance with this Constitution from the Province of East Pakistan and the other half shall be elected from the Province of West Pakistan.

(2) Three seats of membership from each Province shall be reserved exclusively for women. But this clause shall not be construed as making a woman ineligible for election to any other seat in the National Assembly.

70. There shall be a Provincial Legislature of each Province, which shall consist of the Governor of the Province and one House, to be known as the Assembly of the Province.

71. (10) There shall be one hundred and fifty-five members of the Assembly of each Province, who shall be elected in accordance with this Constitution and the law.

(2) Five of the seats of members of Assembly of each Province shall be reserved exclusively for women. But this clause shall not be construed as making a woman ineligible for election to any other seat in the Assembly.

The electoral college comprised Basic Democrats numbering 40,000 in each wing. This number was increased later to 60,000 in each wing. The basic democrats had been elected to discharge functions as local bodies under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioners of Districts and Commissioners of Divisions.

Instead of three Schedules - Central, Provincial and Concurrent - only one Schedule was appended - Third Schedule - which enumerated matters with respect to which the Central Legislature had exclusive power to make laws. The Provincial Legislatures could frame laws with respect to any matter other than a matter enumerated in the Third Schedule. The Central law-making powers were in Article 131 which are as under:

131. (1) The Central Legislature shall have exclusive power to make laws (including laws having extra-territorial operation) for the whole or any part of Pakistan with respect to any matter enumerated in the Third Schedule.

(2) Where the national interest of Pakistan in relation to:

(a) the security of Pakistan, including the economic and financial stability of Pakistan;

(b) planning or coordination; or
(c) the achievement of uniformity in respect of any matter in different parts of Pakistan, so requires, the Central Legislature shall have power to make laws (including laws having extra-territorial operation) for the whole or any part of Pakistan with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Third Schedule.
(3) If:
(a) it appears to the Assembly of Province to be desirable that a matter not enumerated in the Third Schedule should be regulated in the Province by an Act of the Central Legislature; and
(b) a resolution to that effect is passed by the Provincial Assembly, the Central Legislature shall have power to make laws having effect in the Province with respect to that matter, but any law made in pursuance of this power may be amended or repealed by an Act of the Provincial Legislature.
(4) The Central Legislature shall have power (but not exclusive power) to make laws for the Islamabad Capital Territory and the Dacca Capital Territory with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Third Schedule.
(5) The Central Legislature shall have power to make laws for any part of Pakistan not forming part of a Province with respect to any matter.

I had much difficulty in explaining the Constitution in which the President was all-powerful. The National Assembly could only discuss annual budget to be presented by the Finance Minister who was nominated by the President, but it had no power to reject the expenditure charged upon the Central Consolidated Fund which comprised 90% of the annual expenditure. The Assembly could refuse a demand for new expenditure which never exceeded 10% of the total budget.

In a parliamentary form of Government, a Ministry has to resign if it fails to get the annual budget or a money bill passed by the Legislature. In the Ayub Constitution, the National Assembly was powerless to remove the Ministers nominated by the President of Pakistan.

YAHYA'S INGLORIOUS EXIT

THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN enjoyed far greater powers than any President in the world. In the United States, the American Congress - the

Senate and the House of Representatives - each of these has the power to reject or reduce monetary expenditure as proposed by the President. The President cannot appoint Ministers or Ambassadors until the Congress has screened and 'okayed' them. Justice Brandies of the United States asserted in Myer's case (1962):

> The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude exercise of arbitrary power.

My strong point in favour of the new Constitution was that the promulgation of the Constitution would result in the withdrawal of the Martial Law which was the unanimous demand of the nation. I made good use of the Persian saying:

گندم اگر بہم نہ رسد جو غنیمت است

A bird in hand is better then two in the bush.

I give an extract from my diary:

THURSDAY, 1ST MARCH, 1962:

> At a simple ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the President's House, Karachi at 6:30 p.m. Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan put his signature on a copy of the new Constitution in the presence of the Chief Justice of Pakistan and the Ministers of the Central Government.
>
> The significance of this Constitution is that it was devised by Chief Martial Law Administrator who could be overthrown only by a revolution. When I offered my warm wishes to the President for the induction of the new Constitution, he said "I feel light-hearted. Now after carrying an awesome burden alone for three and a half years. It is now for the people of Pakistan to strive for the success of this Constitution and to take the road to prosperity.

A few days earlier, Radio Pakistan had recorded President Ayub Khan's speech on the salient features of the new Constitution. This was part of a film which we had prepared entitled 'A Pledge Redeemed'. The film was exhibited on that occasion. The President and his Ministers complimented the Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction for producing that film.

I left the President's House at 9:00 p.m. As I passed through the Elphin-

stone Street, I heard jubilant shouts of hawkers who were selling special editions of newspapers 'End of Martial Law. Pakistan's new Constitution'. The special edition of the largest English daily of Pakistan 'Dawn' contained a summary of the Constitution and an editorial entitled 'Back to Democracy: Ayub redeems his pledge'

People as a whole were over-joyed at the end of Martial Law. Rais Amrohvi who has written the history of Pakistan, through his daily quatrain in 'Jang', commented:

کچھ تو تبدیلیٔ حالات کی اُمید ہوئی
ہم کو اب شکوۂ بے مہریٔ حالات نہیں
عیدِ آئین کہیں تین برس بعد آئی
عید اس سال نہ آئے تو کوئی بات نہیں

The gloom is gone, there's a ray of light,
No groaning should there be, of the murkiness of night,
Rejoicings of a new Constitution excel the rejoicings of Eid,
Before the arrival of Eid, there has been enough delight.

The Ayub Constitution lasted for less than 7 years - from June 8, 1962 upto 25th March, 1969. At the end of 1968, President Ayub Khan fell seriously ill and was unable to perform the functions of the office for some weeks. He had provided for such contingencies in Article 16 which I quote:

16. (1) At any time when:
(a) the office of the President is vacant; or
(b) the President is absent from Pakistan or is unable to perform the functions of his office due to illness or some other cause;
The Speaker of the National Assembly shall act as President and, except as provided in clause (2) of this Article, shall perform the functions of the President.

The Speaker of the National Assembly should have been called upon to act as President during the weeks when President Ayub Khan was lying ill and was unable to discharge his functions.

After his recovery, President Ayub Khan had to face an agitation against his continuing as President and student-led violence broke out in Rawalpindi

and its suburbs.

When the police failed to curb the agitation, President Ayub Khan called upon the Commander-in-Chief, General A.N. Yahya Khan, to quell the disturbance. General Yahya Khan exploited the situation and told General Ayub Khan that he could handle the situation only if power was transferred to him and he declared Martial Law as Chief Administrator Martial Law. General Ayub Khan could have declined to hand over power to his C-in-C. He could have been relinquished his office and called upon the Speaker to act as President. But he acted in contravention of Article 16 of his Constitution and never asked the Speaker of the National Assembly to relieve him of his high office. He succumbed to the pressure of his C-in-C and wrote a letter to General Yahya Khan on 24th March calling upon him to assume full control of the affairs of the country. Thus, the people of Pakistan had to endure another *coup d'etat* and another term of Martial Law. The way in which Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan seized power and the manner in which he was made to give it up were aptly described in this couplet:

تلواروں کے سائے میں، تلواروں کے پہرے میں
اس آنے کو کیا کہئے، اس جانے کو کیا کہئے

Under the shadow of sword, in the presence of sword,
What a grand arrival! what a grand departure!

Since this book deals with the state of affairs till 1985, I should like to refer to the Constitution which was drafted, at the instance of General Yahya Khan, by his Law Minister, Mr. Justice A.R. Cornelius, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. This Constitution, like the one of 1954, never saw the light of the day. The salient features of the new Constitution were to be announced over Radio Pakistan on its national hook-up on 16th December, 1971. The script was with the announcer who was awaiting the signal to start when all of a sudden the door of the studio was flung open and the script was withdrawn. 16th December, 1971, was the most fateful day in our history - the country was torn asunder, the day on which Dacca fell to the Indian troops.

The fall of Dacca brought extreme anguish, pain and shame not only to the Muslims of Pakistan, but to the Muslims all over the world. There is no instance in the annals of Muslim history of 60,000 Muslim soldiers laying down their arms without fighting the non-Muslim enemy and of 32,000 civilians being taken as prisoners of war.

While General Yahya Khan succeeded in holding fair and free general

elections in December, 1970, he failed to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

His Hamlet-like hesitation "to transfer power or not to transfer power" was his owndoings and resulted his disgraceful exit from the political scene. The high-ups of the Pakistan Army and the Air Force compelled him to quit and to hand over the power to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader and founder of Pakistan Peoples Party, on 20th December, 1971.

THE ONLY CIVILIAN CMLA IN HISTORY

MR. Z.A. BHUTTO DECIDED to continue Martial Law for the time being. He assumed authority as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator - perhaps he was the only civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator in history. The Martial Law promulgated by General Yahya Khan lasted for three years i.e. from 25th March 1969 to 21st April 1972, when an interim Constitution replaced Martial law. The interim Constitution was replaced by a full-fledged Constitution on 12th April 1973, which was passed by the National Assembly on 10th April 1973, with the support of all political parties and was authenticated by the President of the National Assembly on the same day. On 12th August 1973, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was elected Prime Minister securing 108 votes of the National Assembly; his rival Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani got 28 votes only.

The Preamble of the latest Constitution began with the same words as in the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962:

> Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by him is a sacred trust;

Pakistan i.e. West Pakistan was declared as a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Islam was notified as the State religion of Pakistan.

The Parliament was to consist of two Houses - the National Assembly and the Senate, The National Assembly was to consist of 200 members to be elected by direct and free vote. The minimum age for a voter was to be 18 years.The seats in the National Assembly were allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital on the basis of the population in accordance with the last preceding census officially pub-

lished.

The Senate was to consist of 63 members, 14 to be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly, 5 to be elected by the members from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the National Assembly and 2 to be chosen from the Capital in such a manner as the President might prescribe.

The number of members in the Provincial Assemblies were prescribed as under:

Baluchistan	40
The North West Frontier Province	80
The Punjab	240
Sind	100

The President of Pakistan, according to the new Constitution, was to be the Head of the State representing the unity of the Republic. While all powers were concentrated on the President in accordance with the 1962 Constitution: the President, under the 1973 Constitution, was to be a Constitutional Head of the State. While there was no Prime Minister in the Ayub constitution, the power of governing the country was vested in the Prime Minister according to the 1973 Constitution. The National Assembly was required to elect without debate one of its Muslim members as Prime Minister. The Prime Minister could only be removed by a vote of no-confidence passed by the National Assembly. The new Constitution differed from the 1962 Constitution in respect of the Legislative List. While only one List was prescribed in the Constitution of 1962, two lists had been prescribed in the 1973 Constitution - One was Federal Legislative List and the other was Concurrent Legislative List. The Provincial Assemblies could frame laws in respect of 47 matters mentioned in the Concurrent Legislative List.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime - first as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator and later as Prime Minister - lasted till 5th July 1977, when there was yet another Military *coup d'etat* - the third in 19 years - and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Muhammad Ziaul Haq, assumed power as Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Zia too, like the other two Generals, flouted the oath which he had taken as the Commander-in-Chief. It was during his regime that Mr. Bhutto was put on the gallows. There is a controversy with regard to the nature of offence in which Mr. Bhutto was involved: whether he deserved that punishment is yet another controversy. But the fact remains that Mr. Bhutto was the elected Prime Minister.

General Ziaul Haq's regime has lasted the longest so far. He completed 8 years on 5th July 1985 as compared to Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub

Khan's three years and 8 months and General Yahya Khan's 2 years and 9 months as Chief Martial Law Administrators.

It is for the historians to comment on the achievements of these Generals and the ills that were removed by enforcing Martial Law thrice in the country. But in my considered opinion, even a halting democracy is far better than a dictatorial rule of any nature. At this moment, I am reminded of Lord Acton's wisdom-packed sentence which has become a dictum. To quote his memorable sentence:

> Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Judging by this yard-stick, Martial Law is nothing but a curse. Further, is it not a disgraceful act for a country which came into existence by way of ballot? The most horrible result of Martial Law and throttling of democracy came out in the shape of Bangladesh. The dismemberment of East Pakistan and the events of 1971 should have been a great lesson for the entire people of this country, including the top-brass of the military. But what a pity that a General staged a *coup d'etat* again in 1977.

26

MINISTRIES OF INFORMATION & HEALTH

— The picture was more grim in East Pakistan.
— The Calcutta Newspapers had a virtual monopoly.
— Industry in calcutta had been set up on raw jute from East Pakistan.
—In Calcutta alone, there were over 100 jute mills, whereas in East Pakistan there was not a single jute mill until 1947.
— Since 1947, we had made considerable headway. In 1962, there were 96 dailies, 22 bi-weeklies, 140 fortnightlies, 539 monthlies, 46 periodicals and 78 annuals in Pakistan which were published in English, Urdu, Bengali, Gujrati, Pushto and Sindhi, but we did not have sufficient industry to support newspapers of the size and circulation as those produced in India.
— The Chairman of the Journalists Wage Board, Mr. Justice Sajjad Ahmed Jan, in his report to Government, observed that the wage board felt that the newspaper industry in this country should attract as talented and dignified a class of people as does the civil service of Pakistan.

THE PRESS IS APTLY defined as the fourth estate. An independent but responsible press is of utmost value to an independent and sovereign nation. Our Quaid firmly believed in freedom of press. When I was appointed Secretary, Ministry of Information, I had a passion that I would endeavour to make the press worthy of its role. In fact, I had a long association with the press - the association which I have already mentioned in the pages of this book. Another Ministry entrusted to me was equally important. It was the Ministry of Health, Labour & Social Welfare. During my tenure, what progress was made in these fields of life, detailed information is being given in the following pages.

PRESS IN PAKISTAN:

I shall now pass on to the press in our country: In 1947, there were only a dozen well-established newspapers in Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the most

the 'Civil & Military Gazette', 'Zamindar' and 'Nawa-e-Waqt' of Lahore and the 'Khyber Mail' of Peshawar. In East Pakistan, there were only two well-known papers: 'Azad' and 'Morning News'. All these newspapers had depended upon industry in India which provided advertisements. 'Dawn', which had been established in New Delhi and whose offices were ransacked during disturbances in 1947, had to move all its assets, lock, stock and barrel to Karachi and thereafter it re-established itself. 'Jang' and 'Anjam' too moved from the capital of India to the capital of Pakistan. There was only one teleprinter link and that was between Karachi and Bombay. It was in the service of Associated Press of India which ceased to exist shortly after partition. The A.P.I. was replaced by the Associated Press of Pakistan. As the newspapers were themselves living a hand-to-mouth existence, the new news agency, A.P.P. had much difficulty in recovering its bills. The Government of Pakistan repeatedly came to the rescue of this news agency with financial aid.

The picture was more grim in East Pakistan. Here, the Calcutta newspapers had a virtual monopoly. Industry in Calcutta had been set up on raw jute from East Pakistan. In Calcutta alone, there were over 100 jute mills, while in East Pakistan there was not a single jute mill until 1947. We had 14 jute mills in East Pakistan in 1962 which worked out to 1 mill for each year of independence! The cotton mills in East Pakistan were owned by Hindus whose advertisement flowed to the Calcutta papers. Since 1947, we had made considerable headway. In 1962, there were 96 dailies, 22 bi-weeklies, 140 fortnightlies, 539 monthlies, 46 periodicals and 78 annuals in Pakistan which were published in English, Urdu, Bengali, Gujrati, Pushto and Sindhi. But we hadn't yet got sufficient industry neither in East Pakistann nor in West Pakistan to support newspapers of the size and circulation of those produced in India. The size of a newspaper depends on the number of advertisements which it receives. Normally, advertising should cover at least 30 per cent of the total space of the newspaper. In some instances, it goes upto 50 per cent. Despite this handicap, our newspapers had made big strides, and in place of the normal circulation of 10,000 in the past, some of our leading newspapers have now attained a circulation of over one lakh copies. But development had been haphazard. Import licenses were granted in the past to a favoured few, while the reporting staff did not receive adequate salaries. The regime took steps to ensure that sufficient foreign exchange was allocated for the import of machinery and spare parts. Some of our bigger newspapers today are now fairly well-equipped, but in 1962, such was not the condition. The Urdu Press, thanks to the import of modern machinery, has been able to adopt offset litho press in an increasing degree. Newspapers now have also their own teleprinter links also. The 'Nawa-e-Waqt', Karachi, is linked with its Lahore Office, and 'Jang',

Karachi with its Lahore and Rawalpindi Offices. The 'Pakistan Times' has its own teleprinter link between Rawalpindi and Lahore. In addition, the Associated Press of Pakistan has teleprinter links from Karachi direct into newspaper offices, teleprinter links with Lahore and teleprinters linking their Lahore and Rawalpindi offices with newspaper offices. This is a great improvement from the days when teleprinter links were confined mainly to the Karachi area. Under an international convention, the news agencies can merely report objectively. They cannot express opinion on the events that they report. The press is an increasingly powerful media linking the Government with the people and publicity amongst the intelligentsia, for practical and positive achievements, can be best ensured through the printed word. Prior to the fall of Dacca, there had been an inter-wing exchange of journalists which enabled a large number of journalists in both wings to see the other wing of the country. They wrote then from first-hand knowledge of the condition in the other wing. We had an increasing number of foreign journalists visiting our country. But the time to rest on our oars was still far off. The combined circulation of all newspapers was in the region of 5 lakhs. In 1962, making an allowance of 6 readers for every copy, it gave a figure of 30 lakhs out of a total population of 93,690.530 scattered over an area of 369,248 square miles. The price of our newspapers was not low. That was due to the price of the newsprint which was then produced in Khulna. The P.I.D.C. was trying their best to reduce the overhead charges of the Newsprint Factory.

The P.I.O. sends daily and weekly reviews of papers to all the Ministries of the Central Government as well as daily press cuttings to the Ministries concerned, to keep them informed of the comments of the press.

The most benevolent measure which was taken in this country to improve the lot of the working journalists was announced by the new Regime in the shape of the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) Order 1960, and the Working Journalists Wage Board Rules. The present Government gave statutory recognition to most of the recommendations of the Press Commission for ameliorating the lot of the working journalists. The Chairman of the Journalists Wage Board, Mr. Justice Sajjad Ahmed Jan, in his report to Government, observed that the Wage Board felt that the Newspaper industry in this country should attract as talented and dignified a class of people as does the Civil Service of Pakistan. News-gathering is a laborious and tiring process. There are no fixed hours of work for reporters and there are no known places from where news could be gathered. Even the accreditation passes issued to the journalists by the P.I.O. are not recognised for the purpose of entry into the Government Secretariats and every time they enter the Secretariat premises, they have to have special authorisation. Then, at times when something

appears in the press which is supposed to be confidential, we are asked to call upon the correspondents to reveal the source of their information under pain of being prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act. Unless some officer of the Government chooses to convey a secret information, it is impossible to gather it. We can certainly cross-examine and threaten our own officers but it is a well-known and time-honoured tradition of journalists that the source of the news is not revealed by them. There have been instances when editors have gone to jail rather than reveal the source of their information. In the higher tier of journalism, life is not so unattractive. In fact, most of the editors in Pakistan assumed a lot of importance in the parliamentary regime on account of their friendship with the then Ministers. They were more solicitous of the goodwill of the editors than of any other section of society. Justice Sajjad Ahmed Jan, in his report, had stated that an editor of a leading daily, when questioned as to the comparable employment in Government service for an editor of his standing, replied that the only comparable post to his mind was the Head of the State! It is with such personages that the officers of the Ministry of Information have to rub shoulders daily!

Much depends upon the mental make up and the attitude of the writer of an article. If there is a half-filled tumbler of water, a pessimist would say that the glass is half empty, and an optimist would say that the glass is half-full. Once two men looked through the prison bars: one noticed mud, the other stars. Professor Harold Laski once described a competent civil servant as an extremely able man who can always produce excellent arguments for doing nothing. With a slight modification, the same could be said of a competent editor who can always produce excellent arguments for saying anything. Let me conclude my review of the press with this quotation of Professor Harold Laski:

> A people without reliable news is sooner or later a people without the basis of freedom.

PUBLICITY & ITS PROBLEMS

PERIODICALS MEETINGS OF MINISTERS and officers posted at Rawalpindi were held at the Lecture Hall of the G.H.Q. They were attended by Ministers, Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and local Revenue and Police Officials.

I addressed one such meeting on the 2nd of May 1962, on ' The Problems of Publicity'. It attracted notice because of the presence of the President. The

Ministers, Secretaries and others attended in full force.

When I was turning over in my mind how to begin my talk that afternoon, I recollected a story which I had read during the last World War. It was the story about a few travellers in a railway compartment in Germany. All except one looked extremely worried. The cheerful passenger turned to his fellow passengers to enquire what their worries were. One by one the passengers told their tales. There was a husband who was to meet his ill-tempered wife at the other end and to explain to her the reasons for the delay in returning home. There was a Government official who had lost a top secret document and had to account for its loss to his boss. There was a boy who was returning to his school after the vacations and had to explain to an exacting teacher why he did not do a single sum, and so on. The cheerful traveller laughed on hearing their little worries and said:

"Why, fellow passengers, I am surprised at your attitude. I have been in far worse situations than these but I am never at a loss to invent an excuse".

"Really!" the passengers exclaimed, "this is very interesting, but how are you able to do it?"

"This is very simple". replied the cheerful traveller. "Perhaps you don't know my name, I am Dr. Goebels!"

This story illustrates the effect of propaganda which has not yet been given up by all the countries of the world. We in Pakistan do not subscribe to the theory that propaganda is a screen to cover a multitude of sins. Hitler has remarked in his book 'Mien Kamf' that in a big lie there is a certain force of credulity. His technique was that the greater the lie, the greater the chances of its being swallowed. We hope that we shall never have to take the help of lies and excuses to put across our point of view.

Our concept of governmental publicity is a two-way traffic. We have to use the media at our disposal— press, radio and films— to transmit to the people the explanation of the decisions and policies of Government and to transmit back to the Government the reactions of the people in their day-to-day life to the measures intended to make their lives worth living. I admit that we are not able to come up to the entire expectations of either the Government or the people but this is seldom due to any delinquency on our part. We actually suffer from the inherent handicaps of our role. Whenever there is an outcry against a particular policy of Government, the information media are blamed for not explaining the policies to the entire satisfaction of the people. On the other hand, those who are in a position to criticise the policies of Government, blame the Information Department for not conveying their points of view to the authorities concerned and very often we find ourselves between Scylla and Charybids.

The understanding of public opinion is not an easy task. Differences of opinion exist between communities and communities, groups and groups, and individuals and individuals. This has led some cynics to dismiss history as bunk or as 'lies mutually-agreed upon'. The three important considerations which have to be borne in mind while assessing public opinion are:

i) A crowd consists of people at the same place and at the same time.
ii) Community is characterised by both locality and a common living.
iii) The public comprises large groups of people, a group of any size in which the members are more or less conscious of common interest. As long as there are different interests, there are bound to be different publics. There are as many publics as there are interests and a person can belong simultaneously to different publics, such as sports public, religious public, political public and scientific public.

Beliefs cannot be regarded as opinions. These are what we know to be true. Opinions are what we think to be true. An opinion is an expression on a controversial point. The majority may not always be right. The environment consists of inherited ideas, prejudices and superstitions. Throughout history, great men have been hated by a large number of contemporaries. A prime asset of a student of public opinion is humility and a spirit of unbiased inquiry. In this quest what is needed most is a true sense of proportion and a true sense of values. An observer of public opinion once cautioned those who have to examine public opinion in the following words:

> Have confidence in those who have the courage to contradict you if necessary and who place more value on your reputation than on your favour.

Opinions and attitudes are influenced and shaped by actions, not words. An ex-President of the United States, Grover Cleveland felt the hot blast of personal scandal as Democratic nominee for Presidentship in 1881 when the Buffalo Evening Telegraph charged that Cleveland, a bachelor, had sired an illegitimate son. Cleveland who went on to win the election admitted having affair with the woman but said that other men were involved. Inspite of his very high position, he could not escape the dart of the following doggerel:

> Ma Ma - Where is Pa Pa? Gone to the White House?
> Ha Ha Ha!

The task of a journalist, therefore, is a very hard one. I have heard it said

that journalism is like ministry and marriage. One should not get into it unless he finds that he cannot stay out of it.

RADIO, FILMS & PUBLICATIONS

I WILL NOW REFER to the second important media of information, viz., the Radio. In our country, it is an entirely Government-controlled organisation. Here too we have made considerable strides from 1947, but much still remains to be done. As compared to the Press, Radio is a recent media of information - the All-India Radio was set up in 1936 - but in a country where the percentage of literacy is round about 15%, the Radio assumes an importance which is greater than that of the Press. The essentials of a good broadcasting system are good transmission, good programmes, good staff and cheap receivers. I will state how we have progressed in this field.

In 1947, Pakistan had only three Radio Stations - Lahore, Peshawar and Dacca. We have now 9 Stations (1962), and at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan we hope to have 17. The number of transmitters was 3 in 1947, 19 in 1962, and we hope to have 41 at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. The total K.W. strength was 20 in 1947, 212.5 in 1962 and is expected to be 11,000 at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. The total area covered was 25,000 sq. miles in 1947. In 1962, the area covered is 49,000 sq. miles in West Pakistan, and 8,500 sq. miles in East Pakistan. At the end of the Second-Five Year Plan, we hope to cover 156,000 sq. miles in West Pakistan and 46,400 sq. miles in East Pakistan.

The total programme hours were 44 per day in 1947, they are now 88 hours per day. The languages used in the Home Service in our programmes were Bengali, Urdu, English, Pushto and Punjabi in 1947. We have since added Kashmiri, Brohi, Baluchi, Sindhi, Potohari, Balti and Sheena. The total number of news bulletins was 11 in 1947, 8 national and 3 regional per day. Now there are 17 national bulletins and 18 regional bulletins per day. Special audiences were limited in the past to rural, women and children. They have now been extended to armed forces, universities and basic democracies. The estimated number of radio sets was 70,669 in 1947 and 241,768 on March 31, 1961.

The number of external services was 1 in 1947. There are now 5 regular services in Burmese, Afghan-Persian, Arabic, Persian and Gujrati, and 5 experimental services directed to South-East Asia, Indonesia, South Asia, Turkey and U.K., broadcasting a total of 8 hours 45 minutes per day in various languages. We have started an hourly commercial service from October, 1961.

This has turned out to be a very popular service and unless we extend the time, we will not be able to cope with the advertisements that have been placed with Radio Pakistan. While we have progressed in accordance with our resources, this powerful media of publicity and information still remains to be fully tapped. In Australia, e.g. every 23 persons out of 100 have a radio set. The number of broadcasting stations in that country is 136 - 33 national and 103 commercial broadcasting stations. 80 per cent of schools listen regularly to the Kinder Garten classes on the air. The Australian Broadcasting Commission is the biggest employer of musicians in the world and owns 7 orchestras, one in each province. All the burning and current problems are discussed and people of the most antagonistic views are brought before the mike and, subject to general line of good behaviour, they are allowed to tear each other to pieces. According to a statute, the A.B.C. must provide an independent home news service. It does not take news from the agencies, nor does it lift it from newspapers. More than 600 correspondents are employed by the A.B.C.

In China, there are over 71 broadcasting stations. The radio network has been extended to the remotest village in China. There are over 20,000 receiving stations which relay news, communist and other propaganda materials to the villages where they are disseminated through house roof broadcasting, and the village news black-board organisations.

We have been allotted for development of radio in the next Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 4 crores and we had to curtail our schemes to conform to the resources of our country. When they grow as a result of an all-round development in the Second Five-Year Plan, it will be possible to allot more funds to Radio Pakistan.

FILMS:

The third important media of information is films. It is in this field that we have lagged behind and have to catch up with the time. True, the picture is not as gloomy as it was in 1947, when except for one, there were no studio facilities in the whole of Pakistan. There was no plant in the country capable of reducing 35 mm films to 16 mm. In the absence of this facility, prints for use in foreign countries were not made in Pakistan. Our documentaries were processed and synchronised in London. This arrangement continued until we received in 1958, laboratory, editing and sound recording equipment under the I.C.A. Aid Programme worth about one million rupees for black and white film production work.

Starting with 2 films, viz. 'Birth of Pakistan' and '72nd Birthday of Quaid-e-Azam' in 1947-48, the Department of Films is now producing regularly 24

fortnightly newsreels and 20 documentary films every year. We have prepared 2 documentary films during the current year. One was shown all over the country immediately after the new Constitution was announced by the President on the 1st March, 1961. It is entitled 'A Pledge Redeemed'. The second film is ready and will be shown at the Government Projection Hall. The title of the film is 'The Years Ahead'. The existing laboratory equipment has been found to be inadequate to cope with the increasing volume of film production work. The provision of funds was inadequate. In the First Five-Year Plan, no allocations were made for expanding the activities of the Department of Films. Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan include provision for production of more films and for Field Publicity.

I shall now refer to commercial films. The number of studios in Pakistan is only 9 - 5 in Lahore, 3 in Karachi and 1 in Dacca. The number of cinemas in the country is 261 - 149 in West Pakistan and 112 in East Pakistan. In addition to the cinemas, there are 33 moving talkies in West Pakistan but none in East Pakistan.

Films, in spite of the entertainment duty, are the cheapest forms of entertainment in our country. Till the recent past, the commercial producers endeavoured to produce cheap quality films to get the maximum monetary benefit. However, in the changed outlook of the country's over-all developmental activities, the Pakistan producers also tried to adjust themselves. They started thinking of national reconstruction subjects and some films were produced on these themes. To quote just a few stray examples, a film 'Zamana Kya Kaheyga' was produced which portrays the correct role of the Police Force in the administration of the country. Another film called 'Shaheed' stirs up patriotic feelings in the masses. A film called 'Inqilab' was brought forth to highlight the evil effects of smuggling on the national economy. Another film 'Mera Kya Qasoor' was produced to fight superstition among the people. Yet another film 'Chiragh Jalta Raha' has appeared on the screen recently to bring out the intrinsic qualities of a God-fearing Muslim in the face of heavy odds. This is a healthy trend and an encouraging development.

Unfortunately, the pace of film production in our country is very slow. During the last fourteen years, only 262 films have been produced in Pakistan. This is too meagre a figure even to cater to the needs of the comparatively inadequate number of 361 cinema houses in this country. It is, however, believed that with the banning of the import of the Indian films and the decertification of those already imported, the number of our own films will increase. Our film industry suffers at present from lack of capital, lack of enterprise and inadequacy of technicians.

To achieve uniformity in film censorship, a Central Board of Film Censors

was set up in March, 1961.

PUBLICATIONS:

We have a Department of Publications which published Mah-e-Nau (Urdu) and Mah-e-Nau (Bengali), two literary magazines which have attained considerable merit. Monthly magazines are published in Sindhi as well as in Pushto, the former is called 'Nai Zindagi' and the later 'Abbaseen'. We publish a monthly Arabic magazine called 'Al-Wai' and a Persian magazine called 'Hilal'. Since April, 1959, the Department is publishing a monthly publication 'Progress of the Month', in which the achievements of the new regime are reviewed from month to month in all spheres of national life. To project Pakistan in English speaking countries, the Department publishes a quarterly magazine in English entitled "Pakistan". Another quarterly magazine which we publish is Contemporary Arts in Pakistan, which is meant for cultural publicity abroad. In September, 1960, a weekly paper Pak Jamhuriat was started in three languages - English, Urdu and Bengali. We print 5,000 copies each in Urdu and Bengali. The total number of ad-hoc publications and pamphlets in various languages during the year 1960-61 was 175 as compared to 11 in 1947-48.

Besides, its normal censorship work which is actuated by a strong desire to improve the quality of indigenous films, the Central Board has guided the film industry on several matters through directives issued to it from time to time. It also gave a Production Code to the Industry. The Central Board has also tried to check the import of undesirable trends of the Western cultures through films in Pakistan.

Our cinemas mostly show foreign films. From March to December 1961, the Central Board allowed exhibition of 214 foreign, 29 Pakistani and 6 Indian films. From January, 1961, up-to-date, the Board has certified 66 foreign, 10 Pakistani and 4 Indian films. How unsatisfactory some of the foreign films are will be evident from the fact that since March, '61, the Central Board has banned 38 films, for these films portrayed sex and crime in a shamefaced manner.

In conclusion, I would appeal to my colleagues to point out our lapses promptly - for what is news today becomes history tomorrow - to supply us with full background material for all important decisions which affect the public, to be accessible to the journalists but to tell them only that much which is safe for publication, for there is a well-known saying:

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.

HEALTH IS WEALTH

— Only those have the fear of God, who become aware of His greatness.
— There is a direct link between good health and peace of mind.

ALL OF US FIRMLY believe that health is a priceless possession of an individual, and the most valuable asset of a nation. To us, this is not just a sentimental expression but an item of faith. Full and productive citizenship is only possible when nations can march forward under a clear sky-shadow of disease. To attain this is a continuing task, which although will take a decade or so, is yet within the grasp of human ingenuity. The knowledge we have today available to us to reduce disease and illness which cut short working life, must be employed in the most efficient and economic manner.

A dramatic reduction in the incidence of communicable diseases such as malaria, smallpox and cholera, has already been achieved. We have also built up a network of health services which, though far from complete, is now beginning to take the responsibility for the maintenance of health rather than simply the treatment of sickness.

The study of the phenomenon of the inter-action between man and his ever-changing environment, is a fascinating subject. Unexplored possibilities exist for the epidemiological studies, which could throw new lights on evolving a fresh approach and developing broad concepts in preventive and social medicine. Research workers in Pakistan, as in other developing countries in organising institutions where applied and operational research could be promoted, would receive urgent consideration.

When President Muhammad Ayub Khan visited President Lyndon Johnson of the United States of America, the latter offered to send his Science Adviser, Dr. F. Hornig, to Pakistan to brief our educational authorities on the progress of science in the U.S.A. and to advise us on ways and means of stimulating study of science. When he arrived in Rawalpindi on 29th April, 1965, in the company of Professor Abdus Salam, then Science Adviser to the Government of Pakistan, the President was camping in Swat State. We motored up to Saidu Sharif and the President held discussion with Dr. Hornig and Dr. Abdus Salam in the garden of the Wali of Swat. The air was crisp and the distant mountains presented a picturesque site. At the lunch given by the Wali of Swat, Dr. Hornig told us that it was the most beautiful site he had

witnessed in his life.

In October, 1979, when Dr. Abdus Salam was awarded the Nobel Prize, I wrote to him:

> This morning when the B.B.C. broadcast your interview in the course of which you said that whatever you will get from this award, you will use it partly to encourage the pursuit of science among Muslim students in general and the students of Jhang in particular, I was reminded of the saying of our Holy Prophet (S) that only those who serve the community are fit to lead it. When the representative of the B.B.C. asked you how you celebrated the Award, your reply was inspiring, viz., that you went to a mosque and offered prayer, thanking God in gratitude. Since you are still only 53, I forecast even higher honours to you in field of science. When Allama Mashriqi told his teacher of Mathematics at Cambridge that his faith in God deepens as his knowledge of science increases and recited the following words of the Holy Book:
>
> إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمٰٓؤُا
>
> **'Only those have the fear of God, who become aware of His greatness.'**
>
> His Professor remarked:"What a wonderful thought!"
>
> As I write to you I recall our pleasant association in April, 1965, when President Johnson had sent his Science Adviser, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, to Rawalpindi. I cherish the memory of our meeting in Secretariat No. 1 on April 29, and the lunch at Saidu Sharif on April 30.

Dr. Salam replied:

> Bless you for writing. I still remember that wonderful lunch as if it was yesterday and your شگفتہ (delightful) story of the File - with crushed on it. How I wish I can hear you once again tell the same story in that marvellous manner of yours!

The crushed story to which he alluded in his letter was related by me when President Muhammad Ayub Khan remarked that the Confidential Reports that were submitted to him on the work and conduct of officers left

much to be desired. They were verbose and equivocal. His observation led me to describe a brief and categorical report on a zamindar of Larkana District when I took over charge as Collector and District Magistrate Larkana in 1943. In a voluminous book entitled 'Who is who in Larkana District' containing remarks of my predecessors, I came across these three reports:

> I came to know the activities of so and so on the eve of my departure from Larkana. This man needs crushing." (1920)
>
> His successor wrote:
>
> I have crushed him. (1923)
>
> Three years later, the Collector and District Magistrate wrote:
>
> I found him crushed. (1926)
>
> The needful was done and no other report was necessary!

ONLY TWO MEDICAL COLLEGES IN 1947

ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION WITH which we dealt in our Ministry was the World Health Organisation.

The United Nations came into being on October, 24, 1945. It was President Roosevelt who had suggested this name for the new international organisation. When the founding fathers of the United Nations drew its Charter at San Francisco in 1945, the main objectives were to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to achieve cooperation among the member nations in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

It is significant that 1400 years ago, these very objectives had been enumerated by our Holy Prophet (S) in the Code of Conduct which he laid down for the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims who lived in the territories administered by Muslims. The very word 'Islam' means 'Peace'.

While the United Nations who celebrated their 40th anniversary in 1985, are not so united as the founding fathers had expected, there is no doubt that the inter-government agencies which work in close relationship with each

other and with the U.N., have done a lot of good to the world. Among these specialized agencies are the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organisation, the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, the International Atomic Energy Organisation, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (popularly known as the World Bank), the International Monetary Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organisation, the International Telecommunications Union, the World Meteorological Organisation and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The World Health Organisation is an agency for international cooperation which aims at improving the physical and mental health of the people of the world. It helps Governments to launch campaigns to stamp out diseases like malaria and tuberculosis, to coordinate efforts to prevent the spread of epidemics, to train health workers at all levels and to promote international medical research. The headquarters of W.H.O. are at Geneva.

The W.H.O. has defined health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not only the absence of disease.

Good health, according to Francis Bigger, is the triumph of mind over matter. When he was asked, "What is mind?"

He replied, "It does not matter."

He was then asked, "What is matter?"

His evasive reply was, "Never mind."

Every one strives for happiness of mind. A wise man said:

"In the world there are takers and givers. The takers eat well, the givers sleep well."

Good health is the primary objective of every individual. There is a direct link between good health and peace of mind. One of our poets has said:

تنگدستی اگر نہ ہو سالک
تندرستی ہزار نعمت ہے

O Saalik! if money is n't missing,
Health indeed is a great blessing.

The number of people who are indifferent to the needs of their bodies and minds is far larger than those who take good care of themselves. I read a very interesting book on mental and physical health by Samuel Butler entitled 'Erewhon'. 'Erewhon' contains the same letters as Nowhere. This book reads like the 'Gullivers Travels'.

In that imaginary country, the citizens were required to keep their bodies in a state of complete fitness. If they could not take care of their bodies, they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment depending on the extent of their ailments. In jail, the State doctors repaired the damage done by them to their bodies. No one dared to sneeze in public lest he should be reported to the Police and taken before a Magistrate for detention in jail. If some one fell ill, his family members concealed the fact lest he should be hauled up for his negligence. Those who failed to get good care of their bodies, were treated as criminals. On the other hand, those who committed crimes listed in our penal codes like thefts, robberies and dacoities, were treated as sick persons who deserved sympathy and proper treatment in hospitals. The rulers of "Erewhon" were of the view that while one could keep physically fit by proper diet and exercise, one had no such control over one's mind. Hence their toleration for those who were the victims of whims that led them to commit thefts and murders. Such persons were kept in neatly-constructed hospitals and beautifully furnished rooms. Their relatives and friends visited them to comfort them and to offer them flowers and books. This is how the conversation went in these hospitals:

Visitors: I was very sorry to hear that you stole your neighbour's car. How did you do it?

Patient: That is a sad story. I had no such intention when I walked from my house. But the new car of my neighbour was standing on the road with windows open and the key inside the car. I could not resist the temptation of driving it away.

Visitor: That was no fault of yours. It was the fault of the owner of the car. He should have kept it under lock and key in his garage.

All this appears very amusing to us but our ways appeared equally amusing to the people of Erewhon.

Reverting to the W.H.O., every year all the member countries observe a World Health Day to focus the attention of Governments and people of the world to the problems of health — both physical and mental. The health bill of Pakistan is very inadequate. It was as low as 0.50% of our total income as compared to Sweden's 6.90% of the G.N.P., America's 6.50%, France's 6.35% West Germany's 5.74% and the United Kingdom's 3.81%.

When the Sub-continent of India was partitioned into Pakistan and Bharat in August 1947, the developed parts of India remained in Bharat and the under-developed parts formed the new State of Pakistan. As in other spheres, the

topmost medical institutions remained in India. e.g. the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta and the Hopkins Institute at Bombay.

The first Pakistan Health Conference was held in November, 1947, at Lahore to draw up a programme for building new institutions for establishing new Medical Colleges, dispensaries and drug testing laboratories.

The first 5-Year Plan was launched in 1955. Only 51% of the total allocation was utilized. A Medical Reforms Commission was appointed in 1959, which submitted its report in 1960, as a result of which new campaigns were launched to eradicate dangerous diseases like malaria, smallpox, cholera and T.B.

In the second 5-Year Plan 1960-65, a sum of Rs. 370 million was allocated to the Health Sector; 60% of this allocation was earmarked for Preventive Services and 40% for Curative Services. During this period, good progress was made in malaria eradication, medical and health facilities for rural areas, Family Planning and Nutrition Survey and research. A National Health Laboratory was established in Islamabad.

The Malaria Eradication Scheme was under-taken in 1961, in collaboration with the W.H.O. and the US. Aid at a cost of 700 million rupees, which paid heavy dividends.

The malaria infections in areas where spraying was done dropped from 25% in 1961, to 3.7% in 1965.

A two-year smallpox programme was launched in 1961. Two of the worst affected areas were in East Pakistan - Comilla and Faridpur Districts. The disease had been wiped out from both the Districts.

In May, 1961, Government approved the project of National Health Laboratories at a cost of 20.5 million. It started working by October 1965. We had only two medical colleges in 1947 - one at Lahore and the other at Karachi. By 1965, the number of medical colleges increased to 12. By 1984, the number of medical colleges in Sind increased to 5: 2 in Karachi and one each in Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Larkana. During the period of 7 years - i.e. 1978 to 1984, Sind produced 8,768 doctors. There are now 7 medical colleges in the Punjab. We had only 3,000 doctors in 1947. By 1965, this number increased to 14,000. The number of Nurses Training Institution increased from 12 in 1947 to 27 in 1965. The data given in these pages belong to the previous years. I am sure that, with the passage of intervening years, much greater development should have taken place in these fields of life.

FAMILY PLANNING, TWO WIVES & ONE CHILD

— The Governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan opposed the proposal tooth and nail.
— The Gevernor of East Pakistan Mr. Abdul Munim Khan enthusiastically supported the proposal.
— I attended an an Eid prayer in which the Pesh Imam prayed that God might show light to President Muhammad Ayub Khan to abandon the scheme of family planning.

POPULATION EXPLOSION IS ONE of the greatest headaches of the modern world. The Indian Sub-continent had been bulging with people which resulted in substantial migration to South Africa, Ceylon and South East Asia since the beginning of the current century. The Health Division was entrusted with the function of Family Planning. The Director-General, with his multifarious duties, was unable to deal with the problem vigorously. I recommended to the President the appointment of a whole-time officer to tackle this problem. It came up for consideration in a Governors' Conference. The Governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, opposed the proposal tooth and nail. He said it was an exercise in futility. The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Munim Khan, supported the scheme. He said that in the matter of increase of population, East Pakistan was much worse than West Pakistan. In the days when the scheme was being discussed in newspapers, I attended an Eid prayer in which the Pesh Imam* prayed that God might show light to President Muhammad Ayub Khan to abandon the scheme of family planning as our Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) had exhorted the newly married couples to produce good number of children. The Maulvi argued that since in our neighbouring country, India, the Hindus were multiplying their population, why should the Pakistanis restrict their number?

We estimated that if Family Planning measures were not adopted, the projected rate of increase in population would be 3% due to improved health facilities during the Third Five-Year Plan. In order to reduce the rate of increase to 2%, it was necessary to prevent 5 to 6 million births.

A very energetic C.S.P. Officer, Enver Adil, Commissioner of Quetta Division, was appointed as Family Planning Commissioner for Pakistan. I

* Leader of the Annual Congregation.

considered him most suitable for this assignment as he had two wives (not simultaneously, but one after the other) and only one child! He was given a free hand to recruit his staff and he proved himself equal to the task. The Press supported our family planning measures in editorials and opinion columns. Shaukat Thanvi's verses on family planning became very popular, one of the couplets is as follows:

اے مرے بچے مرے نورِ نظر پیدا نہ ہو
میں ترا احسان مانوں گا اگر پیدا نہ ہو

O my darling, be not born,
I shall be grateful, if you remain unborn.

It prompted another humorous and witty poet, Zamir Jaffery to say:

شوق سے نورِ نظر لختِ جگر پیدا کرو
ظالمو تھوڑا سا گندم بھی مگر پیدا کرو

Record of birth-rate, you may beat,
But before it, produce a bit of wheat.

In the course of my tours to supervise family planning operations, a prosperous Zamindar named Askar Elahi came to see me. I was informed by the District Family Planning Officer that that gentleman had eleven (11) children and on the very day that he called on me he had his twelfth child, a son. I asked him whether he had named his new born. He said 'Not yet' and invited me to suggest the name. I suggested 'Bas Kar Elahi'. This quip was widely reported in our Press.

During the years 1961-81, our rate of growth had been 3% per annum as against our target of 2% per annum. I was glad to read in a U.N. Publication of 1985 that Pakistan's population had grown since 1981 at the rate of 2.7% per year. In this publication, Pakistan's current population had been estimated at 99.2 million, making it the 9th largest country in the world. We have been feeding over 3 million refugees from neighbouring Afghanistan since the past 8 years when the U.S.S.R. army of over one lakh soldiers occupied their country. In these circumstances, the need for family planning could not be over-emphasized.

There are 10 million totally blind people in the world today. On the World

Health Day in 1976, spotlight was put on the darkness which envelopes so many. The theme for the year was "Foresight prevents blindness." The peripatetic eye camps in West Pakistan brought considerable relief to the residents of Thar desert in Tharparkar District and Cholistan in Bahawalpur Division. Malaria and Tuberculosis are the major health problems in Pakistan.

B.C.G. vaccinations are a boon to our poverty-stricken population. In 1961, the Ministry of Health carried out 4.5 million tests and vaccinated 2 million people. In 1962-63, the number of tests increased to 5 million and the number of B.C.G. vaccination to 2.5 million.

Leprosy is another health problem of considerable magnitude - the number of its victims was more in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan. A survey showed that 2% to 3% of the total population of East Pakistan suffered from the scourge. In West Pakistan, the incidence is limited to Karachi, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Quetta and Multan. The Leper Hospital at Manghopir is providing very good relief to those afflicted with this disease. Some German and Pakistani ladies have joined hands to serve the inmates of this hospital on a voluntary basis.

We secured the services of an adviser from the W.H.O. to formulate a project for combating leprosy in East Pakistan. He came in December 1961, and within a year he reported that 700 persons had been cured. Most of the patients were male - the ratio of male and female patients was 5 to 1. At the Advisor's suggestion, static clinics were established and mobile teams were formed to follow up the work. By the end of 1964, 25,000 persons were treated in five project areas, one in Karachi and four in East Pakistan.

During my tenure as Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare (1962-66), the Director-General of Health, Brigadier M.S. Haque, used to represent Pakistan at the annual sessions of the W.H.O. at Geneva. Prior to 1962, General W.A. Burki, Minister for Health, used to lead our delegations to the annual sessions of W.H.O. He was a distinguished member of the Indian Medical Service, Col. Afridi was elected President of the annual session of W.H.O. in 1964. He gained fame for his malaria eradication project. Pakistan enjoyed a good name among the members of W.H.O.

The Director-General of the World Health Organisation, Dr. M.G. Candau, wrote to us:

> A special feature of the Constitution of W.H.O. is the regional organisation, and W.H.O. is the only specialised agency where governmental bodies have been established constitutionally at the regional level. Experience has shown the value of these meetings of

Member states with comparable health conditions and similar problems thus prepared to discuss in a spirit of mutual understanding and realism.

This justifies the importance that W.H.O. gives to Regional Committees, the role of which cannot be over-emphasised.

He suggested that Sub-Committee 'A' of the Regional Committee for the Eastern Mediterranean should meet in Pakistan in 1966. We readily agreed to host that Conference which was held in Karachi from 19th to 23rd September, 1966. It was attended by Health Ministers and Advisors of the following 16 countries:

Cyprus, Ethiopia, Federation of South Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Pakistan, Qatar, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Yemen.

Dr. M.G. Candau, Director-General W.H.O. and Dr. A.H. Taba, Regional Director, W.H.O. Eastern Mediterranean also attended the Conference.

Our Minister for Health, Kazi Anwar-ul Haq, in his inaugural address, welcomed the eminent delegates at the 16th Meeting of the Sub-Committee 'A' of the Eastern Mediterranean Region. He observed:

To you, Dr. Candau, I am specially grateful as inspite of your other urgent responsibilities, you have travelled all the way from Geneva to Karachi, to be able to attend this meeting. This gesture is a measure of the importance you attach to the deliberations of the Regional Committee and reflects on the sincerity of purpose with which you have always shouldered the responsibilities of your high office. I would like to offer to the members of region the sincere gratitude of the Government of Pakistan for having accepted our invitation to hold the 16th Meeting of the Regional Sub-Committee in Pakistan.

I am happy at this opportunity provided to us to welcome the distinguished delegates from neighbouring countries, with whom we are bound with strong ties of mutual respect and friendship. Distinguished delegates, your presence in our country is a matter of great pleasure for us. The benefit of your experience and your expert knowledge of the health problems of the area, I am sure will inspire our health workers to greater efforts for the promotion of health in Pakistan.

SOCIAL EVILS AND OPPRESSIVE CUSTOMS

-- Persons quilty of using children for begging should receive deterrent punishment. Twenty years rigorous imprisonment should be prescribed for the offence of abducting a child.
— Begging should be banned throughout Pakistan.

THERE IS AN ARAB proverb: "you are a prince, I am a prince; who will drive the donkey?" The donkey is not driven by princes but by plebeians.

Sheikh Abdul Ansar Hirati's saying comes to mind:

> To fly in the air is no miracle of the dirtiest flies can do it, to cross rivers without bridges or boats is no miracle for a terrier can do the same, but to help a suffering heart is a miracle performed by holy men.

Who are these holy men , is not easy to define. But one can say with confidence that all those who are engaged in social services could be described as holy men and women.

In Islam, the duties of faithful have been classified into 'Haququllah' (Obligations to God) and 'Haququlebad' (Obligations to man). The latter has been given greater importance by our sages. The main responsibility of the rulers is the welfare of their subjects.

Social Welfare encompasses all measures taken by the Central and Provincial Governments for the good of the people. It is necessary that at the present stage of development there should be a national pattern and standard in the field of social welfare for voluntary organisations to follow. It was with this objective that a Central Social Welfare Council was constituted with the Central Minister as Chairman and Provincial Ministers dealing with this subject and some prominent social workers as members. The Charter of the Social Welfare Council comprised:

1. Development of national policies for social welfare in cooperation with Provincial Governments.
2. Encouragement of appropriate standards of performance

in Government-run and voluntary agencies.

3. Sanctioning of grants-in-aid from Central Government funds to supplement the financial resources of the Provinces.
4. Carrying out and coordinating on a nation-wide basis programmes of research, surveys and compilation of social statistics.

The Central Social Welfare Council laid down and supervised urban community development programmes, training courses for social welfare workers and promoted social welfare services in the Provinces. I am glad to be able to report that the most enthusiastic section of social welfare workers comprised ladies who gladly gave their time and attention to the duties assigned to them. The All-Pakistan Women Association was the most active voluntary organisation, which opened schools, supplemented government efforts in the field of education and health. The founder of All-Pakistan Women's Association, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, and her fellow workers deserve commendation and thanks for their public spirited attitude and labour of love.

COMMISSION FOR ERADICATION OF SOCIAL EVILS:

In 1961, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, appointed a Commission for Eradication of Social Evils. It consisted of Maulvi Ghulam Mohiyuddin Khan Kasuri, H.K., as its Chairman, and Begum Shah Nawaz (Lahore), Begum Jalil Asghar (Lahore), Mr. Khair Muhammad Panhwar (Jacobabad), Mr. Peer Buksh Khan (Peshawar), Mr. Taj Muhammad Khanzada, D.S.O., M.C., (Mardan), Mr. Fazle Rabbi (Barisal), Dr. M.N. Nandy (Dacca), Mr. A.K. Ahmedullah (Dacca) and Begum Sofia Kamal (Dacca) as members. Mr. Akbar Kabir, Director of Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan, was appointed as member-Secretary. Maulvi Ghulam Mohiyuddin Khan Kasuri resigned in January, 1962, owing to ill health and Professor A.B.A. Haleem of Aligarh and Ex-Vice Chancellor of Karachi University was appointed in his place.

The Commission printed a questionnaire in five languages, namely English, Urdu, Bengali, Sindhi and Pashtu, and eleven thousand copies were circulated to Chairmen of all tiers of Basic Democracies; Bar Association; Government officials; universities; colleges and schools; social workers; office-bearers of voluntary social welfare agencies, press and other media of public information.

Through the courtesy of the Social Welfare Departments and the Bureau of National Reconstruction, a series of seminars, conferences and meetings were held in different parts of the country so as to create a climate of awareness and enquiry amongst the people on the subject of the Commission. The publication of the questionnaire roused considerable interest among social thinkers and journalists and many articles appeared in newspapers and magazines dealing with some of the aspects of social evils and economically oppressive customs prevalent in different regions of the country. The Commission received about four thousand replies from the respondents.

The Commission submitted its report in 1964. It recommended that expenditure on births, deaths and marriages should be curtailed considerably. It observed:

> During our tour of East Pakistan, we were informed by witnesses that in many cases, mothers start saving money and making ornaments for the dowry of a daughter as soon as she is born.
>
> Sometimes, parents are obliged to dispose of their houses and other property to provide for the dowry. A witness reported to us the case of a school teacher in Sylhet who had sold all his belongings to provide dowry for his daughter.
>
> It has been brought to our notice that civil servants, particularly those belonging to the superior services, have for some time past shown a tendency to demand costly presents which makes marriage a mercenary transaction. Many persons are not shy even to demand cash consideration for marrying a particular bride. This practice seems to be a social sore amongst the people of East Pakistan.

The Guest Control Order should be re-enacted limiting the number of guests at marriages to 100.

Persons guilty of using children for begging, should receive deterrent punishment. Twenty years rigorous imprisonment should be prescribed for the offence of abducting a child less than 14 years of age and 14 years rigorous imprisonment for the offence of abducting a child between 14 and 18 years of age. In either case, a minimum punishment should also be laid down. Handsome rewards should be offered to persons who help in the recovery of abducted children.

Beggary should be banned throughout Pakistan and the existing laws relating to vagrancy should be strictly and uniformly enforced.

At the same time, positive steps should be taken for the rehabilitation of beggars. For this purpose, it is necessary to build up a system of relief by fixing the responsibility for the destitute on the Municipal Corporations and the

Mohallas, in each area representative committees should be set up for the purpose of collecting charities and administering them.

The Commission recommended banning of prostitution, gambling and betting. The recommendations of the Commission on bribery and other forms of corruption related to simplification of procedures for prosecution of the corrupt and of appointment of administrative courts for trying those charged with corruption. The Commission recommended:

> Adequate training and orientation courses for Government officials should be provided for the purpose of inculcating a sense of proper values.
>
> Merit, which must include integrity and satisfactory experience, should alone determine placement of authority, irrespective of the cadre - to which an officer belongs.
>
> The salaries of Government servants, particularly of the low income group, should be revised periodically in conformity with the cost of living. There should also be provision of free education for their children and medical facilities for their dependents.

I regret to observe that the evils pointed out by the Commission still persist in our society, some of them with increased intensity. It is easy to point out these evils but it is only the force of public opinion which can bring about the desired change.

BILL TO DISCOURAGE QUACKERY

IN JANUARY 1965, THE National Assembly at its Dacca Session passed an Act recognising Hakims, Vaids and Homeopaths as legal practitioners of non-allopathic systems of medicine. Till 1965, the non-allopathic practitioners were considered as quacks. When the bill was on the anvil, it was opposed by our doctors who argued that the bill would encourage quackery. The Director-General of Health and his subordinates, being allopathic doctors, did their utmost to persuade the then Minister of Health, Abdullah Zaheeruddin Lal Mian, to drop the idea of according recognition to Hakims[1], Vaids[2] and Homeopaths but he rejected their plea and went ahead with the proposed legislation. He told everyone who opposed the bill that our doctors catered for only 15% of our population.

The rest of the 85% were taken care of by Hakims, Vaids and Homeopaths.

1. Practitioners of oriental system of medicine popularly known as Unani (Greek) system.
2. Practitioners of indegenous Indian system of medicine known as Ayurvedic system.

The object of the bill was to discourage quackery by registering those who were practising indigenous methods of medicine and homeopathy and eliminating those who did not possess the minimum qualifications laid down by the two Boards set up by Government, one for the Hakims and Vaids and the other for the Homeopaths. He referred to a W.H.O. survey in 1963, which showed that in early years of Pakistan, the ratio of patients and doctors was one doctor for 15,000 patients; by 1963, the ratio was one doctor for 6,400 patients. The two Boards were set up in July 1965 for a term of 3 years. Each Board comprised 19 members. The President of the Board for Unani and Ayurvedic Systems of medicine was Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, a well known Hakim of Lahore. The President of the Board of Homeopathy was Dr. U.A. Pasha from Karachi. These two Boards had been constituted in consultation with the Provincial Governments.

Hakims and Vaids had practised in the Indian Sub-continent since time immemorial. 'Hikmat' is known as Tibb-e-Unani as it derives its origin from Greece. Alcemon who practised in Greece in 500 B.C. is known in Arabic and Persian books as Hakim Luqman. Many Muslim scholars have described him as one of the 124,000 messengers of God. His theory was that human body is like a city whose inhabitants are entitled to equal rights. It is only when one part of the body exceeds its allotted task and interferes with the working of another part, that one falls ill. It is the physician's task to restore equilibrium in the working of the various parts. Hakim Al-Razi is still regarded as a great physician and scientist. He died in 865 A.D.

Another distinguished physician was Hakim Bu Ali Sina, whom the Westerners call Avicenna. He died in 980 A.D.

The British used to confer the title of 'Shifa-ul-Mulk' on distinguished Hakims of the Sub-Continent. In recent past, Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi attained great fame as a physician and freedom fighter. In Lucknow, the 'matabs'* of Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim Abdul Hameed and Hakim Munney Aga were always over-full and patients came from distant places to consult them.

Alcemon's description of the human body as a city reminds me of the verse of the poet Aatash of Lucknow:

بدن سا شہر نہیں دل سا بادشاہ نہیں
خواسِ خمسہ سے بڑھ کر کوئی سپاہ نہیں

Like body there's no town, no king like heart,
Unique is the army of five senses, it's all smart.

* Clinics.

I was reminded of Aatash's description of the heart as a king, when I read the following paragraph in a modern medical book about the human heart:

> The human heart is a marvellous machine. In fact it is recognised as the world's most remarkable organ. This tough muscle organ beats more than 1 lakh times each day to pump between 5 to 10 tons of blood through the body; 6,000 miles of blood vessels. The only rest it gets in between beats and it carries its incredible workload with only one sixth of one horse power.

After the passage of the Unani, Ayurvedic and Homeopathic Act of 1965, I called a meeting of the officers of the Health Division and exhorted them to give effect to the provisions of the Act faithfully and without any reservations. When they put forth the argument that every Tom, Dick and Harry can become a Homeopath, I told them that it was to prevent every Tom, Dick and Harry from practising as a Homeopath that the Act had laid down registration and the Homeopathic Board would scrutinize each and every case before according permission to practise. In 1978, there were 13,000 registered Homeopaths in Pakistan. There are colleges for Homeopaths in Karachi, Lahore, Hyderabad, Faisalabad, Quetta and Bahawalpur which are run by experienced staff. It's now more than a decade. By now, the number of Homeopaths in the country should have gone much higher.

HOMEOPATHY, A MIRACLE

— Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, founder of Aligarh University stated that no method of treatment is better in safety and efficacy than Homeopathy. In 1857, a committee was formed Maharaja of Benaras was the President and Sir Syed was the Secretary.

OF THE CURRENT SYSTEMS of medicine, homeopathy is the latest. It was introduced by Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843), a German genius. He did his M.D. from Elerganon. Hahnemann experimented his drugs on himself for 5 years before writing prescriptions for his patients. He left his home country because of his detractors and found peace in Paris where he died at the age of 88. He had the satisfaction of seeing Homeopathy spread far and wide in Europe and America. Samuel wrote monumental books like 'Materia Medica Pura', 'Chronic Diseases' and his masterpiece 'Organon'. He founded the theory Similia Similubius Curentur - let likes be treated by likes. His dictum was 'Treat the patient and not the disease'. The pioneer of homeopathy was of the view that the name of the disease was not the concern of the doctors

and the name of the medicines not of the patient. He said that Mind is supreme in Man and he gave it the first place in his Materia Medica. Samuel attributed his success to God.

Sir John Weir, Physician to three generations of the British Royal Family, described the new system in the following words:

> *Hahnemann teaches us not only 'The Like Remedy' but also 'The Single Remedy'. 'The small doze', the infrequent doze non-interference with vital reaction, initial aggravation and potentiation. It was 150 years ago that Hahnemann wrote:*
>
> > I rejoice at the benefit Homeopathy has already conferred on humanity and although I shall not be there, I rejoice at the thought that a future generation of mankind will do justice to this gift of God and will thankfully avail themselves of the blessed means. He has provided for the alleviation of their bodily and mental sufferings.
>
> I suppose not one of us has approached Homeopathy without doubt and mistrust; but facts have been too strong for us.
>
> In the world's history, there appears from time to time Genius, which instead of moving placidly with the time, leaps far ahead of them. That man, we say, but are able to say it after his death the man was born a hundred years ahead of his time for it is from the posterity alone that such men receive tardy vindication.
>
> One such genius was Samuel Hahnemann. Law was revealed to him in one bright flash of intuition and realisation - the Law of Drug action; and to its elucidation and elaboration, he devoted his long life. Poverty, bitter enemity, banishment, scorn was his sorry position, but nothing bothered him. His steadfast appeal was to Experience and to Posterity.

Another genius who was ahead of his time, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, founder of Aligarh College which matured into Aligarh University, was a great admirer of Homeopathy. Maulana Altaf Husain Hali in his biography of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan entitled 'Hayat-e-Jawaid' wrote:

> At Benaras, he was convinced that no method of treatment is better in safety and efficacy than homeopathy, and he resolved to help and support homeopathy method of treatment. In 1857, he formed a Committee for the purpose of propagation of homeopathy.

> The Maharaja of Benaras was the President and Sir Syed was the Secretary of the Committee. On 25th September 1867, the Committee established a dispensary at Benaras known as the Homeopathic Dispensary and Hospital. In the very first month, 516 patients came to this dispensary according to the Pioneer. On 17th September,1867, Sir Syed delivered a long and spirited lecture on the history and principles of homeopathic system and declared that this system of medicine was superior to all other methods of treatment in efficacy and safety. In the same year, he wrote a book on Cholera according to Homeopathic principles.

The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah too, who called Aligarh 'the arsenal of Pakistan', was an admirer of Homeopathy. I quote his observations:

> I am glad to learn that Homeopathic system is becoming quite popular, besides America and Europe in all section of the people in this Sub-continent. It is essential that those who want to take advantage of this economical and effective system should take interest in it.

INSTITUTE FOR HEART DISEASE:

At the President's directive, the Health Division drew up a scheme for the establishment of an institute for heart diseases. In 1964, the President laid down the foundation stone of the National Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases in Karachi. A high-powered Governing Body was appointed comprising the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, the Central Health Secretary and prominent non-officials to collect funds, to prepare building plans and to appoint the staff. Commander Professor Shaukat Ali Syed, an eminent heart specialist, was appointed Executive Director. We received liberal donations for the Institute. The Government of Pakistan donated land as well as a sum of Rs. 35.5 lakhs. The Government of the United States of America contributed Rs. 48 lakhs 10 thousand. The Government of the United Kingdom contributed £30,000 in the shape of equipment. Among the generous 161 donors were:

Dawood Group	10 lakhs
Habib Group	7 lakhs
Pak Refinery	5.5 lakhs
Adamjee Group	5 lakhs

Hysons Group	5 lakhs

The Institute started functioning in full strength from 14th August 1971. The staff in 1985 comprised the Executive Director, 12 Consultants, 24 Resident Medical Officers and 20 House Officers. It has 309 beds which are always occupied. The Institute has performed many by-pass operations. It has proved to be a boon for the people of Pakistan.

Our Ministry dealt with three international organisations, the I.L.O., the W.H.O. and the International Red Cross. The Headquarters of all these three prestigious organisations were located at Geneva. The Red Cross was founded by Henry Dewnant, a Swiss national in 1859.

RED CRESCENT AS RED CROSS:

The Red Cross flag was drawn up on the pattern of the Swiss flag. This Organisation renders valuable humanitarian service in peace as well as wars. In 1964, the member countries of Red Cross were under a convention to treat those wounded in wars as neutrals. Since the same organisation bore the name of Red Crescent in Islamic countries, the people and press of Pakistan were very keen that we too should follow suit and change the name of the Red Cross to Red Crescent. We moved the President of the International Red Cross to authorise the change of nomenclature. He invited me and Syed Wajid Ali Shah, Chairman of the Pakistan Red Cross to lunch at the Headquarters in Geneva in June, 1965. His colleagues were also present. He explained that when Pakistan joined the Red Cross, initially the Government of Pakistan could exercise the option of joining the Red Crescent instead of the Red Cross. Since the Red Cross has functioned in Pakistan for nearly 17 years, the change could be effected only with the consent of all the member countries. The President and his colleagues were sympathetic to our request and promised to consult the members and let us know the result. We were happy to learn in 1966 that the Pakistan Red Cross would henceforth be named the Pakistan Red Crescent. Our newspapers hailed that announcement and commented that at long last we had succeeded in Islamising the Red Cross.

27

WORLD LABOUR PARLIAMENT

— For 66 years, I.L.O. has been bringing workers, employers and Government representatives together. It is a tripartite organisation and the representative of three groups assemble in Geneva for three weeks every year on the first Wednesday of June.

AFTER I WAS DESIGNATED as Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour & Social Welfare, I met the Minister in charge,Lt.General Wajid Ali Burki in the last week of May, 1962. He inquired whether I would mind if Mr. Hamid Ali whom I was going to relieve on 1st June was deputed to attend the three - week session of the International Labour Conference in June, in my place. I replied that I would be glad to stand down in his favour since he had been attending the International Labour Conferences in the past. Hamid Ali was three years my senior in the I.C.S. and had a distinguished record as Defence Secretary , Chief Secretary, East Pakistan, Acting Governor of East Pakistan and Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour & Social Welfare. General Burki appeared relieved at my reply and sent up a proposal to the Ministry of Finance to create a post of Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of Health, Labour & Social Welfare, to enable Hamid Ali to represent Pakistan at the forthcoming International Labour Conference. The Finance Ministry turned down the proposal on the ground that it was the duty of the Secretary of the Ministry to attend the annual Conference of the I.L.O.

I took over charge of the Ministry on the 1st of June and proceeded to Geneva on the 5th of June to lead Pakistan's delegation to the 46th session of the International Labour Conference.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION:

After the First World War (1914-1919) had come to an end, a peace treaty was signed at Versailles in 1919, as a result of the efforts of President Wilson

of the United States of America, Prime Minister, Lloyd George of the United Kingdom and George Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France. When George Clemenceau, French Premier, was asked how he felt at the Palace of Versailles sitting between President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, he replied:

> Very awkward as Lloyd George behaved as if he was Napoleon Bonaparte and Wilson talked as if he was Jesus Christ.

The prominent politicians of Europe who had gathered in Versailles, came to the conclusion that the universal and lasting peace could be established on the basis of social justice. Two international organisations - The League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation emerged to promote the political, social and economic well being of the people of the world.

The League of Nations failed to make its presence felt in the international affairs. The United States of America did not join it inspite of President Wilson's exhortations.The U.S.S.R. covering 1/6th of the world surface and numbering 170 million inhabitants did not join the League till 1934. The League proved to be powerless against the Italian Fascist dictator, Mussolini's attack on Abbysinia and Libya. The World Press predicted the finishing of the League when Mussolini entered Addisababa in his black shirt uniform on a white charger. Soon after, the League of Nations became the League of Resignations and ended unwept, unsung and unhonoured.

The founding of the International Labour Organisation was the outcome of social thought that had developed through the 19th century. Social reformers, including trade unionists, sociologists, industrialists and statesmen, felt that any country or industry introducing better working conditions - and thereby raising the cost of labour - would be at a disadvantage compared with other countries or industries. International agreements were clearly the only way to solve the problem and the idea of international labour standards began to take shape.

Wherever people are at work, their problems are in some way the concern of the International Labour Organisation. For 66 years, the I.L.O. has been bringing workers', employers', and Government representatives together to devise measures which will improve the conditions of work and the general welfare of working people all over the world. It is a tripartite organisation and the representatives of the three groups - Government, Employers and Workers assemble in Geneva for three weeks every year on the first Wednesday of June to take stock of the situation prevailing in the member countries and to devise ways and means of improving the relations between the employers and workers through legislation by the respective Governments. This annual

gathering has been termed as World Parliament of Labour. The decisions are arrived at by consensus of all the three groups.

The 46th session of the International Labour Conference opened on Wednesday, the 6th June, 1962, in the renovated assembly hall of Palais Des Nations. It was attended by 1014 delegates, technical advisers and observers from 102 member states of the I.L.O. 45 Cabinet Ministers responsible for labour affairs in their respective countries also addressed the Conference. My fellow delegates were Mr. M. Naimuddin, Chief Research Officer, Mr. S. Wajid Ali Shah, Employers' Association of West Pakistan, and Mr. Faiz Ahmed, All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour. Mr. Muhammad Ismail, Resident Director, Karnaphuli Paper Mills and Mr. J.K.A. Marker of Employers' Association of West Pakistan were advisers to the employers' delegate while the workers' delegate was advised by Mr. J.H. Shirazi and Mr. A.H. Mirza both of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour.

There were three candidates in the field for the Presidentship of the Conference. Mr. John Lynch, an Irish Minister for Industries and Commerce, Mr. Jean Francis Jarison, Minister of Labour and Social Legislation of Malagasy Republic and Mr. Leon Chajn, Polish Government delegate. According to the I.L.O. Constitution, a person must secure an absolute majority of the votes cast for becoming the President of the Conference. Since on the first ballot, none of the three candidates could get an absolute majority, a second ballot was ordered. On the first ballot, Mr. Lynch secured 136 votes to 100 for Mr. Jarison and 93 for Mr. Chajn. As a result of this voting, Mr. Chajn was eliminated from the contest, leaving the other two candidates in the field. On the second ballot, the vote was 152 for Mr. Lynch to 136 for Mr. Jarison with 41 blank votes. At this time, Mr. Lynch obtained an absolute majority of the votes cast. He was declared elected as the President of the Conference.

In accordance with instructions, we voted in favour of the Polish Government delegate in the first ballot after obtaining an assurance from Mr. Vasillii Leonidovich Borisov, Government Delegate from the U.S.S.R. that the Communist group in the I.L.O. would support Pakistan's candidature for full membership of the I.L.O. Governing Body next year. In the second ballot, we supported the Minister for Industries and Commerce of Ireland as the attitude of the Government of Ireland towards Pakistan was evident from the Resolution on Kashmir proposed by them in the Security Council.

Mr. Lynch proved to be an admirable President of the Conference. Later on, he became the President of the Republic of Ireland.

Every leader of the delegation had to make a speech in which he reported the progress made in his country or matters concerning the I.L.O. The text of my speech is appended below:

On behalf of the Government of Pakistan, I should like to felicitate you on your election to the Office of President of the 46th session of the International Labour Conference and to greet the member states of the International Labour Organisation who have recently achieved their independence.

The Director-General, in his thought-provoking report to the Conference this year, has selected a subject which arouses a sense of sympathy and concern about our older people who, in their own times, have contributed their utmost in making life worth living for all of us. We owe our thanks to him for reminding us of a moral responsibility which most of us are likely to overlook, engrossed as we are in the multi-farious problems of the space age. In fact, the question brought to focus is the concern of every individual, for old age follows youth as night follows day. My fellow delegate from Sweden talked of the Vikings of the remote past who had the habit of throwing themselves down a precipice when they felt old and unwanted. Such precipices, Mr. President, never existed in my country. On the contrary, our ancestors reserved the prominent hills and mounds for the graves of those who died full of years and honours.

The significant feature in the pattern of living, not only in Pakistan, but in a number of other countries in Asia,is the joint family system. We realise that this system has its own drawbacks, but it has certainly one virtue, it provides for care and comfort for older people and promotes esteem for them. For instance, in our rural areas, where life is still simple and unsophisticated, the old person enjoys such a position as no young man can ever dream of. He is the wise man to whom all turn for counsel and advice. He plays an important role in building up confidence,courage and enthusiasm in the younger generation.

With the pride of place, the old people occupy in the social structure of our society, their participation in the economic life is also in no way small. The percentage of gainfully employed people of advanced age in my country is relatively higher than what it is in the developed countries. In a large majority of cases, the older workers continue to work till such time as they want to and so long as they are physically fit. In the rural sector of the economy , older persons hardly ever retire. There are several less strenuous jobs open to them which they take up and thus give a helping hand to the young earning members of their families. But even when they are not working, their economic needs are met out of the financial resources of the family which, in our case, still continues to be an economic unit.

Our concern for the problem of work and retirement of older men and women is, therefore, different from what it is in fully-developed countries. We prefer to maintain the institution of joint family living without encouraging perpetuation of its out-moded aspects. This explains why there is greater emphasis on strengthening the joint family ties in the social welfare policy of the Government of Pakistan.

It is, however, recognised that accelerated industrial development will tend to cause a change in the existing social framework by exposing the living and working patterns of the people to the stress and strain of changing economic conditions. As the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy will be the first to experience this impact, the Government have in hand certain measures to meet the resultant contingencies of life in these occupations.

As a first step towards providing economic protection to the people in their old age, the Government propose to introduce a contributory Provident Fund Scheme for workers in industrial and commercial establishments. A draft legislation has already been prepared and it is expected to be enacted in the near future. For the workers in tea plantations, a Provident Fund Scheme has already been promulgated under the East Pakistan (Plantation Employees) Provident Fund Ordinance, 1959. This scheme covers about 93,000 tea garden workers who contribute 6% of their wages towards the fund while their employers also make an equal contribution in respect of each employee. The fund is administered by a Board of Trustees composed of two representatives, each of employers and employees with a Chairman appointed by the Government .

The Central and Provincial Governments have advanced the age of retirement of their employees from 55 to 60 years.

A measure which is likely to contribute greatly to the development of social and economic protection, commensurate with our needs and resources, is the promulgation of the Employees Social Insurance Ordinance, 1962. The Ordinance enables the Government to introduce a social insurance scheme, and to apply it to different areas, different categories of persons and different classes of industries and establishments.

The employees covered by the Ordinance will be entitled to sickness benefit, maternity benefit, employment injury benefit and burial expenses. In addition to these benefits, medical care will also be provided to the insured workers during sickness, maternity and employment injury. Medical care will include (a) general practitioner care, (b) specialist care in hospital for in-patients and out-patients, (c) essential pharmaceutical supplies, (d) hospitalisation

where necessary; and (e) pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care in maternity.

The scheme, which is to be financed from the contributions of employees and workers in the ratio of 2:1 will be administered by the Employees Social Insurance representatives of the Government, employers and workers with an independent chairman.

The sickness benefit consists of periodical cash payments to an insured person in case of sickness during which he is unable to attend to his work on account of illness, provided he fulfils the necessary contributory and other qualifying conditions. It is to be paid throughout the period of sickness of the injured person but not more than 91 days during any continuous period of one year.

Subject to the fulfilment of necessary contributory conditions, an insured woman is entitled to receive maternity cash benefits for a period of 12 weeks of which no more than six weeks shall precede the expected date of confinement.

Employment injury benefit consists of cash payment at the rate of 60% of the average daily wage in respect of any day on which, as a result of an employment injury, an insured worker is unable to work.

In case of total or partial disablement, an insured person will be entitled to receive a disablement pension. This pension will terminate with the death of the recipient.

Where an insured person dies as a result of an employment injury, survivor's pension will be payable to the widow during life, which will be an amount equal to three-fifth of the full rate of total disablement pension; to each dependent child and amount equal to one-fifth of the full rate of disablement pension. In case the deceased person does not leave a widow, a survivor's pension will be payable for life to a dependent father or mother equal to one-fifth of the full rate of the total disablement pension. Survivors' pension will be terminated upon the death of the dependent child or parent or widow, upon the widow's remarriage, or upon the child having attained the age of sixteen years.

Where an insured person dies either as a result of an employment injury, or as a result of sickness, the widow or widower or the person who provided for the funeral, shall be entitled to a death grant equal to the daily rate of injury benefit multiplied by thirty, but in no case less than fifty rupees. We hope to complete the spade work during the next six months, and then the scheme will be duly launched.

We feel that the employment situation can be improved by drawing up a national programme for systematic assessment of

present and future human resources and by planning education and training programmes to develop successive generations of trained manpower. The Government have decided to establish a National Manpower Council for the formulation of national policy for the conservation, training, development, and effective utilisation of manpower. The Council will devise over-all programmes for meeting the requirements of high level personnel, the training of artisans and skilled workmen, the employment of surplus labour and also for developing a productive work programme for the youth..... We hope that the National Manpower Council, with its subsidiary committees, will prove effective in equipping our young men for new jobs which will be thrown open with the economic development of the country. Increased employment opportunities will go a long way in augmenting the financial resources of the joint family, thereby making the economic dependency of the aged on the family, less burdensome. At present, therefore, we are trying to improve the economic and social status of the older people by increasing the earning capacities of the young.

We will, however, continue to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach and in doing so, we will keep in view the measure, adopted in developed countries for the welfare of older persons and try to benefit from their experience.

I would like, Mr. President, to place on record our appreciation of the work of the I.L.O for the uplift of the workers, an impressing account of which is contained in part two of the Director-General's report. We are particularly grateful for the increasing attention being paid to the needs and requirements of the developing countries. The world cannot be described as prosperous as long as there is poverty in any part of it.

Our President has galvanised the nation into activity in all fields - agricultural, industrial and commercial - and we face the future with serene confidence. We believe in equitable distribution of wealth and we will not permit exploitation of any class of people in any part of our country. We will endeavour to exploit fully our own natural resources. In August, 1947, when we achieved our independence, we did not have a single jute mill, although we produced seventy per cent of the jute raised in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. We now have 14 jute mills, one for each year of independence. When East Pakistan separated in December, 1971, there were nearly 225 jute mills. That province produced 75% of the jute in the world.

FIFTH ASIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE AT MELBOURNE

WITHIN FIVE MONTHS OF my trip to Geneva, I was required to represent Pakistan at the Fifth Asian Regional Conference at Melbourne in Australia fixed from 26th November to 7th December, 1962. I considered it my good luck to represent Pakistan at two international Conferences within six months. I travelled at Government expense, my wife travelled at our expense. We left Rawalpindi for Karachi by P.I.A. at 7:30 p.m. Early next morning at 5:30 a.m. we left Karachi for Australia by B.O.A.C. in a comet Jet. Our first stop - Dum Dum Airport, Calcutta - was very disappointing. The airport building was surprisingly small for a metropolitan city which had once been the capital of the Indian Empire and was ranked as the largest city in India.

The bearers at the Departure Lounge were shabbily dressed and the service was poor. Our next stop was Kuala Lumpur, where we arrived at 3:30 p.m. The airport was in complete contrast of the Dum Dum airport. It was located in a green valley with small hills all round. As we descended, we admired the adjoining Golf Course and the row of houses with roofs of red bricks. The airport building was modern and spacious. We wished we could break our journey and see more of Kuala Lumpur.

Our next stop was Singapore which has an attractive airport as well as sea port. We left Singapore at 6:00 p.m. As we descended at Jakarta Airport, we saw a 24 feet high portrait of President Soekarno hung at the Control Tower which dominated the entire scene. The murals and etchings on the walls of the transit waiting room depicted the animals and reptiles of Indonesia. The weather was hot and we perspired a lot in our warm clothes. We resumed our journey after a couple of hours and arrived at Darwin Airport at 3:00 a.m. Our plane flew over vast and empty spaces till we touched Sydney at 9:30 a.m. The Suspension Bridge at Sydney was the cynosure of all eyes. The most remarkable feature of the city was the unlimited rows of one story houses with tennis courts and cricket fields in all directions. I was told by a fellow traveller that there were 4,000 tennis and squash courts in Sydney. It was due to such facilities that Australia produced world champions like Hunt in squash and Don Bradman in cricket.

We arrived at our destination - Melbourne at 10:45 a.m. Since it was Sunday, all shops were closed but all parks were full of men, women and

children who seemed to be enjoying themselves thoroughly. The beaches were over-crowded. The weather was very pleasant. We were accommodated in Hotel Victoria which had seven stories and 650 spacious bedrooms.

Melbourne turned out to be a delightful city. It has wonderful parks and tree-lined streets. It has something of Britain, something of the United States of America and something of other parts of Europe.

Like many cities, Melbourne is built across a river, the Yarra. Its growth has been phenomenal. The buildings of the colonial era make way for modern structures. Unlike Manhattan, it is not starved for space. It is flanked by plains which provide for an almost unlimited extension. The pioneers laid out its heart with geometrical precision - the 'Golden Mile', the square mile of the city's heart holds large stores, big shops and financial institutions. The cosmopolitan character of the town was evident when I saw newspapers in a dozen languages on newspaper-stall - prominent being English, Italian and German. Melbourne is both a seaport and an airport and is linked with the big cities of the world. It has long been linked with Sydney by fast-moving trains. Two of the most notable buildings in Melbourne have grown up in garden settings - the swimming stadium in the parklands by the Yarra and the Sydney Myer Music Bowl in the green lawn across the river. Melbourne has mile after mile of ocean beaches which are always over-crowded.

The golf courses of Melbourne rank with any in the world. There are three stadia for the sport-loving people of Melbourne - the Kooyong tennis courts, of Davis Cup celebrity, the Melbourne Cricket Ground holding international matches of cricket and football and the Olympic Pool, built for the Olympic Games in 1956, which is now used for many purposes including swimming.

The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Melbourne, Mr. & Mrs. Maurice Nathan, gave a reception at the Town Hall on 5th December in honour of the delegates and their wives. It was a colourful affair. Mr. Nathan, in welcoming the guests, remarked. I quote his words:

> Nearly two million people live in this Southern metropolis which spreads exuberantly outward, upward, under the pressure of post-war development. Cosmopolitan and comely Melbourne is many things - financial heart of Australia, scene of a new and exciting architecture, setting for a secondary industry which makes everything from toothpaste to turbo-jets, administrative centre of the State of Victoria. Above all this, Melbourne's people - the descendants of the pioneers who raised it from nothingness not much more than a hundred years ago and of those came after them in the gold rushes, and the latest comers of all, the post-war migrants from Europe who have brought colour and gaiety as well as willing hearts

and hands. Melbourne is now big, rich and beautiful.

Addressing Mr. Nathan on behalf of the delegates, I thanked him for his hospitality and endorsed heartily whatever he had said about the beauty and bigness of Melbourne.

The Federal Capital was transferred to Canberra in the twenties, but financial supremacy remains with Melbourne in the same way as Karachi continues to remain the supreme commercial and industrial base of Pakistan even though the capital was shifted to Rawalpindi-Islamabad in the sixties.

We realised how plentiful was food in Australia when we breakfasted on cereals, eggs, fish and steak, all served in plenty.

The Fifth Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. commenced at the Southern Cross Hotel at Melbourne on the 26th November, 1962. The Conference was attended by 200 delegates from all Asian countries except Indonesia and India. It was also attended by delegates from the U.S.S.R., U.K. and France. The Australian Labour Minister, Mr. William McMahon was elected President of the Conference. I was elected Vice-President. Mr. J. Rens, Deputy Director General of the I.L.O. was the Secretary-General of the Conference.

The Pakistan delegation comprised myself as Leader and Government delegate, Fazlul Haq Chowdhary, Commercial Secretary of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in Australia as Second Government Delegate, S.M. Soleman, Member, Executive Board of All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour, Dacca as Workers' Delegate. The Employers' Delegate, Muhammad Ismail, also from East Pakistan, could not attend the Conference owing to his illness.

'POLITICS IS THE ONLY INSECURE PROFESSION'

THE ONLY MEAL WHICH we took in our hotel was breakfast. We attended lunches, dinners and receptions given by heads of delegations. We returned their hospitality at a lunch on 6th December. I reproduce a news item published in the daily Sun of Melbourne, dated December 7:

> Mr. S.H. Raza, Vice-President of the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation and Mrs. Raza entertained 46 guests at a luncheon at the Victoria yesterday.
>
> Mr. Raza is the Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in the Pakistan Government. The Federal Minister for Labour, Mr.

McMahon, and the Vectorial Minister for Labour and Industry and Electrical Undertakings. Mr. Reid, were among the guests who represented their delegations to the Conference.

I was happy to meet an old friend, General Cawthorne, who comes from Melbourne. He opted for Pakistan from the Indian Army in August, 1947. We used to meet frequently in Karachi in the early years of Pakistan. His only son was killed in the Korean War. When we condoled the death of young Cawthorne, both he and his wife showed admirable forbearance. He said that his son was killed after the ceasefire had been declared but the news of the ceasefire reached his sector after he had met his end. He said:

"God's Will was done."

Such are the risks and vagaries of war!

I was reminded of the following lines:

When after many battles past
Both tired with blows make peace at last.
What is after all the people get
Why taxes, widows, wooden legs and debts?

At the end of the Conference, the delegates were taken to the Snowy Mountains and, later on, to Canberra where the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, held a reception at the Parliament House in honour of the delegates. When I was introduced to Sir Robert Menzies by Mr. McMahon, he expressed sentiments of great friendship with Pakistan and told me almost in a whisper:

I have good news for you. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister of India, has just been sacked. I know this will please Pakistanis as he was an impediment to Pakistan-India relations.

When I expressed agreement with his assessment of Krishna Menon, he remarked in a jocular tone:

"But this calls for a quid pro quo on the part of the Government of Pakistan."

I inqured, "what he considered to be the quid pro quo?"

He said, "As a gesture of good will to India, you should remove Altaf Husain from the editorship of Dawn."

So he equated the editor of Dawn with the Defence Minister of India! I told him that while a minister could be dropped by a government, the editor of a newspaper could not be removed by any government. It is the function of the

proprietors concerned to deal with an editor and no government would like to pressurise the directors in this respect. I asked him:

Could you Sir, visualize the British Government removing the editor of the Times of London?

He laughed at my reply and remarked, "You are right. Politics is the only insecure profession."

At that time, Sir Robert Menzies's party had a majority of only one vote in the Parliament and, whenever there was a division, some ailing M.Ps. were brought on stretchers to record their votes to save the government.

Sir Robert had a very affable as well as forceful personality. He was a very witty man with a keen sense of humour. He had been Prime Minister of Australia for 16 years. By profession an advocate, he could turn a phrase more felicitiously than any of his English-speaking contemporaries except Sir Winston Churchill. When he first became Prime Minister in 1939, a labour opponent baited him by saying:

"I take it before choosing your Cabinet, you will consult the powerful interests that control you."

Yes, but please keep my wife's name out of this.

A woman at an election meeting shouted: I would not vote for you if you were the Archangel Gabriel!

Sir Robert said, "Madam, if I were the Archangel Gabriel, I am afraid you would not be in my constituency."

At an election meeting Sir Robert was asked by a voter with a cockney accent, "What do you propose to do about ousing?"

His reply was, "To put 'h' before ousing!"

When I went to the Prime Minister's House in Canberra to sign the Calling Book, I was deeply impressed by the fact that there was no guard at his house. As I was signing my name in the Book, I saw Sir Robert playing cricket on his lawn with his grand-children. He had a passion for cricket. I was told by Mr. McMahon that Sir Robert used to slip away quietly from Cabinet meetings to watch Don Bradman batting. Once when some admirers of Don Bradman were taking his autographs, a lady went up to Sir Robert and asked for his autograph. He wrote "One Bradman is equal to ten Menzies."

We flew from Canberra to Sydney and left for homeward journey by Qantas on the 14th December via Manila and Hong Kong. When our plane crossed the Equator, the air hostesses started singing and distributing certificates on behalf of King Neptune. I reproduce the quaint text of the testimonial with a picture of the bearded Neptune catching a large fish by leash!

King Neptune
Order of Equatorial Air Voyagers
Know all men by these presents
That Mr. S.H. Raza
Mrs. Salma Raza
Of Rawalpindi, Pakistan
Having this day gallantly crossed our equator
In a skyship now becomes a freeman of the air
And all rights, benefits and perquisites
Reserved for those who cross between the Hemisphères
In airliners are hereby graciously bestowed.
All ye powers and dominions subject to his most
Puissant Majesty Neptune take note.
Neptune
Omnium Rex (Caelorum)
Aircraft VH:EBE City of Perth 14th December, 1962.

This ceremony is a relic of the past which adds to the joys of travel. We were delighted to see our old friends, Dr. & Mrs. A.M. Malik, at the Manila Airport.

He was Pakistan's Ambassador to the Philippine Republic at that time. We were treated to Bamboo dance by skilful girl-dancers with soft music at the large Airport Lounge. Dr. Malik was the last Governor of East Pakistan who served Pakistan in various capacities with great distinction. When our plane was landing at the Hong Kong Airport, we got the impression that it was diving into the sea! Hong Kong is a fantastic place. It is a shopper's paradise, but we had very little foreign exchange and could only indulge in window gazing! The Hong Kong tailors are the quickest in the world. I got a suit made in twenty four hours at a tailoring shop owned by a Pakistani.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

DURING THE PERIOD 1962-66, I used to visit Geneva every year in June to attend the annual conferences and every quarter - October, February and June - to attend the meetings of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. Pakistan

was elected as a full member of the Governing Body in 1963, for the first time since it became a member of the I.L.O. I found the atmosphere at these meetings very friendly. My colleagues honoured me by electing me as chairman of two standing committees, viz., the committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the committee on Standing Orders and Recommendations. I also served on the committee constituted during the annual session of 1964, for the expulsion and suspension of member countries.

There were two resolutions, one for the expulsion or suspension of a member State from the membership of the I.L.O. which has been suspended or expelled by the United Nations. The other proposal was to suspend from participation in the proceedings of the conference any member country found by the United Nations to be flagrantly and persistently pursuing by its legislation a declared policy of racial discrimination such as apartheid.

The delegates supported both the amendments on the ground that the presence of the South African delegates in the I.L.O. Conference in 1963 created an impasse which would have continued and disturbed the functioning of the Conference in 1964, had not South Africa withdrawn from the I.L.O. due to the moral pressure brought against her by other member States of the I.L.O. To avert any such future possibility, I supported both the amendments. When the resolutions were put before the plenary session of the Conference for adoption, I observed:

> I have taken the floor to support very strongly on behalf of the Pakistan Delegation - the two amendments to the Constitution which are before the House.
>
> I venture to predict that this day will be remembered by all those who want to rid the world of apartheid, the greatest social and moral challenge of our time as the day when the monster of apartheid received a very crippling blow at the hand of an international body.
>
> Apartheid has been responsible for many a heated discussion in this hall, the committee rooms and in the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and we are happy to note that the discussions have resulted without any bickering in something concrete viz., the two proposed amendments to the Constitution. If these amendments are carried through, it would be in the best traditions of the I.L.O. and I recommend their acceptance to all my fellow delegates.

Both the amendments were approved by the conference.

Amendments to the I.L.O. Constitution, adopted by the conference, take effect when ratified or accepted by two-thirds of the I.L.O. member countries

including five of the ten member countries that hold permanent seats of the Governing Body being states of chief industrial importance.

Apart from these amendments, the conference also adopted by acclamation a declaration summoning South Africa to respect human freedom and dignity in accordance with its solemn undertakings and to repeal all statutory discriminations on the ground of race in employment and occupation. The declaration appeals to I.L.O. member countries to apply all appropriate measures to induce South Africa to abandon apartheid. The declaration invites the I.L.O. Governing Body to request the South African government to report annually the position of its law and practice in regard to I.L.O. Conventions, particularly dealing with the abolition of forced labour and the elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation. Finally, the declaration reaffirms the resolve of the conference to co-operate with the United Nations in seeking and guaranteeing freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity for all the people of South Africa.

When some of my colleagues advised me to contest the Presidentship of the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference, I reflected that it was the most coveted office in the International Labour Organisation. I knew of two incumbents of this office who became Prime Ministers of their respective countries - Mr. Walter Nash as Prime Minister of New Zealand and Mr. John Lynch as Prime Minister of the Irish Free State. Mr. MacMahon, Vice-President of the fifth Asian Regional Conference held at Melbourne in 1962 became Prime Minister of Australia.

The contestants of the 'Labour Parliament of the World', as the annual conferences were termed, were invariably Labour Ministers of member countries. I was not an elected Minister but a Civil Servant.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF CONFERENCE:

The President of Pakistan authorised me to contest for the Presidentship of the Conference. On the 15th and 16th June, I called on a large number of visiting Ministers, delegates and other representatives from the various countries seeking their support for Pakistan's candidature to the Presidency of the Conference. The employers' and workers' delegates from Pakistan also sought support amongst their counterparts from other lands. On the 17th morning, we took a stock of the situation at Hotel Inter-Continental in the presence of Mr. Amjad Ali and Mr. Habibur Rehman, Pakistan's Ambassador to Berne. There was a fair chance of Pakistan's victory with the en bloc support of the eleven communist countries, thirty-two African Nations and the majority of the Asian Countries. Mr. Godjali, Leader of the Indonesian

delegation, proposed me for the Presidentship of the conference which was seconded by the following persons: His Excellency Mr. Horton, Government Delegate, Liberia; Mr. Talantikit, Employers' Delegates, Algeria; Mr. Ouazzani, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Morocco; Mr. Pithart, Government Delegate, Czechoslovakia; and Mr. Ortenga Suarez, Government Delegate, Cuba.

The other candidate for the Presidency was Mr. Andres Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela, Ambassador and permanent delegate of the government of Venezuela to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

There was a general feeling that it would be better if the election of the President was held in a unanimous manner and the Assembly was adjourned for finding a way out.

During the adjournment of the House, the Afro-Asian and the Latin American Groups met Mr. Anwar Salama, Minister of Labour, United Arab Republic. The general consensus of the group was that the unity achieved amongst 75 nations belonging to these groups during the Conference of Trade and Commerce which was held only a few days ago, should in no case be weakened. The Latin American Group stated that according to the principle of rotation, the Presidency of the conference should go to one of their countries. keeping in view the general feeling of these groups and taking into consideration the instructions received from the Ministry of External Affairs that Pakistan might gracefully withdraw its candidature for the Presidentship of the conference, if situation so arose, I withdrew in favour of the Latin American candidate. The Afro-Asian and the Latin American groups promised to support Pakistan's candidature unanimously next year when, in accordance with the principle of rotation, it was the turn of Asia to provide a President for the conference.

In his opening speech, the President of the conference, Mr. Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela, deeply appreciated Pakistan's gesture of good-will in letting him to be elected unanimously for the sake of maintaining the unity of 75 developing countries achieved during the Trade and Commerce Conference.

CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

IN 1963 I HAD already worked as Chairman of I.L.O.'s Finance Committee. It was my first international conference which I attended as the representative of country. According to established procedure, the conference ap-

pointed a Finance Committee comprising government representatives to scrutinize budget proposals and other financial questions. On a proposal from Mr. Dryer, government delegate of Denmark, which was seconded by the Labour Minister of Congo, Mr. Okomba, I was elected Chairman of that committee.

The main item on the agenda of the committee was the I.L.O.'s income and expenditure budget for the calendar year 1963. The budget represented an increased expenditure of 22% over last year's figures. Fifty per cent of the government delegates present took part in the discussion of the budget. The delegates from U.S.S.R. and some of the African countries criticised the budget on the ground that the American firms were preferred by the I.L.O. for business and that adequate funds were not provided for expanding I.L.O.'s activities in the newly independent countries of Africa. When I proposed each item of the budget for consideration by the committee the Russian delegate wanted detailed discussion which, if allowed, would have meant lengthy and unnecessary discussions. I told him that we had to expedite the work of the committee and enquired of him as to what he exactly wanted. He said that he only wished to have his criticism of the budget proposal included in the proceedings. I conceded that point and offered to show him the minutes of the committee before I approved of them. This satisfied him and he raised no further objection to the approval of the budget figure. The income and expenditure of the budget as recommended by the committee was later on adopted by the conference.

My election as chairman of the prestigious Finance Committee of the conference came as a pleasant surprise to me since this was the first time that I had attended the conference. I attributed it to the contributions made by my preceding Secretaries and Ministers of Labour who earned a good name for Pakistan. My colleague, Hafiz Abdul Majid, who was Assistant Director-General of the I.L.O., helped me considerably in the discharge of my duties. He has had a distinguished career as Chief Secretary of the Punjab and Federal Finance Secretary.

The conference considered a proposal for the amendment of Article 7 of the I.L.O. Constitution concerning the composition of the Governing Body. The amendment proposed aimed at increasing the number of the I.L.O. Governing Body members from 40 to 48 - 24 Government, 12 employers and 12 workers. The main object of the amendment was to take into account the growth of the organisation as a whole and to provide opportunity for the new Asian and African member states to participate in the affairs of the I.L.O.

The proposal was first made by Lt. General W.A. Burki as Minister for Health, Labour & Social Welfare, in his speech at the International Labour Conference on its 44th session in June 1960. It was adopted by the conference

unanimously and Pakistan got the credit for the expansion of the Governing Body. Speaking at the conference on that question, I expressed thanks of the Pakistan Government to the I.L.O. Governing Body and also to the conference committee for supporting our move and added that it was a matter of satisfaction for Pakistan to note that the proposal made by one of its ministers had been eventually accepted.

When elections to the Governing Body were held in 1963, the quota of government seats was 14 instead of 10. Pakistan was elected to full membership of the Governing Body.

I was impressed by the friendly manner of the delegates who differed in their political ideologies and who represented different interests - government, employers and workers - but who brought about a consensus in labour matters. The League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation emerged on the world stage in 1919 simultaneously, but while the League of Nations did not last for even two decades, the International Labour Organisation had grown from strength to strength during the last six and a half decades.

When I read in Dawn of June 9, 1984, the news that for the first time a lady named Anna-Greta Leijon has been elected as President of the 70th session of the I.L.O., I wrote to her the following letter:

> Dear Madam,
>
> I was delighted to learn from today's papers that you have been elected President of the I.L.O. Conference for 1984. Please accept my hearty felicitations on this well deserved distinction. I am confident that you will discharge your onerous duties with distinction.
>
> The delegates to the 49th Session of the I.L.O. honoured me by electing their President in June, 1965. I cherish very pleasant memories with this prestigious international organisation from 1962 to 1966 in my capacity as Federal Secretary to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan. I am happy to note that the relations between Sweden and Pakistan are very cordial as both the countries pursue the path of peace and condemn the piling of nuclear arms by the Super-powers of the world. The history of the two World Wars suggests that although man is a rational animal, he has an infinite capacity for folly. May God take care of the world!
>
> With best wishes,
>
> S. Hashim Raza.

Her reply, dated 27th June 1984, was as follows:

Dear Sir,

I was deeply touched and honoured by your letter of 9th June, 1984.

I have had a look at the Record of the 49th Session of the Conference and, as its 70th Session approaches its end, I hope I shall be able to conclude it, as you did, with an expression of gratitude to delegates for the way in which they have accepted my rulings.

This year, the general debate of the conference is dominated by a highly interesting exchange of views on the whole system of standard setting. The Director-General's report provides a thought-provoking background and it is so far obvious that something will have to be done to adapt the system to the needs of the now 151 member States of all political shades and levels of development. There is, however, a rather large majority which upholds the system as the major tool for I.L.O's. activities in favour of the working people in the world.

Looking back at the record of the 1965 Session, one finds that whilst the actors and scenery change, the play, by large, remains the same.

I was much encouraged by your letter and I thank you very much for it.

Yours sincerely,
(Anna-Greta Leijon)

PRESIDENTSHIP OF 49TH SESSION OF ILO

I AM HAPPY TO record that the Afro-Asian and the Latin American groups fulfilled their promise when I contested election for the Presidentship of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

The 49th Session of the International Labour Conference began on Wednesday, the 2nd June, 1965 in the Assembly Hall of Palais des Nations at Geneva. It was attended by 1,061 delegates, advisors and observers from 104 out of 114 member States of the International Labour Organisation. The new member States who attended the Session for the first time were Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia. 68 Ministers of Labour took part in the deliberations. Among those who attended the Session were the representatives of the United Nations and of the undermentioned specialised agencies:

(i) Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees.
(ii) F.A.O. (iii) UNESCO. (iv) I.B.R.&D. (v) W.H.O.

(vi) G.A.T.T. (vii) Organisation of American States. (viii) Council of Europe. (ix) European Economic Community. (x) Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. (xi) League of Arab States.

The representatives of the following non-governmental international organisations also attended the conference:

(1) African Trade Union Confederation. (2) All-African Trade Union Federation. (3) Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. (4) Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production. (5) International Alliance of Women. (6) International Association for Social Progress. (7) International Association of Crafts and Small and Mediumsized Enterprises. (8) International Confederation of Executive Staffs. (9) International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (10) International Confederation of Senior Officials. (11) International Co-Operative Alliance. (12) International Council of Commerce Employers. (13) International Council of Nurses. (14) International Council of Social Democratic Women. (15) International Council of Women. (16) International Federation of Agricultural Producers. (17) International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Union. (18) International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. (19) International Federation of Christian Trade Unions of Salaried Employees, Technicians, Managerial Staff and Commercial Travellers. (20) International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees. (21) International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied workers. (22) International Federation of University Women. (23) International Federation of Women in the Legal Profession. (24) International Metal Workers' Federation. (25) International Organisation of Employers. (26) International.Social Security Association. (27) International Union of Family Organisations. (28) Interparliamentary Union. (29) Miners' International Federation (30) Open Door International. (31) Organisation of Employers' Federations and Employers in Developing Countries. (32) Public Services International. (33) Women's International League for Peace and Freedon. (34) World Federation of Trade Unions. (35) World O.R.T. Union of Catholic Women's Organisations.

(37) World Young Women's Christian Association.

The Pakistan delegation comprised the following:

GOVERNMENT:	1. Mr. S. Hashim Raza, S.Pk., S.Q.A., CSP, Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare.
	2. Mr. Malik Abdul Latif Khan, T.Pk., CSP, Secretary, Labour Department of West Pakistan.
EMPLOYERS:	Mr. Syed Wajid Ali Shah, H.Q.A., President, Employers' Association of West Pakistan.
WORKERS:	Mr. Aftab Ali, M.N.A., President, East Pakistan Federation of Labour.

That year, our delegation was the smallest on record and comprised only three delegates.

The first item on the agenda was the election of the President. The contest was between Pakistan and the Philippines. The candidate of Philippines was Mr. Lingad, Minister for Labour, Philippines. At the last hour, Mr. Lingad changed his mind and did not attend the Session. His place was taken by Mr. V.A. Pacis, permanent representative of the Philippines to the United Nations and other International organisations in Geneva. When I arrived in Geneva on the 24th May, 1965, I learnt in the lobby that the United States of America was supporting Philippines. The U.S. representative, Mr. George Weaver, told some of the delegates that since this was Asia's turn, it should be for the Asian countries to select their candidate and the other continents should support Asia's choice. At the instance of the Director-General, a meeting of the Asian group was convened on the lst June 1965. It was attended by the representatives of Japan, Philippines, China (Taiwan), Malaysia, Australia, Newzealand, Burma, India and Ceylon. I took the line that since that gathering did not represent Asia but mainly South East Asia, I could not accept their verdict for Presidency. I argued that the Asian group could not be called Asia, if the representatives of Afghanistan, Iran, Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen and Turkey were not invited to it. Saudi Arabia was not yet a member and Indonesia had withdrawn from the organisation. Therefore, I withdrew from the meeting. When the Asian group met on the morning of the 2nd June, I did not take part in the proceedings. I learnt that the following five out of the nine countries who attended, voted against Pakistan's candidature:

1. Philippines,
2. China (Taiwan),
3. Japan,
4. India, and
5. Ceylon.

That meeting was convened by Mr. Aoki, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations and other international organisations in Geneva who informed other groups of that voting. The Employers' Group did not take it to be the verdict of Asian countries and, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Syed Wajid Ali Shah, decided to support Pakistan. The Workers' Group could not reach unaminity on the subject and it was decided that the members should vote as they liked. The voting was by ballot and the final result was 272 votes in favour of Pakistan and 84 in favour of Philippines. Each country had 4 votes - 2 for Government Representative, one for Employers' Representative and one for Workers' Representative.

As the voting was by ballot, one could not be definite about the countries who voted against Pakistan but from what went on in the lobbies, I could conclude that the following countries voted against Pakistan:

1. Philippines 2. Japan 3. China (Taiwan) 4. South Viet-Nam 5. Laos 6. Thailand 7. India 8. Ceylon 9. Israel 10. Cyprus 11. Greece 12. U.S.A.

The groups which openly supported Pakistan were the African countries, the Arab States and the East European Countries. When the result of ballot was announced, I was informed that several observers regarded it as a defeat of the United States of America and India rather than that of Philippines.

When our wishes were ascertained, I indicated that we would like to serve on the Resolutions committee and the committee on Agrarian Reform. We were elected on both the Committees. After my election as President, I nominated Mr. Niaz Naik, First Secretary of our newly established Mission in Geneva as a substitute delegate. Mr. Malik Abdul Latif Khan served on the Resolutions Committee. Mr. Naik, however, regretted his inability to serve on the Committee on Agrarian Reform as he was busy setting up the new Mission in Geneva. Mr. Aftab Ali served as a Deputy Member on the Committee on Agrarian Reform. Mr. Wajid Ali Shah attended all the Sessions of the General Assembly.

The conference sanctioned the budget for 1966 which amounted to $20,337,871. The budget was criticised by the East European countries who took the opportunity of discussion on the budget to ventilate their grievance that since the inception of the I.L.O. in 1919, none of their delegates had been

given the opportunity to serve as President of the Conference. The budget was passed with the vote of 305 delegates in its support, none against, and 43 abstentions. That budget represented 10% increase on the 1965 budget which was $18,684,347.

LABOUR LEGISLATION DURING 1959-69

AFTER I ASSUMED CHARGE of the Presidency of the I.L.O., Mr. Malik Abdul Latif Khan was nominated as the Leader of the Pakistan delegation. I must record my deep appreciation of the hard work put in by all colleagues of mine who had to work under great strain. We made the maximum use of minimum resources.

It is customary for the President of the Conference to give a reception. The Government of Pakistan was kind enough to sanction an amount of £ 1,275 for the reception. The reception was attended by about 1,500 persons - delegates, advisers, observers and employees of the I.L.O. Except in 1960, when Mr. Raschid, Labour Minister of Burma, was elected the President of the Conference, alcoholic drinks were always served at the reception. I decided that we should not serve alcoholic drinks. The total expenses came to 11,437 francs and we were able to save an amount £ 300 from the sum sanctioned for the reception. If alcoholic drinks had been served, the expenses would have amounted to francs 30,000. We were able to finish the work of the conference a day earlier, on the 23rd June. The closing date had been fixed on the 24th June, 1965.

Mr. Haythorne, chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, spoke:

> In the circumstances it is necessary now to proceed to a vote. This will take the form of a secret ballot. There may be others who would like to speak but I would like to suggest that we proceed with our business as quickly as we are able to and, in the circumstances, I would suggest that we proceed now to the vote.
>
> I would like to ask Mr. Aguilar, government delegate of Venezuela, and Mr. Parodi, government delegate of France both of whom have formerly served as Presidents of our conference, to come to the rostrum to serve as returning officers.
>
> I would just like to describe briefly how we shall proceed with the vote. A ballot paper, on which the names of the two candidates are written, is now being distributed to each delegate. When the

delegates' name is called, he will kindly come to the rostrum and drop his ballot paper into the ballot box after he has crossed out the name of the candidate for whom he does not wish to vote, leaving only the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote.

If there are no queries, I shall ask the Clerk of the conference to proceed to call the roll.

Mr. Auilar and Mr. Parodi occupied their seats on the platform. Mr. Haythorne continued:

The result of the ballot is as follows: 272 votes for Mr. Raza; 84 votes for Mr. Albano Pacis; two spoiled ballots. I therefore declare that Mr. Hashim Raza is elected President of the Conference and would ask him to please come to the rostrum.

I took the chair. After some time, when Mr. Haythorne requested me to speak as the President, I delivered a speech which is as follows:

Mr. Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, may I express at the very outset my gratitude for your kindness in bestowing upon me the great honour of the Presidency of this August conference. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Anwar Salama, Minister of Labour of the United Arab Republic, for putting my name forward and to Dr. Abdelkader Laraqui, Ambassador, Government delegate, Morocco, and to Mr. Marwan Nasr, Employers' delegate, Lebanon, for seconding the proposal. The kind words that have been spoken about me by my friends have touched me greatly, and I assure you that I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy of the confidence reposed in me. I earnestly hope that I shall enjoy the fullest co-operation of my fellow delegates, including my friends from the Philippines, in the discharge of the heavy task that has been assigned to me.

I consider my election as a tribute to my country, Pakistan, which has, since its founding in August, 1947, been making sincere contributions towards promoting world peace and achieving the great objectives of the I.L.O.

I warmly welcome to this session of the conference the members of various delegations, particularly those of Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen, which have joined this organisation since our last session and whose entry has brought the number of the states Members of the I.L.O. up to 114. During the past two decades, the membership of this veteran international organisation has increased twofold and every year new member States are joining this great

family with fervour and with hope. There is still a large section of the world population which is not represented in this forum. I have a firm belief that in the not-too-distant future all the peoples of the world will be represented in this organisation.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to appeal to the Government of Indonesia to reconsider its decision to withdraw from the I.L.O. and to rejoin it.

We are meeting here at a time when the political atmosphere of the world is not serene. There is much tension in some regions which threatens world peace. It is, however, very gratifying to note that in a world torn by conflict and edged with fear and suspicion, the I.L.O. is marching on against the real enemies of mankind - poverty, hunger and social inequality. The extent of its success in this crusade no doubt depends upon the support of the member countries of the ideals and objectives of the I.L.O. As for my own country, the social policies, programmes and activities of Field-Marshal Ayub Khan and his party are entirely in conformity with the aims and objectives of the I.L.O., and these policies and programmes are being pursued as vigorously as our resources permit. His government has already declared that its policy in the field of labour will be based on I.L.O. conventions and recommendations ratified by Pakistan. I may mention that since her independence in 1947, Pakistan has ratified as many as 13 I.L.O. conventions besides undertaking the obligations of another 15 Conventions ratified by the Government of India before independence.

My country's labour policy aims at minimising the chances of friction between the workers and the employers. It encourages parties to get together as often as possible to iron out their differences before these assume alarming proportions. The government has reiterated in its declared labour policy its faith in the principle of collective bargaining through representative and responsible trade unions. During the period of 1959 to 1962, the pace of labour legislation in Pakistan has been unprecedented. While the Industrial Disputes Act, the Trade Unions Act and the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act were amended, new legislation, namely the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) Ordinance, the Road Transport Workers Ordinance, the Minimum Wages Ordinance, the Plantations Labour Ordinance, the Apprenticeship Ordinance, the Coal Mines (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance, were enacted.

This month marks the successful completion of our Second Five-Year Plan. It is a major turning point in my country's history because during these five years a 'faltering economy' has been tuned into a flourishing one. I am glad to say that almost all the important

targets have been either achieved or exceeded. During this period, we have been able to break the population barrier for the first time and our income per head of population has increased by about 3 per cent per annum. The average annual growth rate of the gross national product for this period is about 5 per cent, which is twice the growth rate of the population. In the field of agriculture, the planned targets were achieved two years in advance.

An important feature of our planning is that the structure of our economy is gradually transforming itself from an agricultural to a semi-industrial pattern; I suppose that is true of all the developing countries of the world. Industry, which was virtually non-existent in Pakistan at the time of independence, speedily found a place of its own in our national economy. It is expected that the contribution of industry to the gross national product will increase from 7 per cent in 1949-50 to 13 per cent in 1964-65, whereas that of agriculture will decline from about 60 per cent to 48 per cent during the same period. Our economy is thus becoming progressively industrial and its preponderant dependence on agriculture is diminishing. As a result of the growth in industry, the country is also becoming progressively urbanised. During the last 15 years, the population of urban areas has more than doubled, and now about 15 per cent of our people live in cities as against 10 per cent in 1950. The progressive industrialisation of the economy is also reflected in the employment pattern. The increase in jobs in the non-agricultural sector is proceeding at a rate much faster than in the agricultural sector.

Whatever we have been able to achieve is the result not only of our own efforts but also of the generous help and assistance given by the developed nations of the world and the international organisations like the United Nations and particularly the I.L.O. This is true of all developing countries which are endeavouring to improve the lot of their people; yet we are still far away from the desired goal. The problem of poverty changes its pattern in every generation, and constant and ceaseless efforts are required to meet its challenge. The gaps between the haves and the have-nots are still apparent. To bridge this gulf is a gigantic task which needs the collective efforts of the developed, the developing and the under-developed countries. The I.L.O. has a very creditable record of service in this field, hence the expectation that it will surpass its own record as the years roll by.

It is heartening to see that the I.L.O. has increased its operational activities in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, which are in great need of international assistance.

We also appreciate this stress on the decentralisation of the work of the I.L.O. in order to tackle the regional problems more

effectively.

The conference has been discussing at the last two sessions the question of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. and, as pointed out by the Director-General in his very able Report, there was a broad consensus of opinion in respect of some questions, especially those relating to the major objectives and programmes of the I.L.O., and rather sharp differences of opinion in respect of others. You must have noticed with satisfaction that there was a substantial measure of agreement on the choice and content of those major I.L.O. programme areas such as human resources development, labour relations, trade union development, the growth of sound social institutions, and conditions of life and work. It has been rightly stated by the Director-General that these are three facets of its activity where the I.L.O. has accumulated considerable experience.

These points on which there was wide agreement during the debate at the last two sessions of the conference have now been placed before the conference for confirmation. This year, the conference will adopt international standards on the questions of employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds, and employment of women with family responsibilities. It will also discuss important questions like agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. The office has prepared valuable documents on all these questions, which will enable the delegates to consider these matters in their right perspective. I am sure that the discussions in the conference will bring fruitful results.

VITALITY AND UNIVERSALITY OF ILO

AFTRE MY SPEECH, SEVERAL delegates hailing from different countries made their speeches. Mr. Gurinovich, the Government delegate of Russia, and the Vice-President of the Conference, made the following speech:

At this 49th session of the International Labour Conference now drawing to its close, a number of positive decisions were taken, directed at the future establishment of international instruments on such important and topical problems as agrarian reform, and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

Six resolutions have been adopted, including such important ones as the resolution concerning the carrying out by the I.L.O. of studies of the social and economic consequences of disarmament, the resolution condemning the Government of Portugal for its policy of forced labour in the territories under its administration, the resolution on paid educational leave, and the resolution on the conditions of employment of domestic workers.

The work done at this session fills us with hope that at the 50th Session the spirit of co-operation and constructive approach to the problems before the I.L.O. will be taken yet further. There is no doubt that this approach would be favourably affected by decisions on the revision of the I.L.O's. programme and the democratisation of its activities; but unfortunately the present session of the International Labour Conference only discussed the Report of the Director-General, and apparently nobody knows what changes will be made in the programme, structure and activities of the I.L.O. in the immediate future. No clear answer to this question can be found either in the Director-General's Report or in the report of the Governing Body's Working Party on the Programme and structure of the I.L.O.

In this connection, it becomes clear how wise was the proposal by the Afro-Asian countries two years ago to create a working party of the conference based on equitable representation of all member States for the preparation of proposals, for the revision of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. In all probability, the best thing would be to come back to this proposal if there is a genuine wish, as the Director-General said in his Report to the 47th session of the International Labour Conference, 'to swing outwards from accustomed courses into a new and larger orbit of action.' Such an approach would definitely speed a solution of the problems connected with the programme and structure of the I.L.O., and would increase the role of the most important body of our organisation, the General Conference. Without enhancing the role of the conference and its active annual participation in the formulation of the organisation's policy and supervision of its activities, it will hardly be possible to carry out the proposals made at the last three sessions. Only the onference, primarily when discussing the Director-Generals' Report and the resolutions submitted to it, is fully equipped to study and solve the problems of the I.L.O. and, on the basis of the basic task laid down by the Constitution, to fight for universal and lasting peace, which, as the Constitution states, can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

The present session is taking place at a time when the interna-

tional situation has become more complicated. In several regions of the world, war is being waged against peoples who are fighting for their independence and for the development of their countries in the interest of their own people, and not in the interest of foreigners, who wish to rule and grow rich.

We have not yet achieved the full and final liquidation of colonialism and its consequences. The I.L.O. still has a great deal to do to protect the newly independent countries against exploitation of their natural and human resources by foreign monopolies, and we hope that the Director-General, in his report to be devoted to problems of industrialisation, will submit concrete proposals in this connection.

The I.L.O., as has been shown by the present session of the conference, cannot and is not entitled to remain aloof from these problems since it is not a purely, technical organisation but a body which has to deal with social and economic issues, taking into account all the multifarious aspects of the political situation. The I.L.O. must ensure that our decisions help to maintain and strengthen peace and to uphold the principle of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social structures, and to work for the social and economic progress of all nations. Nobody must forget this, Mr. President. We must all be guided by these considerations to which all the work of the I.L.O. should be subordinated, including its standard-setting, research and operational activities.

At the present time, it is very important to develop and not to cut down on the standard-setting activities of the I.L.O. The unanimous adoption by the conference of the new instruments on the employment of women with family responsibilities and on the employment of young persons in under-ground work in mines of all kinds shows that all the groups and countries represented in the I.L.O. desire, not to reduce, but to develop the standard-setting activities of the organisations, and this, in its turn, leads to the question of the need to think out new subject for international instruments and to review obsolete conventions and recommendations. In this connection, it is essential always to remember what the main tasks of the I.L.O. are, as well as the needs of newly independent countries.

In carrying out operational activities, the main emphasis should be laid on increasing the effectiveness of technical assistance programmes, on the choice of priority project rapidly yielding tangible results, and on strict economy with respect to administrative and other unproductive expenditure. We hope that these considerations will guide the office when it reviews the operational activities of the I.L.O. We hope it will not forget that most countries

will find it difficult to agree with a reorganisation that does not change basic situation or that leads to an increase in non-productive expenditure.

I would like to greet the new member States of Yeman, Zambia, Malta and Malawi. The ranks of the I.L.O. are constantly strengthening, but we must point out that it is not yet a genuinely universal organisation, neither as to composition nor as to the position of certain groups of countries within it. We must regret the fact that at the 49th Session, the legitimate interests of the socialist countries were infringed. These countries did not fill a single elective post in any of the committees of the conference, and the principle of autonomy was used in the Workers' group in order to prevent the socialist countries from being represented among the officers; in the Employers' group the delegates of the Western countries isolated themselves from the socialist managers, who represent an economic sector accounting for 38 per cent of the world's industrial output. Let us hope that next year this situation will be rectified. This would clearly be demonstrated by the unanimous election of a representative of one of the socialist countries as President of the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference. It would be of great value for the activities of the organisation and its future successful operation of the conference elected a Governing Body most fully representing all regions of the world in all three groups.

Mr. President, in closing, I would like to wish the Director-General and all State members every success in conducting the work of the I.L.O. in such a manner as to ensure that our organisation is in the vanguard of the forces fighting for peace and social and economic progress.

I must tell you, Mr. Raza that we admired your intelligence, your tact and your great skill in leading the debates at this conference, and I should like to wish you good health and every success in your manifold activities.

In conclusion, allow me to thank all of you for the confidence you placed in me and the honour you did my country, the Byelorussian S.S.R., in electing me as Vice-President of the conference.

Mr. Andriantsitohaina, Employers' delegate, Malagasy Republic, Vice-President of the conference, ventilated his thought in the following words:

In the reply to the debate on his Report, the Director-General of the International Labour Office reminded us that this session of the conference was attended by 1,100 delegates and advisors representing 104 States. These figures, better than a long speech, illustrate the

vitality and universality of the I.L.O. but above all as I see it, bear witness to the efforts and spirit of understanding of Members of the organisation in drawing up the new instruments needed for the establishment of more social justice in the world.

Admittedly, we are still a long way from having solved all the problems. The Director-General, in referring to the acute tension which ran through our debates, and to the problems arising out of universality and tripartism, did not conceal all the difficulties which can face us in the future.

I share the Director-General's concern, but the fact that we were able this year again to reach many positive conclusions shows that the Members of the organisation, in spite of the variety of groups and the diversity of their political systems, are willing to debate and to have fruitful exchanges when it is matter of fighting poverty and improving the lot of mankind. The clear programme presented by the Director-General, moreover, justifies the highest hopes. Until now, the organisation confronted with the vast and new problem of under-development, seemed to be moving somewhat hesitantly, and we then had the feeling that this organisation in which we had placed such high hopes was unable to face up to a changing world. That fear is now dispelled. The decentralisation of services, the increasingly close co-operation between the I.L.O. and other specialised agencies, the research undertaken on international trade and industrialisation meet our desires and our deepest preoccupations.

This 49th Session therefore, truly marks a turning-point in the life of our organisation, and I am particularly glad that throughout our debate, in spite of the large number of participants, the tone has throughout remained dignified and the level very high. We owe this success to all participants but we owe it above all to the courteous authority and smiling firmness of our President, to whom I am happy to offer my most sincere thanks and warmest congratulations.

My thanks and congratulations go also to the Director-General and through him, to all the staff of the International Labour Office. Their competence and devotion have enabled the work of the conference to proceed most smoothly.

In concluding, I wish to express my deep gratitude to all those who elected me to this high office of Vice-President. I deeply appreciate this token of confidence which is an honour to me and to my country.

Mr. Sanchez Madariaga, workers delegate from Mexico and Vice-President of the conference, made his remarks about the conference in the following words:

I think it is my duty, first of all, to thank the Workers' group for the high honour which they did me in putting forward my name for nomination as Vice-President of the conference.

Next, I should like to express my satisfaction that the Workers group should have given a very significant demonstration of solidarity with our brothers of the African countries when it warmly and enthusiastically supported the resolution put forward by the government delegate of the United Arab Republic condemning forced labour in Portugal.

I should also like to express my satisfaction because international instruments have been adopted which make it possible to guarantee better possibilities of employment on the one hand for women with family responsibilities and on the other hand for young persons employed underground in mines. I think we should be satisfied also that important resolutions have been adopted which will enable the competent organs of the I.L.O. to concern themselves with the problems set out in the resolutions, particularly on relations in undertakings, domestic employment and the matters with which the other resolutions deal, most of which were submitted by members of the Workers' group.

Our conference has, no doubt, done things which will have a positive effect on the future programme of the organisation. Not only has it adopted the international instruments I have mentioned; it has also dealt in first discussion with the important matters for the organisation regarding co-operatives and agrarian reform. On this latter point, I should like to underline what was said by my colleague from Mexico, Mr. Maclin, when he said yesterday that if we really want to secure genuine agrarian reform, we must put an end to feudal conditions subsisting in many parts where there is a concentration of land ownership in a few hands, a thing entirely contrary to all the intentions of social justice.

I think that one should also stress that from the workers point of view, this conference has constantly heard restatement of anti-colonialist principles, principles opposed to racial discrimination, principles opposed to forced labour wherever it may be; for wherever it does happen, it is a shame to mankind. I think that these very important aspects of the work of the 49th session of the conference justify the observation that what it has done is a step forward towards the objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

In closing, I should like to congratulate the Director-General and all the staff of the conference on the very fine effort made to enable the heavy machinery of our proceedings to turn over smoothly, for more countries than ever have attended. Therefore, I

wish to associate myself with previous speakers in welcoming the representatives of all the countries which have attended.

Representing the Workers, I may say that we have to regret the coming departure of an old trade unionist, Mr. Rens, who is leaving his high post in the Office in a short time. I say frankly that we would have wished him to remain for a good many years yet. This has not been possible. He is leaving the Office, and I take this opportunity of saying that, we in the Workers' group, recognise his achievements and his effective co-operation, side by side with Mr. Morse and the other members of the staff and that we wish him great success in his future life and work.

I take this opportunity to thank all those who have been so kind to me at this session and I wish them also the happiest possible return to their homes and success in their work in their own countries."

Then came the turn of the Secretary-General, and he paid glowing tributes to the achievements of the conference which is as follows:

It remains for me as Secretary-General of the conference to say a few words in this closing meeting.

I should like first of all to thank the members of the Secretariat of this conference, the members of the staff of the International Labour Office, for the work that they have done on this occasion. I do not know whether everyone appreciates the nights and days of work that are put in during the course of this conference by the staff. This is done not only as part of their job, but it is done with pleasure and with complete dedication. I was very grateful to the Vice-President for their expressions of appreciation to them.

I should also like to express my thanks to the Chairman, the reporters and to the secretaries of the various committees of this conference for the work that they have done and for the success of their conclusions; also for the courtesies that they have extended to the Secretariat during the entire period of this session.

At the same time, I would add my appreciation of the Vice-Presidents of the conference for their co-operation, their courtesy and for all that they have done to assist us all in bringing these proceedings to a successful conclusion.

Finally, I think all of us realise that a conference of this magnitude year after year demands very close team-work and co-operation as between all the officers, secretaries, staff and the Secretary-General of the conference. It is a coordinated performance of a highly complicated nature which does succeed because of the manner in which we work together as a team, but none of this would

be possible unless it were properly orchestrated, and on this occasion may I congratulate the President on his orchestration. He has brought us through many difficulties to a final successful conclusion. No one knows better than I do, as Secretary-General of this conference, the difficulties that he was confronted with at the beginning of the conference and on other occasions during its course. I congratulate him on the statesman-like conclusions with which he met the difficulties which confronted him.

On behalf of this entire conference, and in accordance with our great tradition, I now offer Mr. Raza his gavel, properly inscribed, 'To S; Hashim Raza, President, International Labour Conference, 49th Session, Geneva 1965.' We would ask him to take this with him and place it amongst his fondest souvenirs, with the expressions of good will, appreciation and love of the 49th session of the International Labour Conference.

Finally, I had to make a speech as the President. I made the following comments before declaring the conference closed:

Before I declare the 49th session of the International Labour Conference closed, it is my pleasant duty to rise to say a few words to my colleagues whose cooperation, toleration, good sense, devotion to duty and loyalty to the principles on which this organisation is founded have brought to a successful end the deliberations of this great assembly.

I am deeply appreciative of the kind words that have been spoken about me by my three partners, the Vice-Presidents of the Gurinovich, Mr. Andrianstitohaina and Mr. Sanchez Madariaga, and by the Secretary-General of the conference. These words have been spoken with a kindness which overwhelms me completely, and since I will not be present when good friends like them will presumably make obituary references to my demise in due course, I feel gratified at hearing in my life-time what is normally said after one has taken leave of the world. I accept these generous words with much humility. Although I did not have to use the gavel, a replica of which has been given to me by Mr. David Morse, Secretary-General of the conference, I shall keep it as one of my most prized souvenirs.

In many ways this has been a significant conference. It has been the largest so far held and, thanks to the addition of delegates from four new member States - Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia, the number of delegates and advisers this year was 1,061. Sixtyeight very busy Ministers or Secretaries of State attended this conference, which denotes its prestige. In addition, on June 12, we had the

pleasure of listening to H.E. David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic.

The task of this years' conference was not an easy one. The conference was held at a time when daily conflicts were reported from different parts of the globe. When such incidents occur in any part of the world, it is difficult to avoid references to them in any international gathering, although the responsibility for finding solutions to these pressing problems rests on the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. My appeal to fellow delegates to avoid discussion of the theatres of war in this conference was based on the conviction that wise men of the world will find satisfactory solution of these problems, and that we should do full justice to those matters which appeared on our heavy agenda and which are meant to promote the cause of social justice and economic security. I must express my deep appreciation and thanks to the delegates for their response to my appeal and for the self-restraint shown by so many.

The conference, this year, had an unusually heavy agenda before it, and it is therefore a matter of deep satisfaction for me, and of gratification for all of us, that the conference has been able to dispose of its heavy agenda a day before it was scheduled to close. At a time when our organisation is nearing the fiftieth year of its existence, it is in the fitness of things that the programme and structure of the I.L.O. should receive a thorough examination by the 49th International Labour Conference. Vast changes have occurred during this period. The old order has changed, is changing steadily, and is giving place to new and dynamic forces in world society.

To meet the challenge of the times - with the emergence of so many new nations which have taken their rightful place in this assembly, and whose strivings for social and economic development have the sympathy of all the member States - it is appropriate that the organisation should readapt its structure and programmes to meet the present and future needs, to renew its efforts with new purpose and drive and, by adapting itself to the needs of the times, give a refreshing look to the organisation and its programmes. The Director-General, with his unprecedented experience of the work of the I.L.O. and his ability, has presented an imaginative report to the conference, outlining a programme of work for the I.L.O. for the coming years. This report was supplemented by the reports of the Governing Body Working Party on the programmes and structure of the I.L.O. It should be a matter of great satisfaction for all of us to know that in these matters, despite some divergent views, a large measure of unanimity exists. The broad aim of the I.L.O. has been

defined as the improvement of employment and working and living conditions throughout the world. To attain this objective, the major programme areas of the Organisation have been defined as (a) human resources development; (b) labour relations and the growth of sound social institutions; and (c) improvement of conditions of life and work.

This programme will not be limited to the work of the I.L.O. in the field of International Labour Standards but will also include well-balanced technical assistance activities all over the world. The elimination of unemployment, which constitutes a major cause of the social and economic backwardness and misery, especially in the developing countries, is a challenging task facing the world, and is a field in which the I.L.O., with its wealth of experience, can render valuable assistance and give hope to millions of unemployed throughout the world.

The special report of the Director-General on the application of the Declaration concerning the policy of 'Apartheid' of the Republic of South Africa provided the conference with an opportunity of reviewing measure to combat this enormous social evil, which threatens peaceful development in many parts of the world and of condemning once again the reactionary and inhuman policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa. The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms the equality of man without any distinction of colour, race, religion or sex, and the I.L.O. has once more reaffirmed its faith in these principles. Distinction in human society cannot, obviously, be based on the colour of a person's skin. It can only be conferred on the basis of the qualities of head and heart which one possessed and the service which one is able to render to one's fellow beings. Apartheid and, for that matter, discrimination of any kind has no place in this twentieth century.

In addition to the technical items concerning the employment of young persons and women with family responsibilities, the conference, this year, has also had occasion to examine, for the first time, items on agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. These are matters of vital importance for many countries. I trust that our discussions on agrarian reforms, in which the representatives of the United Nations and the F.A.O. took part, will be of use to the United Nations whose General Assembly reviews the problem of land reform at intervals of three years to the ECOSOC, which is meeting next month in Geneva, and to the F.A.O., which is to convene a world conference on agricultural reform in June, 1960.

I do not know what impressions of this conference you are

carrying home, but, for me, fellow delegates, this has been a memorable conference. By electing me as your President, you have put me under a debt of gratitude which I can never repay. And now I ask all of you a further favour. Please visit my home and my country - Pakistan - and give me a chance to receive you and show you round. I assure you that there are many things worth seeing in Pakistan.

I offer my grateful thanks to the officers of the conference, the officers of the groups and the Chairmen, Reporters and members of the committees of the conference who contributed largely to the smooth passage of all the agenda before us. I offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, the Deputy and Assistant Secretary-General, the Technical Advisor, the Legal Advisor, the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General, the Clerk of the conference, the Assistant to the President and the Secretary to the President, and to all those who worked ceaselessly and unostentatiously to make this conference a success - the interpreters, the secretaries, the typists and the attendants.

I now declare the 49th session of the International Labour Conference closed.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance which I received from the Director-General, Mr. David A. Morse, in the performance of my duties. I would like to reproduce his letter of 3rd June, 1965.

At a time when you have just been elected by the International Labour Conference to preside over its 49th Session, it is hardly necessary for me to assure you that I and my staff give you every possible assistance in carrying out your Presidential duties.

As you know, an office has been provided for you on the Presidential (Sixth) Floor. A member of the Secretariat, Mr. Ali Khan, has been assigned to you as your Personal Assistant.

Furthermore, a motor car and driver will be at your disposal on the days on which meetings are held for any journeys you may require to make in your official capacity as President.

I shall, of course, be glad to meet, to the best of my ability, any particular wishes that you may express.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
David A. Morse,
Director-General.

In the year 1969, the I.L.O. celebrated its 50th anniversary. The same year it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. I felicited Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O. on both the occasions. His term of office as Director-General was the longest so far. I reproduce his reply:

> Thanks very much for your thoughtfulness in writing to me as you did on 15th May and for having enclosed the Pakistan Government's commemorative stamps.
>
> The 50th Anniversary Conference will soon be with us. Preparations are going along actively and we all hope that it will be a great success. I remember with great pleasure your presidency over our 1965 annual session and the important contribution that you made to our work on that occasion.
>
> I hope very much that our paths will soon cross again, and in the meanwhile I send you my best wishes and warmest regards, as always,
>
> Sincerely,
> David A. Morse,
> Director-General.

I was delighted to receive congratulatory and commendatory messages on my election as President from the All-Pakistan Federation of Labour of which Mr. Bashir Ahmed Bakhtiar was Chairman and Mr. Aftab Ali was secretary-General in 1965, as also from the President and office bearers of the Pakistan Employers' Association - Syed Wajid Ali Shah - Mr. Hanif Dost Muhammad, Mr. Marker (now our Ambassador to the United States of America) and Mr. T.A.T. Lodhi.

I maintained a heavy schedule during the conference. I used to arrive an hour before the commencement of the day's proceedings and leave an hour or two after the day's work. In the morning, I met the officers of the conference and discussed the day's agenda with them. In the evening, I received the Ministers of Labour and delegations of government representatives, and representatives of Workers and Employers of various countries who wanted to pay courtesy calls or discuss some problems.

The schedule of social engagements was equally heavy. There were lunches and dinners every day in one of the numerous hotels in Geneva by heads of delegations. The delegates of Eastern and Western countries mixed very well at those functions, cut jokes and pulled each other's leg.

I gave a reception on the evening of the 21st June in the Palais de Nation building which was attended by a large number of delegates. Although we did not serve drinks, yet the delegates seemed to enjoy the evening thoroughly.

When I returned to Pakistan and arrived at Rawalpindi-Islamabad Airport via Karachi, I was accorded a welcome reserved for public leaders - zindabad and flowers. I was happy to note that those who came to the airport did not belong to the car-owning gentry but were workers who had come in public transport. Our press was equally kind to me. Here are a few extracts from newspapers:

> Syed Hashim Raza, Central Secretary, Health Labour and Social Welfare, who was elected President of the International labour Organisation last month, disclosed plans for reorganisation of the body.
>
> Talking to newsmen in his office in Rawalpindi on Thursday, he said that the I.L.O. plans to open regional offices in every Continent.
>
> At the last session, he added, there had been loud thinking on the subject and the Director-General had been asked to prepare a detailed scheme in this regard. The report of the Director-General, he said, would be available by October and it will be examined by the Governing Body of the organisation in its November session at Geneva.
>
> The intention was to have four regional offices which will be located at Bangkok for Asia, Addis Ababa for Africa, Santiago for South America and New York for North America.
>
> The I.L.O. President also revealed a plan to sub-divide the Continents into local offices and tag a group of countries to those offices. In Asia, these offices will be at Tokyo, New Delhi, Islamabad, Istanbul and Beirut.
>
> Syed Hashim Raza was elected to the Presidentship for one years' term by delegating the Philippines with an overwhelming majority. Of the 104 nations, attending only 20, had supported Philippines. The elections preceded very intensive lobbying for several months.
>
> A total of 1061 delegates and advisers representing 104 countries of the 114-member nations attended the conference and 63 delegations were headed by Ministers.
>
> The I.L.O. Chief disclosed that there was a thinking among the members that the General Conference should be held once in two years instead of holding a session every year. The proposal, he said, had now been assigned to the Directorate for further examination.

To quote APP again:

> Talking of his election as President for the current year, Syed

Hashim Raza said that his candidature was supported by all African and East European countries.

He however, regretted that some of Pakistan's close allies had opposed his candidature.

He said that Pakistan had created history by holding non-alcoholic presidential reception for about 1,600 delegates and officials. The reception was firstly in conformity with the Islamic traditions, and secondly that resulted in saving of more than 60 per cent in foreign exchange for reception.

I am glad to be able to state that an area office has been set up in Islamabad and has been functioning very well for about a decade.

28

PAK SETTLERS IN UNITED KINGDOM

— Most of our workers came from Azad Kashmir and Sylhet division of East Pakistan. They had no knowledge of English language.
— They lived in extreme congestion, four to six persons in one room. Some hired beds for night only.

AFTER ATTENDING THE ANNUAL conferences of the I.L.O. in Geneva, I used to proceed to London to meet some of our workers and discuss with their representatives their economic and cultural problems. Most of our workers came from Azad Kashmir and Sylhet Division of East Pakistan. They had no knowledge of English language and had never met an Englishman before seeking employment in U.K. They were employed on steamers, in factories and restaurants. They lived in extreme congestion, four to six persons in one room. Sometimes they hired beds for the night and spent the day in parks or streets. They took a long time to get acclimatised to the rigours of the English cold weather. The migrants felt very nostalgic since they were separated from their near and dear ones. They felt like fish out of water. They bore these hardships to earn their bread for their families, who could not accompany them to the United Kingdom. A case was reported in British papers in which an East Pakistani worker was prosecuted under the Vagrancy Act in the court of a magistrate in Glasgow. When the magistrate asked the accused why he was wandering in the streets of Glasgow, his reply was,

"I was looking for my Pir."

To the query as to who was his Pir, his reply was, "I do not know but I was told in Sylhet that if I go to Glasgow, I will meet my Pir. He will take care of me and will find for me a home and a wife!"

Alas! his hopes were dashed and he was put behind the bar.

On my very first visit to London, I had to analyse the situation created by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962. The Act was initially enforced

for a period of 18 months but was subsequently brought on the Statute Book permanently..

Upto 1962, the British Government pursued an open-door policy for the citizens of Commonwealth. With the increasing flow of migrants from the West Indies, Africa and Asia, they had to regulate entry of those who intended to seek employment in the U.K. The intending migrants were required to apply for vouchers in Categories A, B, & C. Those who applied for vouchers in Categories A & B were dealt with liberally, those who applied for vouchers in Category C were not so lucky.

When I met the Permanent Secretary of Labour, U.K., in 1963, he gave me the following information about my countrymen:

CATEGORY - A: In this category were included persons whose employment was guaranteed. Pakistanis already settled in U.K. could offer jobs to their relations and friends under this category:

Applications received	4,552
Vouchers issued	2,295

CATEGORY - B: Graduates and skilled workers were placed in this category:

Applications received	3,744
Vouchers issued	3,161

CATEGORY - C: Unskilled persons and those belonging to the armed forces were issued vouchers under this category:

Applications received	109,465
Vouchers issued	9,860
(of whom 2,240 were issued to ex-servicemen)	

The Labour Secretary told me that the number of Pakistanis who had not been able to secure jobs by September, 1963, was 8,000. The U.K. Government was reluctant to issue vouchers to unskilled applicants. The Government was very sympathetic to the entry of ex-servicemen who wanted to find employment in the U.K. The Labour Secretary told me that almost all applicants from our ex-servicemen had been granted. He gave me a statement of applications received and vouchers issued under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, upto 25th October, 1963, which I reproduce below for students of history:

I reproduce an extract from my report to Government of Pakistan in November, 1963:

> At long last, our High Commission has been able to publish fortnightly bulletins in Urdu and Bengali entitled 'Pakistan'. This is a very welcome step and will provide a forum to the High Commissioner to disseminate useful information and also to the Pakistani settlers in the U.K. so as to represent their welfare problems. The intimate interest which the offices of the High Commission of Pakistan are taking in the welfare of the Pakistani settlers, is evident from a recent meeting in Birmingham, the second city of Britain, where the High Commissioner and the Lord Mayor of Birmingham announced the formation of the Birmingham Mosque Committee.
>
> The Birmingham City Council, at the request of the Muslims of Birmingham, expressed its willingness to earmark a site in the heart of Birmingham for a mosque. A plan was prepared and has been approved by the City Architect Manager of Birmingham. The plan provides for a play-ground of 115 square yards, a large car park, a cafeteria, several class rooms, an auditorium, a library, washing facilities and 24 residential flats. The Mosque will accommodate 2,500 persons.
>
> The estimated cost of the Mosque and its ancillaries is £40,000. An appeal for funds has been issued in the name of the High Commissioner for Pakistan and the Lord Mayor of Birmingham.

When I discussed the problems of Pakistani workers in the U.K. with the Permanent Secretary of Labour U.K. in 1965, he gave me the undermentioned statement in regard to applications received and vouchers issued from 28th December, 1963 to 30th October, 1964 *(See table No. 1)*

I visited London 5 months before my retirement in July, 1966. I reproduce extracts from my report to the government:

> I arrived in London in the afternoon of the 18th February, 1966, and returned to Geneva on the 21st February. I discussed with the High Commissioner the problems of Pakistani migrants to the U.K. and addressed a meeting of the heads of departments convened by the High Commissioner.
>
> The High Commissioner stressed the need of appointing half a dozen Welfare Officers, two of whom should be ladies, trained in social welfare work, to be posted at places where Pakistani migrants have concentrated in large numbers. I informed the High Commis-

sioner of the Minute of the Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare which he recorded on his return to Pakistan from a visit to the U.K. in July, 1965. In the minute the Minister agreeing with the suggestion of the High Commissioner to appoint welfare officers, suggested the appointment of two welfare officers. As a result of Minister's minutes, the Ministry of Finance agreed to the appointment of two welfare officers, but the posts were not sanctioned as, in the meantime, orders were issued that no new posts should be filled on account of the Emergency. The High Commissioner observed that he had discussed the need of the appointment of welfare officers with the members of the Fida Hassan committee and he felt strongly that at least three welfare officers - two men and one lady, should be appointed in the near future. He felt that unless this is done, the problems of Pakistani migrants may get out of hand at some spots. Since these people are sending enormous sums of foreign exchange to Pakistan, the expenditure on welfare officers would be fully justified. The following is a statement of the remittances through Post Offices and Banks for the year 1963, under the Bonus Voucher Scheme:

Month	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Total
January	£777,965.9.1d	£412,050.19.10d	£119,015.19.11d
February	£601,541.1.6d	£314,960.11.3d	£916,501.12.9d
March	£709,275,6.9d	£328,693.14.4d	£973,789.4.9d
April	£712,533.19.9d	£328,693.14.4d	£1,041,227.14.1d
May	£690,044.7.7d	£332,337.12.0d	£1,022,381.19.7d
June	£629,287.9.1d	£300,452.12.0d	£929,740.1.1d
July	£742,196.14.6d	£286,056.16.0d	£1,028,253.11.3d
August	£730,514.19.7d	£431,287.13.0d	£1,161,902.13.4d
September	£405,475.16.11d	£159,124.10.3d	£564,700.7.2d
October	£1,031,603.17.0d	£849,350.6.0d	£1,880,954.3.0d
November	£1,325,776.17.6d	£871,793.17.6d	£2,195,570.15.0d
December	£915,452.0.10d	£603,886.3.9d	£1,519,338.4.7d
Total	£9,271,867.11.1d	£5,154,508.15.5d	£14,426,376.6.6d

The total remittances for the year 1964, were £10,530,581.11.7d.The appointment of welfare officers would give satisfaction to many a migrant who feels the need of personal advice on socio-economic matters in a new country, particularly since the majority of our people in the U.K. cannot speak the English language. I promised the High Commissioner to pursue the matter

further on my return to Pakistan.

I exchanged views with the High Commissioner and his officers about the Pakistani doctors in the U.K. I was informed that the British Government is very keen to have doctors from the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent in as large a number as possible since their own doctors keep on migrating to the U.S.A., Canada and Australia in search of better prospects. The High Commissioner was of the view that we should not expect the majority of our doctors to return home because of the better prospects in the U.K. as compared to Pakistan and, consequently, we should not let our doctors go to the U.K. on employment vouchers. Whatever conditions we may impose at the time of their departure, there are no means to enforce them and after a couple of years stay in the U.K., our doctors will obtain British nationality and the country will be the loser. We spend on an average more than Rs. 40,000 on the education of a medical graduate.

The High Commissioner pressed for the appointment of an officer of the Health Division for administrative work connected with the high medical education of our students in the U.K. He said he did not need a doctor but a person who has experience of medical administration and had dealt with the problems of medical students.

THE UK IMMIGRATION ACT

— Any Pakistani who is in the United Kingdom as a worker, business man, student or visitor, if he so desires, can stay in the country indefinetely.

WHEN THE BRITISH LABOUR Secretary handed over these figures to me, he said that the Government of the United Kingdom had not been niggardly in treating the requests of migrants from Pakistan.

Our Press was very keen to know the impact of the U.K. Immigrants Act 1962, on our people. On my return to Pakistan, I held a Press Conference, which was widely reported. Here is the report published in 'Dawn' of 10th July, 1962:

Syed Hashim Raza, Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, who recently returned from a tour of the United Kingdom told a Press conference yesterday that the phase of anti-Pakistani feelings in Britain was over and there seemed to be no more evidence of racial prejudice in that country.

Syed Hashim Raza who was giving his impression of the impact of Immigration Law which came into force from July 1, drew up answers to exercise the minds of people viz-a-viz the implications of

the Immigration Law.

The Labour Secretary said roughly there were about 75,000 unskilled Pakistanis, including women and children, in the United Kingdom at present. The figure could not be relied upon entirely because it was not based on any regular census which was difficult to hold immediately.

They worked mostly in catering business or wholesale and retail shops and some in factories.

Besides, there were about 8,000 skilled Pakistani workers employed in trams, buses and underground railway network or served as chef etc.

Another 500 living in the U.K. came in category of professional like doctors, journalists, barristers and so on.

About 5,000 persons, Syed Hashim Raza said, were employed as clerks, accountants or shop assistants.

The total number of unemployed Pakistanis as registered with the employment exchange was about 5,000. There may be others who had not registered themselves with employment agencies for fear that they may be asked to leave the country.

Syed Hashim Raza said there had been no noticeable hardships or any attempts at contravening the Immigration Act in the first week.

Four Pakistanis who arrived in London without work vouchers after the Act had been put in force, had to return. It was, an unfortunate incident, he said.

They were not carried by the Pakistan International Airlines, so the responsibility for their inconvenience could not be put on anybody except those persons themselves, he said.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

The following were the questions posed by Mr. Hashim Raza to the authorities in the United Kingdom about the implications of the Immigration Act and the answers he gathered:

Question: "What will be the effect of the Act on Pakistanis who happen to be in this country at the time of the implementation of the Act?"

Answer: "They will not be affected. Any Pakistani who is in the United Kingdom as a worker, businessman, student or visitor, if he so desires, can stay in the country indefinitely."

Question: "If a Pakistani who has been living in this country happens

to be out of it at the time of the enforcement of the Act, can he return here?"
Answer: "Yes, within the prescribed limit of two years. He will, however, be well advised to bring with him documentary proof, e.g. a national insurance card, that he has been living or working in this country, for the satisfaction of the Immigration authorities. To save any doubts, he should obtain an entry certificate from the British representative in the country where he has been staying."

Question: "Can a Pakistani call his family to join him here?"
Answer: "Yes, his wife and dependent children under 16 can join him without any work voucher or entry certificate. To satisfy the Immigration authorities at the port of entry, however, they must carry evidence that they are the legal wife and children of the person concerned. They will avoid any difficulty, obtain an entry certificate from the British representative abroad before commencing the journey."

Question: "Can a Pakistani call his older children, parents or other relatives?"
Answer: "If their intention is to come for work, they should obtain a work voucher from the British Ministry of Labour. Elderly parents and, in compassionate circumstances, other close relatives can come, provided they can submit evidence that they will be supported; they, too, should apply for an entry certificate."

Question: "Can a Pakistani call a relative or friend from Pakistan for the purpose of employment?"
Answer: "No - unless he has obtained a specific offer of employment for his relative or friend. The procedure in this case would be for the employer in the United Kingdom to apply to the local employment exchange on form E.D. 414. If the British Ministry of labour issues an employment voucher to the employer, then the employee will be allowed entry. The procedure for application in cases where employment has been secured is given in the British Ministry of Labour Notice No. E.D.L. 125, which is available at all employment exchanges."

Question: "Can a Pakistani call a relative or friend from Pakistan as a visitor?"
Answer: "Yes - for a limited period - provided the visitor has means to support himself, or can furnish proof that he will be supported during his stay in the United Kingdom and has a return ticket. He is

advised to obtain an entry certificate from the British High Commission in Pakistan, who will wish to be satisfied that he is going back home."

Question: "Can a Pakistani businessman call any relative or friend for employment in his own business?"
Answer: "Yes - provided he follows the procedure laid down above, applies at the local employment exchange and they grant him an employment voucher."

Question: "Can a Pakistani call his relations or friends for educational purposes?"
Answer: "Yes - provided that he can give proof that admission has been secured to a British educational institution for a definite course of studies and that he is capable of supporting them during their studies. In such cases, entry certificates should be obtained from the British High Commission in Pakistan."

Question: "Can a Pakistani of sound financial standing in the United Kingdom call a domestic servant from Pakistan?"
Answer: "Yes - he should apply for a voucher to his local employment exchange."

Question: "How can a relation for whom a job has not been secured come for work?"
Answer: "He should be advised to obtain in Pakistan from the British High Commission, Pakistan employment exchange offices or Pakistan International Airlines, Form No.E.D. 412, complete it and send it to the address shown on the form. The employment voucher will be issued by the British Ministry of Labour in London."

Question: "When can he be deported?"
Answer: "If he has been convicted of a criminal offence by a court of law in the United Kingdom and is recommended for deportation."

Question: "If a Pakistani who is a resident in the country on 1st July, 1962 (the date the Immigration Act comes into force) goes out of Great Britain either on holiday or on business, will be allowed re-entry?"
Answer: " Yes, provided he returns within two years of the date of departure. His Pakistani passport will be stamped at the port of exit as a proof that he is going out of the country."

Question: "In what circumstances can he get some priority for the disposal of his application?"
Answer: "He can get priority if he can produce evidence that he served in the Armed Forces of the Crown in war, or, since 1945, has served in the United Kingdom Naval, Military or Air Forces. The following persons may also apply for a priority voucher on the ground of their qualifications or skill: (1) Persons with University degrees or professional qualifications, including qualifications in teaching and nursing. (2) Draughtsmen and higher technicians. (3) Skilled craftsmen, especially in engineering and building occupations. (4) Experienced shorthand typists."

Question: "Can a Pakistani businessman visit the United Kingdom?"
Answer: "Yes - provided he can submit proof of his business visit and of sufficient funds to support himself during his stay. In this case he is advised to obtain an entry certificate from the British High Commission."

Question: "Can a fiancee of a Pakistani living in the United Kingdom come to this country to join him for the purpose of marriage?"
Answer: "Yes, it is advisable to obtain an entry certificate from the British High Commission."

Question: "Can a Pakistani come to the United Kingdom for the purpose of medical treatment?"
Answer: "Yes - provided he is coming as a private patient and not under the National Health Scheme, and he gives proof that he has been accepted by the hospital or doctor and has sufficient funds at his disposal for the treatment."

Question: "Can a Pakistani, who enters this country after the Immigration Act comes into force, stay here indefinitely?"
Answer: "Those who come with the Ministry of Labour voucher, or who come to join relatives, may do so. Visitors will be expected to return home at the end of their stay and may be required to do so."

Question: "Can a student who comes to this country for educational purposes, stay after the completion of his studies?"
Answer: "Yes."

Question: "Where can I get further information and evidence?"
Answer: "(A) The Liaison Officer of the Pakistan High Commission

will be glad to answer any queries about Pakistanis.
(B) "Information about entry certificates can be obtained from any British High Commission office in Pakistan.

Inquiries in the United Kingdom may be made at the Home Office, Princeton House, 271, High Holborn, London, W.C.1 and
(C) "Inquiries about employment voucher for specified jobs in the United Kingdom should be made from the local employment exchange."

MR. POWELL SPEAKS FLUENT URDU

I READ AN ARTICLE by Philip Rack of Bradford entitled Pakistanis in the U.K. He wrote the said article in 1980, that 77% of Pakistani women in England could not speak English. The language barrier was the greatest stumbling block in integration of migrants and locals. The census figures showed that there were two-and-a quarter million people in Great Britain who had been born outside the U.K. Between 1963, and 1977, Britain admitted for settlement 780,000 Commonwealth citizens and 341,000 foreign nationals. Bradford had the distinction of electing the first Pakistani Mayor.

It has been estimated that in 1985, nearly 4 million Pakistanis were working abroad, most of them in the Middle East. 43% of them were unskilled, 41% skilled, 12% were office workers and 4% were professionals. These patriotic Pakistanis were one of the greatest sources of foreign exchange earning for Pakistan even though they bore the pangs of separation from their families and lived in trying circumstances. The remittances from Pakistanis working abroad amounted to $200 million in the year 1984-85. The race riot in the U.K. unfortunately spoiled the good neighbourly relations between the various sections of the population. The skinheads and Pak bashing caused a lot of headache not only to the people of England but also to the families of migrants. A disturbing factor in the race relationship had been Enoch Powell, an M.P. from Northern Ireland. He rebelled against the Immigrants Policy of his party - Conservative. He kept on repeating his suggestion that all coloured migrants should be sent back to their countries after paying them substantial compensation for loss of career, otherwise there would be rivers of blood. I was told by our High Commissioner in London that once a Pakistani migrant living in London visited Powell's residence in London and left 100 anti-Powell posters written in Urdu. He left his card which contained his telephone number. When Powell came home and saw those posters, he rang up his visitor and

spoke to him in fluent Urdu. He said:

"آپ کی زحمت کا بہت بہت شکریہ۔ افسوس ہے کہ میں آپ کا خیر مقدم نہ کر سکا۔ میں نے ایک پوسٹر رکھ لیا ہے۔ مہربانی کر کے باقی ۹۹ پوسٹر واپس لے جائیے کیونکہ میں ان کا استعمال صرف ردّی کے طور پر کر سکتا ہوں۔"

Many thanks for your inconvenience. I am sorry that I could not welcome you at home. I have kept a poster. Kindly take the other 99 posters back. I cannot use these posters but as waste papers.

I was curious to know how Powell could speak Urdu. On enquiry, I was told that during the Second World War he had joined the Indian Army and was posted in Delhi. Since he was serving in the Intelligence Section of the G.H.Q. Delhi, he learnt Urdu and liked speaking it. Powell was a very promising Conservative M.P. He was a devoted Church-goer and a classical scholar. He was at one time tipped as a future Prime Minister of England. At 26, he was Professor of Greek at Sydney University. He was ascetic in his taste. He enjoyed Irish poetry and had a strong romantic streak in him. He lost all chances of high office because of his rebellious attitude towards his own Party and his virulent anti-migrant propaganda. He now walks with his future behind him.

In February, 1986, Powell carried on a bitter campaign against the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1985, which enabled the Irish Republic to have a limited say in the affairs of the Northern Ireland. All the Members of Parliament from the Northern Ireland, including Powell, resigned their seats to show that that Treaty had been rejected by the people of Northern Ireland. They were all re-elected but the British Government refused to accede to their demand for annulling the Treaty.

The Irish resemble the Bangladeshis in many ways. They are emotional, politically volatile and divinely dissatisfied. Ireland has produced eminent writers and poets like Dean Swift, W.B. Yeats, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw. An instance of Irish wit and humour is recounted in Khushwant Singh's book "India, a mirror of its Monsters and Monstrosities". Khushwant Singh is a well-known journalist who was at one time on the staff of India's

High commissioner in London. He had accompanied Krishna Menon, India's Ambassador to the Irish Republic when he presented his credentials to the president of the Irish Republic - Dr. Douglas. I quote from the chapter 'My days with Krishna Menon':

> Dr. Douglas, President Irish Republic, asked Krishna Menon how India was doing since its independence. Menon launched on a breathless narration of India's wealth potential, industries and 5-Year Plan and exports.
>
> Krishna Menon to Douglas:
>
> And Mr. President, how is Ireland's economy doing. Do you have a favourable balance of trade?'
>
> Dr. Douglas slipped his rapier in with the deftness which only an Irishman could have deployed.
>
> Mr. Ambassador, we never have a favourable balance of trade, he drawled as he put his pipe away.
>
> You see we do not have very much to sell. Our exports, if you can call them by the name, are invisible exports - dramatics, poets, writers and that sort of things. Nothing you can calculate in terms of money.

'THOU SHALT NOT BE FOUND OUT'

IRELAND HAD BEEN THE source of considerable headache to the successive British Governments till it was partitioned in 1920. It was named the Emarald Isle. Northern Ireland which is known as Ulster, refused to be part of Irish Republic. Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston Churchill, coined a famous phrase "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right". Ulster has 65% Protestants and 35% Roman Catholics. Ulster has 6 Counties. The re-unification of Ireland is a dream for the citizens of Irish Republic and a nightmare to the Protestants living in Northern Ireland.

I recall two other anecdotes connected with Ireland. The first is about the Irish nationalist leader, Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), who, in British Prime Minister Gladstone's phrase "set the Home Rule argument on its legs". In 1885-86, Parnell held the balance in the British Parliament between the Liberal and Conservative Parties. The Home Rule Party leaned to the Liberals once Gladstone committed the Liberal Party to Home Rule. Parnell's height of popularity was followed by swift disaster. One of the causes was his involvement with Katherine, the pretty wife of Captain W.H. O'Shea (a former member of his party). In 1889, Captain O'Shea filed a suit for divorce and

when the case came to court neither Parnell nor Mrs. O'Shea offered any defence. After the divorce, Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea. In the Victorian era, citation in a divorce court was a fatal blow to the career of any man in public life. Years later, when Mrs. O'Shea was asked why Parnell came to grief on her account, she replied:

> Because he violated the 11th Commandment 'Thou shalt not be found out.'

The other anecdote pertains to the period when the Pakistan case was being explained to the British audiences. The Quaid-e-Azam had done so himself during his stay in England from 1930 to 1934. He had asked his lieutenants who visited England on business to make it a point to speak on the need to partition India after the departure of the British. At one such meeting in London, Mr. Abdul Rehman Siddiqui, a veteran Muslim League leader who was Mayor of Calcutta in pre-partition days and Governor of East Pakistan in post-partition days, explained that the Muslims and Hindus of India were two distinct nations, that the Hindus were itching to rule over the whole of India after the British had left but the Muslims would not let them do so. The Muslims must have a territory in proportion to their numbers, in which they would not be subjected to the brute majority of the Hindus and where they could regulate their lives in accordance with their religion, traditions and culture. India, he said, was not a country, but a Sub-continent. After he had finished his speech, an English lady went upto the mike and said:

"Why should we, the British, divide India? We have taken 200 years to unite India. Why should we undo our good work?"

Mr. Siddiqui, in his reply, said that "the British had to divide a small island - Ireland - even though the people of Southern and Northern Ireland were Christians. They came from the same stock and spoke the same language. The reason why they divided Ireland was the desire of the Protestants, most of whom live in Northern Ireland - Ulster - to continue their links with England."

The lady observed, "Our Government made a mistake in dividing Ireland. Why should they repeat the same mistake in India?"

Mr. Siddiqui asked her "Madam, are you a Christian?"

She replied "Yes, but what has this to do with your contention."

Mr. Siddiqui replied, "Madam, as a Christian you have divided God into three - the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, - If you could divide God into three, why not divide a Sub-continent into two?" The audience roared with laughter at this reply and Mr. Siddiqui was cheered for his wit and humour.

MEDICAL MISSIONS:

In view of the increase in the number of doctors as a result of our new Medical Colleges, our Government decided to send the doctors to those countries in Africa and Middle East where there was paucity of doctors. The A.P.P. interviewed me in London in November, 1964, and circulated the undermentioned news item:

> The Pakistan Government has decided to send a large number of doctors to African and Middle East countries to run their hospitals. Mr. Hashim Raza, Secretary for Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan, said here on Saturday.
>
> He said that some 300 applications from qualified Pakistani doctors were being scrutinized for selecting them to serve mainly in Somalia, Nigeria, Libya, and Saudi Arabia.
>
> The Libyan Government had offered to start a hospital, which will be run exclusively by Pakistani doctors and nurses, he added. The Libyan Health Minister is due to visit Pakistan shortly to make final selection for the Hospital staff.
>
> Mr. Hashim Raza had detailed talks in London about the problems of Pakistani immigrants with Mr. Agha Hilaly, Pakistan High Commissioner here.
>
> He said, "About 880 Pakistani doctors are now in Britain serving in hospitals under the National Health Scheme"
>
> The Pakistan Government had no intention to ask them to return home. But in future Pakistanis sent for higher medical training abroad would be expected to return to Pakistan. Medical Colleges in Pakistan will be producing about 1,000 doctors every year to meet the needs of the country and help African and other friendly nations. Mr. Hashim Raza added.
>
> A three-man Medical Mission from Saudi Arabia visited Pakistan in February, 1965, and selected doctors, nurses and allied personnel.
>
> The delegation of the General Medical Council of Great Britain, comprising three eminent doctors of the United Kingdom came to Pakistan in February 1965. It was headed by Sir Rowan Boland. The Health Minister and officials of the Health Ministry had detailed discussions with the members of the delegation who promised to provide post-graduate training and research facilities in London to Pakistani doctors. Sir Boland and his colleagues reported to us that they were satisfied with the standard of teaching in Dow Medical College, Karachi and Liaquat Medical College, Jamshoro. The Indus

Times of Hyderabad published this report on 16th February, 1965.

Sir Rowan Boland, leader of the three-man delegation of the General Medical Council of Great Britain and Ireland yesterday expressed the view that curtailment in duration of medical studies from five years to four would not make any difference provided the training period for medical graduates was prolonged.

He said that a similar move was being considered in the United Kingdom at present but it would take some time before it materialised. We do not at any cost want to minimise curriculum of medical studies by reducing the teaching period, he added.

The U.K. medical team which had come to Pakistan after completing a six-week tour of medical institutions in India, was taken round various sections of the Liaquat Medical College and Hospital at Jamshoro, immediately after its arrival from Karachi by the Administrator of the LMC, Col. Najib Khan.

Giving impressions of the team's visit to the Jamshoro College, Sir Boland told this correspondent in an exclusive interview last evening that the visitors were greatly impressed by the work being done at the LMC.

He said it was very interesting to visit the college which has a fine new building. Young doctors are keen, enthusiastic and intelligent, he added.

Replying to a question, Sir Boland said that the exchange of experts and teachers in Medical education would have tremendous advantage for developing countries. He said medical institutions in the U.K. would be willing to provide postgraduate training and research facilities to deserving people in Pakistan.

Talking about the Indian tour, Sir Boland said that they saw enormous development work being done there and more and more new institutions built, mostly by private enterprises or philanthropists.

During their ten-day stay in Pakistan, the team has visited medical institutions in Karachi, Peshawar and Hyderabad. The team is expected to submit a report on its Indo-Pakistan tour to the General Medical Council on its return to London.

29

TWO TIDES IN MY AFFAIRS

ENGLAND' GREATEST DRAMATIST, William Shakespeare, observed:

> There is tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

There were two such tides in my affairs: On 1st July 1962, when I was sworn in as the Governor of East Pakistan at Dacca and on 2nd June 1965, when I was elected President of the 49th Conference of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva.

On both these occasions I thanked Almighty God for His grace. Then I recalled the observation of Somerset Maugham:

> The desire for approbation is perhaps the most deeply seated instinct of a civilized man.

I was heartened by the congratulatory cables and letters of my near and dear ones. I was amiably surprised when I received the letter of 17th June 1965 from my Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, where I had studied during 1932-34, Mr. Elfan Rees as well as a series of congratulation letters including Dr. Harold Wilson who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1965, Dr. Wilson joined Jesus College after I had left.

Dr. Harold Wilson also referred to Mr. Gunter as I had in my letter told him that Mr. Gunter made a substantial contribution to the deliberations of the 49th Session of the International Labour Organisation. When I asked him how he became the Minister of Labour, he told me that he was equally surprised that the portfolio of labour was entrusted to him. He said that Ministers in England had no say in the allotment of portfolios which was the privilege of the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister finalized the names of his Ministers and

their portfolios, a reporter rang up Gunter from 10, Downing Street and said:

"Mr. Gunter, you are in labour."

Gunter's reply was, "And on a bed of thorns!"

The Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. A.K.M. Fazlul Quader Chowdhary, sent the following letter:

> My dear brother,
>
> At the very outset please allow me to congratulate you on your election as President of the I.L.O. This is a great honour for Pakistan achieved through your merit. I am quitting office on the 12th of this month. Let me express my sincere gratitude to you for cooperation and courtesies that you extended to me during my tenure as Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare and even afterwards. I had been a great admirer of your honesty, integrity and great merit. I always valued your friendship and may Allah sustain it always.
>
> With kind regards,
>
> Yours sincerely,
> Sd/-
> (A.K.M. Fazlul Quader Chowdhary)

A MEMORABLE EVENING WITH PRINCE SADRUDDIN

— I knew how one feels when one's mother is ailing.
— I was deeply touched by Prince Sadruddin's great concern about his mother.

I AM GRATEFUL TO Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan for his cable of felicitations on my election as President of the 49th Session of the I.L.O. Subsequently, he sent a letter which I reproduce. He was at that time the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

> My dear President,
>
> Forgive me for writing this letter, but a matter of great concern to me namely, my mothers' health, is forcing me to do so. For some time now, doctors have advised us that she has to undergo surgery and since the date of the operation has finally been decided, over this last week-end, and that it happens to be on Friday, the 18th of June, in Paris, I am most regretfully obliged to be at her bedside on the day when I had planned to entertain you and your delegation at my house. As a result, I have no alternative but to ask you to kindly allow me

to suggest another date for the dinner which you could choose during the week of June the 21st, at your convenience. All the friends who have been invited would of course be immediately informed, and I certainly hope that we will have a very pleasant evening despite this last minute mishap.

Please excuse me for this unavoidable disturbance and accept the expression of my highest consideration.

Sd/-
Prince Sadruddin.

In acknowledging his cable and letter, I suggested to him that in view of the illness of his revered mother, he should cancel the dinner altogether for I know how one feels when one's mother is ailing. But he insisted on honouring me at a sumptuous banquet on the night of 24th June 1965, at Chateau de Bell to which he invited all the Labour Ministers attending the 49th Conference, the top officials of the I.L.O. and members of Pakistan Delegation.

The stately structure of Chateau de Bell was one of the residences of the late Aga Khan III, Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah. The building was grand, the surroundings were picturesque and the lights of the lake of Geneva were enchanting. For me it was a memorable night. The 200 guests who spent 4 hours - 8:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight - at Chateau de Bell could not have pined for a better time. The food was delicious and the music was exhilarating. The lovely Persian carpets, the exquisite chandeliers and the mementos of the late Aga Khan were the cynosure of all eyes.

I wrote to Sir Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, on 7th June, 1965, and got his reply dated 15th June 1965. I reproduce both the letters:

My dear Sir Walter,

You will be glad to hear that I have been elected President of the 49th session of the International Labour Conference.

As I assumed my office, I thought of you and the great Declaration of Philadelphia which was passed when you were at the helm of affairs of the I.L.O. We have made steady progress since then and the organisation is gathering strength and momentum every year. We have now 114 member States.

I trust that you are enjoying the best of health. I shall always cherish the memory of the day which you spent at Hyderabad with us in 1958.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,
S.H. Raza.

His reply was:

My dear Raza,

This note is sent to say how pleased I was to receive your letter of the 7th instant. It brought back memories of Hyderabad and one of the happiest days of my life. The Presidency of the conference at Philadelphia is also one of the happiest periods I have known, excelled only by the courtesy and hospitality shown to me by you when I visited your country.

I hope the conference will go well and be worthy of the great service you have rendered to International Labour and to the betterment of conditions in many countries.

Kind personal regards.

Yours sincerely,
Walter Nash.

Mr. Gurinovich, Government Delegate Byelorussia, one of the Vice-Presidents of the 49th session, had, in his closing speech, complained that no President had so far been elected from the Socialist countries. He observed that the I.L.O. should represent the interest of both the Western and non-Socialist countries. I quote from his speech:

> This would clearly be demonstrated by the unanimous election of a representative of one of the Socialist countries as President of the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference. It would be of great value for the activities of the Organisation and its future successful operation if the next session of the Conference elected a Governing Body most fully representing all regions of the world in all three groups.

I am glad to be able to state that the President of the 50th session of the I.L.O. was from one of the Socialist countries. When I felicitated Mr. Leon Chajn on his election as President of the 50th Session, I received the following reply:

Dear Mr. Raza,

I was particularly gratified to receive your letter of 8 June, 1966, congratulating me on my election to the Presidency of the Conference.

I am sorry that you are not attending the present session of the Conference, and that I shall not have the pleasure of telling you personally how deeply appreciative I am of your kind and thoughtful

gesture. Your presence is, however, felt in a very real sense, as I endeavour to apply the same wise methods that enabled my predecessor to conduct the deliberations of this international Parliament of labour with such distinguished success.

With warmest personal regards.

Yours sincerely,
Leon Chajn.

BACK TO HOME

WHEN I RETURNED HOME in the last week of June, 1965, I had a new Minister, Mr, Munim Khan. Lt. General Burki had left the Cabinet to become Pakistan's Ambassador to Sweden. During the 4 years of my tenure as Secretary, Ministry of Health and Labour, I had as many as six Ministers in following order:

1. Lt. General W.A. Burki.
2. Mr. Munim Khan,
3. Mr. Rana Abdul Hamid,
4. Mr. Fazlul Quader Chowdhary,
5. Mr. Zaheeruddin Abdullah Lal Mian, and
6. Mr. Kazi Anwarul Haq.

I got on very well with every one of them. Mr. Munim Khan became Governor of East Pakistan. Although he was a son of the soil, the people of East Pakistan did not like him as they liked his predecessor, General Muhammad Azam, a resident of N.W.F.P. They resented his withdrawal at a time when his services were most needed and appreciated. Munim Khan was not liked from the days of Ayub Khan and in the wake of events of 1971, the extremists of the Awami League were callous enough to desecrate his dead body. No one can reverse the march of history, but it is my conviction that had General Muhammad Azam been the Governor of East Pakistan in 1969-70 and had Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy been alive in those stormy days, the excesses that occurred on both sides - Government of Pakistan and Mukti Bahini of the Awami League - could have been prevented and the integrity of Pakistan could have been preserved.

Mr. Fazlul Quader Chowdhary acted as President of Pakistan on several occasions when President Ayub Khan went out of the country. He was a real patriot. He was a Muslim Leaguer from his student days and organised the Bengali Branch of the Muslim Students Federation. He played a prominent

part in popularising the Pakistan Movement throughout Bengal. He had a powerful personality, over 6 feet tall and had a resounding voice which did not need any loudspeaker. In his drawing room, there were only three portraits - those of his father, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His last days after the fall of Dacca in 1971, were the finest in his political career. He refused to recognize Bangladesh and openly expressed his opposition to the break-up of Pakistan. For his open and total opposition to the formation of Bangladesh, the President of Bangladesh, Mujibur Rehman, locked him up in Dacca Jail. When some political leaders of Chittagong - which was his constituency - approached Mujibur Rehman to release Fazlul Quader Chowdhary in view of his poor health - he was a diabetic patient - Mujibur Rehman told them that he was prepared to release Fazlul Quader Chowdhary provided he did not criticise Bangladesh. Fazlul Quader Chowdhary refused to accept that condition and preferred to die in jail rather than accept Bangladesh. May his soul rest in eternal peace!

I received a letter from Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, which is reproduced below:

> My dear Raza,
>
> I have just received the 'Dawn' of 6th June giving the news of your election as the new I.L.O. President, with an impressive 272 votes as against the 87 of the other candidate.
>
> Please accept my sincere congratulations on your Presidentship, and the honour it reflects upon you and upon Pakistan.
>
> With all good wishes.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> Rana Liaquat Ali Khan.

At the time when she wrote this letter, she was Pakistan's Ambassador to Italy. Earlier, she had served with great distinction as Pakistan's Ambassador to Netherlands.

Another letter deserves to be reproduced. It is from Dr. A.M. Malik, who in June, 1965, was serving as Pakistan's Ambassador to the Philippine.

> My dear Hashim Raza Sahib,
>
> Thank you for your letter of 8th June and its enclosures. Please accept my hearty congratulations for raising the prestige of the country and of your own so high in the international platform. The little that comes out in the papers here about your conducting the affairs of the conference gives a proof of your success as the President of an august and important body for which I am proud

May God grant you further achievements.

After the election, there was a news item in the press here that great injustice was done to the Philippines and that their representative would recommend to the Philippine Government to withdraw from I.L.O. I must say that due to want of proper diplomacy and foresightedness, the Philippine Government courted this open defeat for which I feel sorry. As I have a feeling for all Asian countries and it was my humble self who for the first time organised the Asian group, I felt it my duty to advise the Philippine Government here not to oppose your case at the late hour on the ground that if they were serious they should have settled the matter with you last year when your case was actively sponsored and other countries committed. The Minister of Labour did not like my advice, and on one occasion, he threatened me by saying that if they are not elected they will leave the conference. However, let us forget the past and continue our goodwill for everybody.

Hope you are doing well. With kindest regards to you and salaam to other Pakistani friends, both delegates and the members of the staff, and regards to Director-General, Mr. Morse, Deputy Director General, Mr. Rens and other friends of the organisation.

Yours sincerely,
Dr. A.M. Malik.

Dr. Malik was the Central Minister of Labour when I was the Administrator of Karachi. Since he had been a labour leader in Calcutta, he was of great help to me in resolving the labour disputes that arose within my jurisdiction. He was a very experienced trade unionist and made a name in the I.L.O. for his contributions to the debates in the annual conferences and meetings of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. He was elected President of the Governing Body.

When Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra died in Dacca, Dr. Malik was offered an assignment of the Foreign Minister and Leader of the House. This was the most coveted post in the regime of President Ayub Khan and any M.N.A. would have accepted the offer with gratitude. I was at that time camping at Dacca. The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Munim Khan, told me that Dr. Malik who was at that time on leave from his assignment in Manila, politely declined the offer. When I asked Dr. Malik the reason for not accepting this prestigious assignment, he told me that since he was not keeping good health he could not do justice to the job. Few politicians in indifferent health would have refused that tempting offer. When he was appointed Governor of East Pakistan to succeed Admiral Muhammad Ahsan, I asked him how he felt about that job. He told

me that although his health had deteriorated, yet he had accepted that most challenging job with the hope that he might be able to turn the tide and retain East Pakistan within Pakistan. Alas! his hope was shattered. When I met him in Karachi after the fall of Dacca, he was a very sad man. My heart went out to him on the failure of his mission.

30

17 FINEST DAYS

MY SECOND DAUGHTER TANVIR FATIMAH was married to Kamal Shoaib on the 3rd September, 1965, at Rawalpindi. This date was memorable for me as I had sailed from Bombay on the 3rd September, 1932, for the U.K. in connection with my two-year probationary period for the I.C.S. at Oxford. Again it was on the 3rd of September, 1939, that the Second World War changed the political map of Europe.

Just as the date of the marriage of my elder daughter, Nasreen Zehra, coincided with a significant event - the visit to Karachi of Queen Elizabeth II of the U.K. who was the Head of 49 countries of the Commonwealth in 1984, the date of the marriage of the second daughter became historic as it was on this date that our troops made an advance in the Chamb-Jurian sector of Kashmir.

The Valima dinner which we gave at the Rawalpindi Club on the night of the 3rd September was attended by all our relatives and friends, some of whom came from Lahore and Karachi. Sir Morris James, High Commissioner of the U.K., told me that he had come all the way from Karachi to attend the reception and would be returning to Karachi the next day. Several M.N.As. from Sind said the same thing. I was particularly happy to receive my old friend, Mr. Takenhaka, whose company I used to enjoy when I was posted in Dacca in 1961. Mr. Muhammad Shoaib had included in his party all the Ambassadors stationed in Rawalpindi.

Since the war clouds were hovering on the Pakistan-India horizon, the presence of India's High Commissioner, Mr. Kewal Singh, at my dinner resulted in a piquant situation. As he was talking in somewhat friendly manner to one of my guests, Mr. Muhammad Khaleel who had come from Lyallpur. A C.I.D. minion went up to my Secretary and told him that he would have to take Mr. Muhammad Khaleel into custody for interrogation. When my Secretary informed me of the impending discourtesy to my guest, I called the C.I.D. official and told him that Mr. Muhammad Khaleel and Mr. Kewal Singh

were not talking politics but of the agricultural land which Mr. Kewal Singh had left in Lyallpur District, when he had migrated to India in 1947. His land had been allotted to Mr. Muhammad Khaleel who had migrated from India to Pakistan. Mr. Kewal Singh had presented a saree to my daughter. The story of the Saree was taken up subsequently in "Pakistan Times" of Rawalpindi of the 1st December, 1965, which I reproduce:

> A 'Saree' presented as a marriage gift by the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan for the bride of Mr. Kamal Shoaib, son of the Central Finance Minister, Mr. Muhammad Shoaib, would be auctioned in the District Courts, near Malkhana, on December 15, at 10:00 a.m. The money thus received will be donated towards the National Defence Fund. It may be stated that the Indian High Commissioner had sent a gift of a 'Saree' for the bride of Mr. Kamal Shoaib on the eve of his marriage recently.

At a reception given by Muhammad Shoaib on the evening of the 4th September at the West Pakistan House to celebrate the wedding of his son with my daughter, President Muhammad Ayub Khan and the C-in-C General Muhammad Musa suddenly rose from their seats and walked to the Governor's Suite of the West Pakistan House. All those present wondered what urgent business had taken them to the Governor's Suite.

When they returned to the Garden Party after 15 minutes, the Press correspondents rushed to the President and asked him:

"Have you heard some good news? Sir,"

The President replied, "Not bad."

The President went on air at 12:30 noon to inform the people of Pakistan that the Indian forces had crossed the international boundary and invaded Pakistan without giving any ultimatum. He exhorted the nation to rise to the occasion and teach an everlasting lesson to the enemy. The President declared a state of emergency.

Ever since the 3rd of September, people had been anticipating and talking about war between Pakistan and India. When the announcement came on the 6th September, there was a relief that the uncertainty had come to an end and that India had afforded us an opportunity to pay her in her own coin. I witnessed people embracing each other in streets and resolving to shed the last drop of their blood for the defence of the country. The period from 6th September to 22nd September, was the finest in the history of Pakistan. It was a period of moral reformation and witnessed the revival of the spirit of Pakistan Movement. There were no thefts, no dacoities, no blackmarketing and no hoarding

during those days. Everyone realised that it was a fight for survival.

We were stampeded into the war for which adequate plans had not been drawn up by our G.H.Q. - 25% of the strength of our defence forces were on leave on the 3rd September, 1965. Our Ministry of Defence asked for the raising of two infantry divisions. This proposal had been turned down by the Ministry of Finance for lack of funds. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had assured the Ministry of Defence that the war would be confined to the Kashmir sector and India would not cross the international boundary and that a clever move in the field of Foreign Affairs was worth more than two infantry divisions.

The Pakistan Defence Forces were grossly outnumbered by their Indian counterpart in personnel and equipment. After assessing our territorial gains in the Runn of Cutch and our loss of territory in the Sialkot sector, one can describe the result of the 1965 War as a draw, in cricket terminology, on land and sea and victory in the air.

This was made possible as a result of the great fighting spirit and heroism of our men and officers. The Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General Chowdhari, had boasted that he and his officers would have their *chota** peg in Lahore Gymkhana. That proved to be an empty boast, thanks to the dogged determination of our brave soldiers and intrepid officers. The Indian troops had advanced towards Lahore in the darkness of the night. The B.B.C., in its morning broadcast of the 6th September, announced the fall of Lahore which caused great jubilation in India and much anguish in Pakistan. But the usually reliable B.B.C. proved to be unreliable on this occasion. The Indian troops were halted at the bank of the B.R.B. Canal which had been constructed on the orders of the wise and vigilant Prime Minister of Pakistan who was also the Defence Minister, Quaid-e-Millat, Liaquat Ali Khan. General Chowdhari and his men could only drink the muddy water of the B.R.B. Canal instead of whisky at the Lahore Gymkhana.

The Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Harold Wilson, stated in the House of Commons that the Indian troops had crossed the international boundary between India and Pakistan. Curiously, the Indians protested against this perfectly correct statement of Sir Harold Wilson and dubbed it as a pro-Pakistan statement.

THE WAR OF 1965

AS FOR OUR SUPERIORITY in the air, I quote extracts from the book

* Small

of a disinterested observer, John Fricker, entitled "Battle for Pakistan-The Air War of 1965." He was a military specialist and staff pilot. He had accumulated around 3500 hours as a pilot on over 267 types of aircraft, including jets and helicopters. To quote his own words:

> My long acquaintance with the Pakistan Air Force began as far back as 1958 when, as military editor of The Aeroplane, I was invited to undertake an extensive tour of PAF Headquarters and bases.

In a chapter entitled 'Thirty Seconds Over Sargodha' Fricker wrote:

> Wg. Cdr. (now Group Captain) Muhammad Mahmood Alam of the Pakistan Air Force is a scrap of a man who appears almost lost in the none-too-roomy cockpit of a Sabre. Yet during the 1965 conflict with India, this Pakistan Squadron Commander has made a record which has few equals in the history of jet air warfare.
>
> Many pilots have scored several air victories in one sortie, and have equalled or exceeded Alam's claims of shooting down upto five enemy aircrafts of superior performance within a few minutes. But few are likely to be able to match his record of destroying at least three opponents - Hawker Hunters of the Indian Air Force - within the space of somewhere around 30 seconds.
>
> When, at the end of August 1965, the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir threatened to explode into full-scale hostilities, the P.A.F. equipped with American aircraft supplied through the mutual Aid Programme, was confronted by a well-trained adversary operating large numbers of mainly British combat aircraft. The P.A.F. order of battle comprised 92 F-86F Sabres in service, plus eight undergoing repair and overhaul at maintenance units, 12 Lockheed F-104 Star-Fighters, of which two were unarmed F-104B two seat trainers 25 Martin B-57 jet bombers, including several fitted out for reconnaissance tasks, and 12 Lockheed T-33 jet trainers adapted for ground attack and tactical reconnaissance. These 141 combat aircraft were deployed in nine squadrons at only three widely-scattered operational airfields in West Pakistan, and were supported by about thirty assorted trainers, transports and helicopters.
>
> Corresponding IAF strength at the time was estimated to be at least 775 aircrafts in 29 squadrons in the course of building up to a planned combat strength of some 45 squadrons. More than 500 of the IAF aircraft were first line jet types, disposed in 27 fighter and three

bomber squadrons, each with 16 aircraft on establishment. They included the first 10 Mach 2 MIG-21s, 118 British supplied Hunter 56s, 80 Indian-built Gnats, 80 Dassault Mysteres, 132 obsolescent Vampires, 53 Canberra B(I) 58 reconnaissance aircraft.

Thus, in combat aircraft, the PAF was out-numbered by nearly four to one, and if the IAF support element of 191 transport aircraft and 48 helicopters was included against the corresponding total for Pakistan, the ratio became closer to five to one. Even then, the comparison was between the numbers of aircraft estimated to be in actual service with the IAF, against the overall totals in the PAF inventory.

For example, although India received its first six MIG-21s from the Soviet Union as early as February, 1963, followed by a further six by the PAF to be operational at Chandigarh by the end of 1964 and another 18 in 1965, only 10 of the initial 12 were estimated by the PAF to be operational at Chandigarh by the end of August, 1965. But this March 2 force exactly matched Pakistan's total of 10 F-104 as at Sargodha.

Similarly the PAF's 100 F-86 Sabres were balanced against the 118 Hunters operated by the IAF, although there were some doubts in Pakistan that the older North American fighter would be able to cope effectively with the more powerful and more heavily-armed combat aircraft of British origin. Most of the PAF Sabres had been modified to F-86F-40-NA standards, although there were still a few F-86F-35s in Pakistani service. Main difference between the two versions was that the -35 Sabre had the so-called 'hard' wing, without leading-edge slats, whereas the -40 had both slats and win-tip extensions for improved manoeuvrability and high-altitude performance.

There were also minor differences in such details as the elevator actuator and rear fuselage sections. The uprating of the Sabres to the latter standard was to prove a significant factor in future combat with the formidable Hunter.

Against this preponderance of Indian air power, the PAF could offer only a high standard of leadership throughout all its echelons, a determination springing from the realisation that nothing less than national survival was at stake, and a sound background of training and experience.

The PAF achieved a notable success on 6th September against a force of Indian infantry and tanks poised to capture a vital bridge across the B.R.B. Canal at Batapur, only 10 miles or so from the key city of Lahore, but PAF intervention allowed Pak Army's 10 Infantry Division time to deploy in defence of the B.R.B. bridge, and

rush tanks and infantry to secure it.

In Pakistan, 7 September is now celebrated as Air Force Day, to mark achievement by the PAF of air superiority over Sargodha.

An Official Pakistani assessment of IAF losses compiled after the war from reports from Indian sources put the total number of enemy aircraft destroyed at 50 including 22 in air combat, nine shot down by ground fire and 19 on the ground from PAF strikes. Air-to-air losses were said on this basis to comprise 12 Hunters, three Mysteres, two Gnats, one Canberra and four Vampires. A further four Hunters, four Mysteres and one Auster light aircraft were reportedly shot down by Pak Army ground fire. From PAF airfield strikes, Indian sources reported, in addition, the loss of 3 Hunters, five Mysteres, two Gnats, two MIG 21s, two Canberras, one Vampire, two Fairchild C-119s and one Douglas C-47.

Finally, the Pakistan Government also compiled its own list of IAF aircrew casualties from published and other Indian sources, which indicated a minimum 34 aircraft lost, comprising four Vampires, 14 Hunters, nine Mysteres, three Gnats, one Canberra and three unidentified aircraft. These losses, according to Pakistan, resulted in 22 deaths of IAF aircrew, while five ejected safely in India and seven became prisoners-of-war.

It redounds to the glory of our Air Force that among the war heroes who received the highest award for courage and valour - Nishan-e-Haider - the youngest was Pilot Officer Rashid Minhas who was awarded the highest insignia for his heroic task in 1971 war.

Our superiority was not confined to air alone, it was on land and water too. On land, the battle of Chowinda was the turning point in favour of Pakistan Army. The objective of the Indian Army was to bypass Lahore and to converge on the Grand Trunk Road at Wazirabad behind Sialkot. It was the biggest tank battle involving the largest number of tanks since the battle of Al-Alemin Desert during the Second World War. The credit for breaking the back of the Indian offensive goes to the Commander of the 6th Armoured Division, Major General Abrar Husain, his officers and men, who covered themselves with glory by repulsing the Indian advance.

The strength of our Navy as compared to the Indian Navy was 6 to 1 and yet it kept the Indian Warships at bay. The Indian Navy could not bombard our coasts either in East or West Pakistan. The Pakistan Navy succeeded in bombarding the port of Duwarka in Kathiawar. We did not lose a single ship or boat. There were no casualties among our Naval Officers and men. This was an admirable record.

The devotion to duty which was exhibited in the battle-fields by our

soldiers, sailors and airmen was equally matched by civilians working in offices throughout the country. They became punctual, they worked hard and they kept long hours. Everyone did his duty to the best of his ability.

In a broadcast at 3:30 p.m. the President of Pakistan told the nation that since the United Nations had assured him that the Kashmir problem would be resolved in the near future, he had ordered ceasefire to be effective from 3:00 a.m. on the 23rd September. I quote some of his words:

> Pakistan has been saved. Let this blessing of God and this achievement of the people and their brave and dedicated armed forces never be forgotten. By his faith in God and in his cause and by his indomitable courage and superb craftsmanship the fighting man of Pakistan has written in his blood a golden chapter in the history of Islam.

At the end of his speech he said: "And the goal, though it might appear distant, is nearer than ever before. Pakistan Zindabad."

THE CORROSIVE FRUSTRATION

— There cropped up differences of very grave nature between President Ayub Khan and Late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

BUT DESPITE OUR SUPERIORITY in the air and the admirable enthusiasm as well as the high morale of our militarymen ranging from top to bottom, the announcement of ceasefire came as a stunning blow. Soon after he had announced that, war was halted, President Ayub Khan became an unpopular ruler. Each Pakistani, whether he was a military personnel or a civilian felt deeply aggrieved. The signs of frustration were not only visible from the faces of mature men, even college and university students experienced that gruesome shock. Ever since that time, Ayub Khan's popularity started waning. When facts are placed behind the curtain, rumours of diverse nature come on the surface. In the wake of Tashkant Declaration, there came a flood of rumours. There is no denying the fact that the cat has not come out of the bag of Tashkant Declaration as yet whereby India and Pakistan had agreed for discontinuation of the war. But some of the rumours subsequently came true. One of the rumours was that on the issue of halting the war, there cropped up differences of very grave nature between President Ayub Khan and late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Bhutto was well aware with the overall feelings of masses and wanted the war to go on. But contrary to his Foreign Minister's wishes and persuasion, Ayub Khan signed

31

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

AS MY BOOK WAS going to the press, I received an interesting letter with a questionnaire from a friend, Professor Hasan Askari Fatmi who is an intellectual and a noted seasoned journalist. Such questions have always been asked, but curiously enough the same are being raised by the inquisitive younger generation of the eighties.

I have selected some of these questions which I have encountered during the entire period of my chequered service career and even after retirement when I resumed my normal life as an ordinary citizen. On receiving the questionnaire, I was deeply moved, and looked upon this as an opportunity to put on record my observations and viewpoints. In fact, I am afraid with the passage of time, the younger generation may become totally oblivious of the historical background of the achievement of Pakistan as a homeland of the Muslim nation of South Asia. It is for this reason that I have brooded over these questions and dilated upon them for educating the youth of Pakistan.

Therefore, at this critical juncture of Pakistan's political history, it may not be out of place to emphasize inasmuch as we can that it was destined to be organised as a state based upon Islamic ideals so that it may ensure a bright and prosperous future for the succeeding generations. Therefore, the ultimate destination of Pakistan is to revive, consolidate and preserve the age-long Muslim heritage, culture and civilization.

I have tried to answer these questions with utmost frankness, and according to the best of my understanding and to the extent that I have been a witness to the course of national events. I am doing this with a strong feeling that I should leave behind my observations and interpretations for the benefit of the posterity.

Q. 1. Was Pakistan really carved out by the collusion of the Britishers and

COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRANTS ACT, 1962.

APPLICATIONS RECEIVED AND VOUCHERS ISSUED - TOTALS TO 25TH OCTOBER, 1963.

Territory which issued Passport	Category A		Category B		Category C( )-Forces Service		Categories A.B.C.	
	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued
Aden	31	20	3	3	29	18(1)	63	41
Antigua	10	6	4	4	39	24	53	34
Australia	402	371	1,004	990	615	416(19)	2,021	1,777
Bahamas	3	3	3	3	3	1	9	7
Barbados	773	695	17	16	573	315(1)	1,363	1,026
Basutoland	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2
Bermuda	7	4	6	5	28	16(1)	41	25
Br. Guiana	136	90	100	90	501	192(8)	737	372
Br. Honduras	1	1	1	1	3	1	5	3
Br. Solomon Is.	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	2
Brunei	2	2	2	2	-	-	4	4
Canada	248	206	1,129	1,087	1,017	607(30)	2,394	1,900
Ceylon	98	78	431	417	1,781	750(81)	2,310	1,245
Cyprus	1,515	953	15	15	391	204(12)	1,921	1,172
Dominicia	26	18	1	-	30	18(1)	57	36
Folkland Is.	-	-	1	1	10	6	11	7
Fiji	19	13	14	10	290	123(1)	323	146
Gambia	2	1	-	-	2	-	4	1
Ghana	53	32	13	13	126	48(5)	192	93
Gibralter	15	12	14	13	74	42(3)	103	67
Grenada	39	22	2	-	306	180	347	202
Hong Kong	1,935	1,277	19	18	36	12	1,990	1,307
India	2,211	1,397	4,937	4,572	147,130	15,196(3,156)	154,278	21,165
Jamaica	524	327	99	91	5,287	3,138(19)	5,910	3,556
Kenya	72	52	111	108	260	58(13)	443	218
Malaysian Fedn	175	149	47	46	81	48(8)	303	243
Malta	849	731	94	76	1,037	591(190)	1,980	1,398
Mauritius	47	36	139	124	845	280(54)	1,031	440
Montserrat	5	3	-	-	17	12	22	15
New Guinea	1	1	-	-	13	-	14	1
New Zealand	137	128	292	283	175	109(11)	604	520
Nigeria	177	136	1,277	1,217	7,360	2,784(17)	8,814	4,137
Pakistan	4,908	2,386	4,446	3,959	120,464	11,222(2,256)	129,818	17,567
Papua	1	1	2	2	1	-	4	3
Persian Gulf States	2	1	1	1	11	2	14	4
Indonesian Fedn	77	68	125	120	205	131(5)	407	319
St. Helena	97	90	-	-	-	-	97	90
St. Kitts	13	5	-	-	70	50	83	55
St. Lucia	38	26	-	-	163	118	201	144
St. Vincent	45	31	2	2	247	135	294	108
Syechelles	86	47	-	-	12	4(1)	70	51
Sierra Leone	9	8	10	9	84	32(1)	103	49
Swaziland	-	-	8	6	3	1	11	7
Tanganyika	22	18	3	3	25	11	30	32
Trinidad and Tobago	151	103	59	56	281	155(2)	491	314
Uganda	17	9	2	2	22	13(1)	41	24
Zanzibar	4	4	5	3	16	10	25	17
Others	11	9	29	25	36	9(4)	76	43
Total	14,966	9,572	14,467	13,393	289,704	37,084(5,901)	319,137	60,049

APPLICATIONS FOR WHICH VOUCHERS WILL NOT BE ISSUED

Category A	Category B	Category C	Categories A.B.C.
4,156	943	5,254	10,353

Table No.1

COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRANTS ACT, 1962.
APPLICATIONS RECEIVED AND VOUCHERS ISSUED
TOTALS FROM 28TH DECEMBER, 1963 TO 30TH OCTOBER, 1964.

Territory which issued Passport	Category A		Category B		Category C( )-Forces Service		Categories A.B.C.	
	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued
Aden.	17	9	-	-	28	-	45	9
Antigua	30	17	-	-	15	2	45	19
Australia	172	137	268	246	152	17(4)	592	400
Bahamas	6	5	1	1	-	-	7	6
Barbados	1,134	841	9	9	225	21(3)	1,368	871
Basutoland	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bermuda		-	2	1	2	-	4	1
Br. Guiana	308	145	88	76	652	59(7)	1,048	280
Br. Honduras	2	2	1	1	1	-	4	3
Canada	194	146	474	425	567	49(6)	1,235	620
Ceylon	145	74	278	255	1,678	147(84)	2,101	476
Cyprus	1,329	690	9	7	62	14(2)	1,400	711
Dominicia	98	55	-	-	16	3(1)	114	58
Folkland Is.	-	-	-	-	5	2(1)	5	2
Fiji	23	13	5	5	312	-	340	18
Gambia	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ghana	39	29	5	4	54	5(1)	98	38
Gibralter	7	6	-	-	20	2(1)	27	8
Grenada	189	115	2	2	181	4	372	121
Hong Kong	1,238	641	9	9	25	2	1,272	652
India	2,590	1,215	3,702	3,272	25,740	549(477)	32,032	5,036
Jamaica	2,349	1,180	85	70	3,020	153(14)	5,454	1,403
Kenya	46	34	28	25	148	15(14)	222	74
Malawi	5	2	2	1	11	-	18	3
Malaysian Fedn	149	121	37	31	86	12(9)	272	164
Malta	1,191	1,156	11	11	692	118(94)	1,894	1,285
Mauritius	108	52	172	145	1,059	139(116)	1,339	336
Monserrat	26	12	1	-	2	-	29	12
New Zealand	68	52	47	45	16	6(2)	131	103
Nigeria	126	65	436	357	12,004	286(6)	12,566	708
Pakistan	4,081	1,469	1,785	1,475	19,024	573(428)	24,890	3,517
Persian Gulf States	4	1	1	1	5	-	10	2
Rhodesia	52	34	47	44	41	7(1)	140	85
St. Helena	62	53	-	-	-	-	62	53
St. Kitts	34	21	-	-	10	-	44	21
St. Lucia	118	60	1	1	31	1(1)	150	62
St. Vincent	145	82	1	-	128	1	274	83
Syechelles	102	95	-	-	16	-	118	95
Sierra Leone	9	6	5	5	17	2	31	13
Swaziland	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Tanzania	39	23	31	30	96	6(2)	166	59
Trinidad and Tobago	180	121	17	17	127	14(2)	324	152
Uganda	14	10	-	-	4	-	18	10
Zambia	8	5	11	6	10	1	29	12
Others	22	7	27	25	47	10(8)	96	42
Total	16,462	8,802	7,598	6,602	66,329	2,220(1,284)	90,389	17,624

the Declaration. What logic had prompted the President to accept the ceasefire, and how far he was justified in his action, the historians will throw light on it in future. Howsoever sane that step might have been, the fact remains that the President's image was distorted in the eyes of people and he was considered a weak personality. On the other hand, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto emerged as a hero of masses and he came to be regarded as the person who could liberate Kashmir and deliver goods to the nation.

MY RETIREMENT

IT WAS ON THE 9th of October, 1934, that I signed, in the office of the Secretary of State for India, an Indenture in which I was described as 'the Covenantor' of the one part and the Secretary of State in Council of the other part. It was witnessed by two members of the Council of India.

The covenant recited the terms on which I entered into the service and to quote the actual words of the Covenant: "Such service to continue during the pleasure of His Majesty, His heirs and successors."

The various paras of the Covenant laid down that "the Covenantor will faithfully, honestly and diligently do all such things as shall be lawfully committed to his charge, obey all orders of the Secretary of State in Council, keep regular accounts, preserve and duly deliver over chattels and reality, and produce private accounts, not to misapply or employ for improper purposes the property entrusted to his care, not to divulge secrets, not to accept corrupt presents or make corrupt bargains."

The pleasure of His Majesty was that the Covenantor should serve till he puts in 35 years of service or attains the age of 60 whichever is earlier.

When the Secretary of State for India informed us that the Covenant would come to an end in August, 1947, when powers to govern Indian would be transferred to the Governments of the respective Dominions of India and Pakistan, he gave us the option to serve either Dominion or to retire after receiving compensation for loss of career for which a scale was prescribed. He also informed the serving members of the I.C.S. that the Governments of India and Pakistan had agreed to re-employ them on the same terms and conditions on which they had been employed by the Crown. The age of retirement for the former members of the I.C.S. who were absorbed in the newly-formed Civil Service of Pakistan was prescribed at 60 years in our Constitutions of 1956 and 1962.

In pre-Independence period, the age of retirement of all Central and Provincial officers was 55 except in the case of the Judges of the High and

Chief Courts and members of the Indian Civil Service whose age of retirement was 60. As Chief Martial Law Administrator, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan extended the age of retirement from 55 to 60 for all Central and Provincial officers. In March, 1966, he changed his mind and decided to reduce the age of retirement from 60 to 55 except in the case of the Judges of the High Courts. He had to amend the 1962 Constitution of which he was the sole architect to reduce the age of retirement. Before the National Assembly passed the amendment in March, 1966, in its Dacca Session, he asked the Cabinet Secretary to obtain the views of the Central Secretaries who were in Dacca owing to the Session of the National Assembly. The draft bill contained three provisions:

1) All Government servants whether Central or Provincial will retire at the age of 55 except the Judges of the High Court whose age of retirement will continue to be 60.
2) The President and Governors of the provinces were empowered to extend the age of retirement in individual cases upto 60 in respect of the Central and Provincial Government servants respectively.
3) The President and the Governors were empowered to terminate the services of those officers, who had been granted extension from 55 upto 60, at three months' notice.

THE RETIREMENT AGE:

When the Cabinet Secretary explained the provisions of the draft bill to the Central Secretaries in Dacca in March, 1966, the consensus was that the President might be requested not to change the age of retirement at 60. When the Cabinet Secretary asked for my views, I observed that since the President had decided to amend the law, the opinions of the Secretaries would not carry any weight with him. I proposed three amendments to the draft bill:

1) The age of retirement should be reduced to 50 instead of 55.
2) No extension should be granted in individual cases.
3) If the President does not accept my second recommendation and retains the power to extend the age of retirement from 55 to 60, then the provision to terminate the services of those to whom extension is given from one to five years at three months' notice, should be deleted. The same may be applied to the Governors and the servants of the Provincial Governments.

My colleagues were startled at my proposal to retire Government servants at 50. I explained that a Government servant was entitled to full pension after he had served for 22 years. His pension would remain the same whether he retired at 50, 55 or 60, but his chances of starting a fresh career would be much better when he was 50 than when he was 55.

As for extensions from one to 5 years, I argued that the three months' notice, which could be converted into three months salary, would act like the sword of Democles. If a Government servant had worked hard and honestly upto the age of 55, why should he be mistrusted for the remaining few years?

The National Assembly passed the bill as proposed by the President. I had to retire at the age of 56 as a result of the new law. Had the President been pleased to give me an extension, I could have served for another four years with the sword of Democles hanging over my head. Three of my I.C.S. colleagues were granted extensions upto 60, N.A. Faruqui, Chief Election Commissioner, Syed Fida Hasan, Principal Secretary to the President and Nazir Ahmed, Chairman, Central Public Service Commission. None of them served upto the age of 60. Their services were terminated all of a sudden by General Yahya Khan who succeeded Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan. All that they got was three months salary.

I laid down office on 30th July, 1966. The weekly "Young Pakistan" Dacca, commented on my retirement in its issue of August 17, 1966, and published in the same issue the address presented by the All-Pakistan Homoeopathic Association at Rawalpindi on July 8, 1966. I reproduce both:

> Every year in our Annual Number we reiterate the deep gratitude we feel towards our great benefactor, Janab Syed Hashim Raza Saheb who with his magnanimous help saved this journal from extinction. This institution was thrown on the street in 1961, by a perverted District Magistrate and Mr. Hashim Raza, who was then Chief Secretary of East Pakistan Government, came to our rescue and provided shelter. We and our numerous readers can never forget this much needed and timely help and once again when we are celebrating our eleventh anniversary we offer him our deep and sincere thanks.
>
> It is a national tragedy that such an able, God-fearing and highly experienced officer has had to lay down the reins of office on the completion of 55 years of distinguished service. Everybody who knew him was expecting that, like some other officers, he would also get an extension. As it was so appropriately observed in a report in the daily Jang of Karachi, "Mr. Hashim Raza is a man among men," the country could ill afford his retirement. However, we wish him

My colleagues were startled at my proposal to retire Government servants at 50. I explained that a Government servant was entitled to full pension after he had served for 22 years. His pension would remain the same whether he retired at 50, 55 or 60, but his chances of starting a fresh career would be much better when he was 50 than when he was 55.

As for extensions from one to 5 years, I argued that the three months' notice, which could be converted into three months salary, would act like the sword of Democles. If a Government servant had worked hard and honestly upto the age of 55, why should he be mistrusted for the remaining few years?

The National Assembly passed the bill as proposed by the President. I had to retire at the age of 56 as a result of the new law. Had the President been pleased to give me an extension, I could have served for another four years with the sword of Democles hanging over my head. Three of my I.C.S. colleagues were granted extensions upto 60, N.A. Faruqui, Chief Election Commissioner, Syed Fida Hasan, Principal Secretary to the President and Nazir Ahmed, Chairman, Central Public Service Commission. None of them served upto the age of 60. Their services were terminated all of a sudden by General Yahya Khan who succeeded Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan. All that they got was three months salary.

I laid down office on 30th July, 1966. The weekly "Young Pakistan" Dacca, commented on my retirement in its issue of August 17, 1966, and published in the same issue the address presented by the All-Pakistan Homoeopathic Association at Rawalpindi on July 8, 1966. I reproduce both:

> Every year in our Annual Number we reiterate the deep gratitude we feel towards our great benefactor, Janab Syed Hashim Raza Saheb who with his magnanimous help saved this journal from extinction. This institution was thrown on the street in 1961, by a perverted District Magistrate and Mr. Hashim Raza, who was then Chief Secretary of East Pakistan Government, came to our rescue and provided shelter. We and our numerous readers can never forget this much needed and timely help and once again when we are celebrating our eleventh anniversary we offer him our deep and sincere thanks.
>
> It is a national tragedy that such an able, God-fearing and highly experienced officer has had to lay down the reins of office on the completion of 55 years of distinguished service. Everybody who knew him was expecting that, like some other officers, he would also get an extension. As it was so appropriately observed in a report in the daily Jang of Karachi, "Mr. Hashim Raza is a man among men," the country could ill afford his retirement. However, we wish him

long life and health and pray that his exceptional talents will be utilized in other spheres of our national life.

The address presented to him at a farewell function indicates in what high esteem he is held by those who came in contact with him. We are sure he will continue to occupy the same place of respect and regard in the hearts of the people after retirement as he used to do during his tenure of office.

- Young Pakistan

(The following are excerpts from the farewell address presented to Mr. Syed Hashim Raza, C.S.P. Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Govt. of Pakistan, on the eve of his retirement from service, by members of the All-Pakistan Homoeopathic Association, at Rawalpindi on July 8, 1966.):

For us a formal Farewell Party after the conventional patterns is not only meaningless but also a gross falsehood, unless it is prompted by true feelings of love and, therefore, by pangs of pain at the separation. For us your separation is painfully early - too early. The departure of a good friend is always untimely, always too early. Even after 32 years, it is too early! We only wish you could stay longer with us. About this we can do nothing, but only say: 'Tarry a while, Friend: delay your departure somehow and blindly hope that our prayers will be answered'.

Our deep feelings for you, Sir, are not based on the high office you now hold; nor on those you have held in the past (even the highest possible for C.S.P. officer i.e. the Governorship of East Pakistan); nor on the superlative-quality seal conferred upon you by Quaid-e-Azam and Shaheed-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan by their considered selection of yourself to be the first Chief Administrator of the Federal Capital of Pakistan, at a time when the post-partition Karachi was in chaotic confusion, when all possible administrative problems had come together magnified a hundredfold, and the remedial resources were at a minimum; nor on the unique honour to Pakistan which you have achieved by your election by an overwhelming majority as the President of International Labour Organisation at Geneva. We know that you are the aristocrat of our officialdom, standing head and shoulder high amongst your colleagues. We know that your mind is without fear that spotless integrity of character holds your head high, that your knowledge is free from rusty shackles, that your world is not broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls, that your word has always come from the depth of Truth, that your tireless striving has always

been to achieve the highest perfection. Your clear stream of reason has never lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit. Your literary achievements are already the pride of the nation. You are not only a personality, but also a magic institution by yourself, bedecked with such enchanting qualities that no one can resist the pull drawing him to you, heart and soul, with unseen strings.

But permit me to specify bluntly and honestly and safe that, above all these great qualities of head and hearts you are dear to us. (Homoeopathy and the Homoeopaths) mainly for what you have done for Homoeopathy and the Homoeopaths - for your dauntless, determined and successful efforts to carry Homoeopathy into the future of Pakistan. This is great. We are the more deeply grateful to you, because as far as we know you never yet had a first-hand experience of the Magic of Homoeopathy, of its amazing efficacy and its wonderful cures, still you have husbanded this branch of medicine with an unbiased zeal which would have naturally been greater, had you tasted of Homoeopathy at first hand.

While thanking the Editor of 'Young Pakistan', Mr. Aziz Ahmed Bilyamini, for his kind words, I assured him that my retirement from service four years earlier than the period prescribed by the Secretary of State for India, came as a blessing in disguise, I wrote to him that I felt like Winston Churchill, when he retired from the Army in his thirties. When asked what he proposed to do next, he replied, "I would free myself from all authority and set up in perfect independence with nobody to give me order or arouse me by bell or trumpet." I related to him what I told President Muhammad Ayub Khan when I met him in Karachi after my retirement. The occasion was a dinner which he hosted in Karachi to celebrate the wedding of Sarwat, daughter of my old friends, Muhammad Ikramullah and Begum Shaista Ikramullah, with Prince Hassan of Jordan. As the President greeted me in an affable manner, he inquired "How do you do? Hashim!" I replied "Never felt happier in my life, Sir, and for this relief I thank you very much." I quoted the verse of my old colleague in the Ministry of Information, the witty and humorous Syed Muhammad Jafri:

ریٹائرمنٹ ہوتا ہے ہمارا
خدا نے زندگی بخشی دوبارہ

Thanks Heaven, I'm retiring,
A new lease of life, God's giving.

31

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

AS MY BOOK WAS going to the press, I received an interesting letter with a questionnaire from a friend, Professor Hasan Askari Fatmi who is an intellectual and a noted seasoned journalist. Such questions have always been asked, but curiously enough the same are being raised by the inquisitive younger generation of the eighties.

I have selected some of these questions which I have encountered during the entire period of my chequered service career and even after retirement when I resumed my normal life as an ordinary citizen. On receiving the questionnaire, I was deeply moved, and looked upon this as an opportunity to put on record my observations and viewpoints. In fact, I am afraid with the passage of time, the younger generation may become totally oblivious of the historical background of the achievement of Pakistan as a homeland of the Muslim nation of South Asia. It is for this reason that I have brooded over these questions and dilated upon them for educating the youth of Pakistan.

Therefore, at this critical juncture of Pakistan's political history, it may not be out of place to emphasize inasmuch as we can that it was destined to be organised as a state based upon Islamic ideals so that it may ensure a bright and prosperous future for the succeeding generations. Therefore, the ultimate destination of Pakistan is to revive, consolidate and preserve the age-long Muslim heritage, culture and civilization.

I have tried to answer these questions with utmost frankness, and according to the best of my understanding and to the extent that I have been a witness to the course of national events. I am doing this with a strong feeling that I should leave behind my observations and interpretations for the benefit of the posterity.

Q. 1. Was Pakistan really carved out by the collusion of the Britishers and

the Congress and the aim of its creation was to create a buffer zone between India and Russia so as to ward off communism from India?

All political observers are aware of the relentless efforts of Hindu India initially to prevent the establishment of, and subsequently, to destabilise and disintegrate Pakistan. In this background the collusion theory put forward by a section of historians of South Asia is hardly credible. Neither the British rulers nor the Congress leaders ever wanted to divide India. The last minute efforts were made to preserve political unity of India through a loosely knit confederation as proposed by the Cabinet Mission in 1946. Even during a brief period of interim Congress-League government at the federal level the coalition had utterly failed to preserve a modicum of unity of purpose. There was left no other alternative for the British government except to initiate a plan of division and partition of India through Mountbatten as the last Governor-General and Viceroy of United India. However, all credit goes to Muslim leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and subsequently Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who had mooted the Two-Nations theory, after being disenchanted with the idea of the Hindu-Muslim amity.

After having ruled India for about seven centuries, the Mughul Empire declined and the East India Company extended its power and control over the Empire. The War of Independence in 1857 was the last bid of the Muslims to hold the empire together against the onslaught of the British. After the successful suppression of the so-called Mutiny, the Mughul Empire crumbled and the rule of the East India Company was replaced by the direct rule of the British Crown. The British policy was designed to suppress the rebels particularly Muslims in every nook and corner of India. However, in so doing the British sought the cooperation of the Hindu and Muslim elites. They created a new class of elites by granting generously concessions and jagirs. Thus more than 565 Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs and Jagirdars were established under the direct patronage of the British Crown. This class became the pillar of the British Empire in India. In this manner the British government drew a wedge between the pro-British feudal class and the anti-British elements of the Indian society. From this point on the British government had been successful in pursuing their classic policy of "Divide-and Rule" in India with a view to perpetuating their exploitative colonial rule.

After the Second World War, the British Empire was shaken, and it was hardly possible for them to hold it together. In its wake, The British government initiated political dialogue with the Indian leaders for granting Indian freedom and independence. The Muslims were united under the banner of the All India Muslim League by the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The Quaid vociferously advocated the Two-Nation theory against the congress claim for a United India and demanded for Indian Muslims their inherent right of self-determination in order to carve out a separate Muslim state in the Muslim majority provinces. In this struggle the Indian Muslims of the minority provinces had played a vital role. Ultimately both the British as well as the Congress leaders had to concede to the Muslim demand and the Indian Sub-continent was divided into two separate dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Therefore, to the best of my knowledge and belief, there was no collusion between the British and the Congress Party in the creation of Pakistan.

Q. 2. Were all the Muslim League leaders, including the Quaid-e-Azam, unable to anticipate the problems which were very likely to crop up soon after the partition? For example, for an agricultural country like Pakistan, the system of irrigation mattered the most. According to the lay-out plan of the partition, all the major and strategic head works of the canals were likely to stay as part and parcel of India. Were issues of such nature ever discussed in any of the sessions of the Muslim League?

It was almost at the eleventh hour that both Mountbatten as the last Governor-General of India and Nehru, the Congress leader had most reluctantly agreed to the division of India and the partition of the contigious territories of the provinces on population basis. Therefore, the two states of India and Pakistan were created and power was transferred to them. The question of future dispensation of the head works of the canals could not be tackled beforehand as it was left to the Partition Commission headed by Radcliffe to demarcate the line of boundary between the two states. Thus the Radcliffe Award was given subsequent to the transfer of power and the territorial boundaries were drawn to the disadvantage of Pakistan leaving behind head works of the canals on the Indian side. This ultimately created the Canal Water Dispute between the two states.

Any detailed blueprint regarding distribution of water or sources of power referred to in the question, had to be subjected to the drawing of the boundry line between the two countries. This was done by the colonial authorities at the last moment on the very eve of partition. The Radcliffe Award was actually announced after the transfer of power to Pakistan and India.

To have established an independent state within a period of seven (7) years from the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution, in the face of the strongest possible opposition of the majority community and the lack of sympathy of the colonial masters, is a historic achievement in itself.

Q. 3. Did the Muslim League really represent all the sections of the Muslims? If so, why were almost all the leading religious scholars of that time against the Muslim League?

The overwhelming support of the Muslims of the sub-continent for the establishment of Pakistan was reflected in the country-wide elections in 1946 and results of referundums which were held prior to the establishment of Pakistan. With regard to religious leaders it is not correct to state that all of them were opposed to the concept of Pakistan. However, the fact that a section of the Muslim Ulama, hand in glove with the Congress leaders opposed the creation of Pakistan, should not be surprising at all as they constituted an insignificant minority of a naiton of a hundred million people.

Q. 4. In your opinion, were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel realistic in their perception that the democratic traditions on which the battle for Pakistan was fought, would not be able to flourish in Pakistan because the regions that constituted Pakistan had nothing to do with those democratic ideals?

The charge that democratic ideals, on the basis of which Pakistan was achieved, would not strike root in the soil of the new state seem obviously to be knaive, pernicious and derogatory. The fact that Pakistan inspite of all difficulties inherent in a nascent state had consistantly cherished democratic ideals. The parliamentary democracy functioned till 1958 when the Marshal Law was imposed and again in 1960 a semblance of democracy was restored with the enactment of the Ayub constitution. In 1970 elections were held and the PPP won the elections throughout the country and in 1973 democracy was restored which continued till 1977 when General Zia-ul-Haq once again imposed Marshal Law. The system of Government was partially democratized in 1985. In 1988 again after the general elections democratic government has been re-established. This mainly proves the popular commitment to democracy and fedralism based on Islamic ideals. Therefore, it would be wrong to assert that democracy can't flourish in Pakistan. Even in Britain it had taken continous struggle before democracy could be established. So in Pakistan too the people would continue to struggle for achieveing their democratic rights.

Q. 5. Had Pakistan emerged on the map of the world as a purely theocratic state? This question is all the more valid in view of the propaganda and misleading slogan in the past that:

پاکستان کا مطلب کیا لَا اِلٰہَ اِلَّا اللّٰہُ

What else is the meaning of Pakistan except that there is no God but Allah!

Pakistan was established to preserve our civilisation and culture, and the centuries old Muslim heritage the sub-continent. Thus religion has played a vital role in shaping Muslim culture and civilisation. In achieving this goal the founding fathers of the new state had envisioned Pakistan to be built on a progressive, enlightened and liberal interpretation of Islam, based on social justice and basic human values.

In his broadcast to the people of the United States of America in February, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam made the following observations on the future Constitution of Pakistan:

> The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsis - but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.

Addressing the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, as its first President on August 11, 1948, Muhammad Ali Jinnah stressed on the secular character of the State. He said:

> ....You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed - that has nothing to do with the business of the State.....We are starting in

> the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.....
>
> Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.*1

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not alone in his commitment to build a secular, progressive and enlightened society in Pakistan, Allama Iqbal had expressed the same sentiments in his famous Presidential address of the All India Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930. To quote the Allama's actual words:

> Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim State will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such State....*2

Q. 6. While declaring Urdu as the national language, why did the founders of Pakistan lose sight of the fact that in the areas which would constitute Pakistan, the mother tongues of the inhabitants of those areas would be different? In such a condition, was the declaration of Urdu as the National language justified?

The position of Urdu as the national language of the people of Pakistan has never been disputed. The need for acceptance of Bengali as a national language, was later recognised in deference to the popular demand of the Bengalis in East Pakistan.

At a public meeting at Dacca on March 21, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam referred to the position of Urdu and Bengali languages in the following words:

> Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed as far as your

*1. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements As Governor-General of Pakistan, Pages 46-47, Govt. of Pakistan, Services Book Club, Islamabad, 1989.

*2. Foundations of Pakistan, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Volume II, Page 160, National Publishing House Ltd., Karaci, 1970.

> Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one state Language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function.
>
> Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be Urdu. But, as I have said, it will come in time.

From the above statement it becomes quite clear that the Quaid was not opposed to the idea of retaining Bengali as a provincial language; however, he wanted to emphasize that Urdu as a *lingua franca* and state language was essential for bringing about national integration of different linguistic communities of Pakistan.

Q. 7. Were the Upians and Muslims of other minority provinces not given a categorical assurance that for their services and sacrifices, they would be the equal and rightful citizens of the nascent state and after the creation of Pakistn, all the ten (10) million Muslims of the united India would have a right to settle down in the country?

While no specific assurances were given to any group of people in the minority provinces, the latter identified themselves totally with the struggle for the establishment of a separate Muslim State. Many came to Pakistan from the minority provinces and have made a lasting contribution to Pakistan's development in vital spheres. However, the economic capacity of Pakistan is unfortunately limited to accomodate the entire population of Indian Muslims.

Q. 8. Did the armed forces play any political role in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan? If not so, why didn't the architects of Pakistan take appropriate measures to prevent the Military intervention in civil affairs?

In every civilised society, the prime duty of the armed forces is to guard the frontiers of the country as they are the custodians of the integrity and solidarity of the country. In this regard their role is no doubt vital and praiseworthy and, for safeguarding the territorial integrity of the country, the nation should decorate its armymen with as many laurels and medals as possible. But the task of governing of the country primarily rests with the

peoples's representatives, political parties and leaders. If a military leader desires to be a public leader, the doors are not barred against him. He may relinquish his office and take part in the national politics.

To the best of my knowledge, the armed forces in the undivided India did not play any political role whatsoever. This was so because the armed forces were subjected to strict discipline and were debarred from taking part in politics during British rule, hence, the slightest political leaning on the part of an armyman was treated as a grave offence.

So far as I remember, during the hectic days of our struggle for freedom and for the achievement of Pakistan, the major portion of the British Army recruited from the Sub-continent, was deployed outsideIindia in order to combat with the German forces. In the wake of colossal miseries and problems after the war, the soldiers could not return to their homes after the cessation of hostilities. On the 14th August, 1947, Pakistan was created as an independent and sovereign Muslim State as a result of the heroic struggle and sacrifices of the entire Muslims. However, the Muslims serving the army did share the sentiments of their brethern.

It was in this background that the Muslims serving in the armed forces did also naturally rejoiced on the occasion of the creation of Pakistan as it provided new vistas of opportunities and challenges but they did not take part in the political struggle for achieveing Pakistan.

Q.9. What were the factors which helped the opponents of the ideology of Pakistan to grab power?

It cannot be denied that some of the prominent Muslim personalities and organisations had been in the forefront in opposing the ideology of Pakistan. Of course, some of them had joined hands with the All India Congress in opposing division of India, but there were others who did not subscribe to the Congress view but still vehemently opposed the Pakistan Movement on ideological grounds. In their ruthless opposition to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his mission, they did not hesitate even to denounce and brand him as Infidel-the-Great (Kafir-e-Azam). These elements had earlier pronounced the decree of infidelity even against Allama Iqbal.

However, when Pakistan had become a reality, the same leaders started to engage themselves in anti-state activities to weaken the national unity by fanning sectarian feelings. Their innate hate and hostility towards Pakistan had blinded them to such an extent that they had even refused to recognise the liberation of Kashmir as 'Jihad'.

Despite their best efforts to grab power and be at the helm of affairs in

Pakistan, such elements have not been able to muster popular support. The results of 1970, 1977 and 1988 general elections do verify the fact. However, these same elements were successful to reach the corridor of power by collaborating with the Martial Law regime. That's why they are always in search of issues by which the masses may be incited against democracy and the rule of law.They are always out to create conditions of anarchy and lawlessness in the society. They are the advocates of the Martial Law. So long as people are cautious and do not fall an easy prey to their game, their evil designs shall remain thwarted.

The opponents of the ideoloty of Pakistan have never so far succeeded in grabbing power. Apart from these arch enemies of Pakistan, there had been men of eminence who did not, in fact, oppose the Pakistan Movement but as such held a different perception of Muslim politics.

Q.10. Why did the successors of Quaid-e-Azam not prove equal to the task? Gandhiji in India produced thousands of Gandhis but Muhammad Ali Jinnah could not produce men of great stature. Comment.

It is wrong to say that the successors of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not prove equal to the task. After the demise of the Father of the Nation, the mantle of leadership fell upon Quaid-e-Millat, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan. He was successfully carrying on the mission of building a strong and stable Pakistan in the face of numerous obstructions and enormous problems. But then the intrigue started. Late Liqauat Ali Khan was removed from the scene by the cruel bullet of an assassin. Khawaja Nazimuddin the Governor-General was nominated by the cabinet as the Prime Minister, and the Finance Minister, Ghulam Muhammad a seasoned bureaucrat took over as the Governor-General. Khawaja saheb, a pious, sincere and committed democrat and constitutionalist was outwitted by the cunning and ruthless Ghulam Muhammad. In fact, the course of history of Pakistan would have taken a different turn if late Khawaja Sahib had continued to occupy the pivotal office of the Governor-General. The Two-Nations theory was absolutely clear about his political mission of advocating and achieveing a separate state of Indian Muslims. He had never claimed to be either a spiritual or religious leader like Gandhiji, who had dragged religion into politics and was acclaimed as the Mahatma (The greatest soul). In the earlier years of his political career the Quaid was the greatest champion of the Hindu-Muslim unity. But after finding no perceptible change in the anti-Muslim attitude of Gandhiji and his staunch followers, the only way left for the Quaid was to advocate the Muslim cause by the force of his character, unflinching determination and grit of his radiating

personality. Muhammad Ali Jinnah did succeed not only in rallying around the All India Muslim League the overwhelming support of the Indian Muslims to the cause of Pakistan but had also infused a new spirit, determination, and will among the Muslim nation to achieve their ultimate political goal, Pakistan. Is it not anything shortage of miracle that Pakistan was achieved in the shortest possible time, and in fact owed itself to the charismatic leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam himself?

It is equally wrong to assume that Quaid-e-Azam like Gandhi did not leave behind a band of devoted followers. Above all he had inspired millions of people and restored unity and self-confidence among the vast majority of the Muslims of the sub-continent with a view to rededicate themselves to achieve Pakistan. At the same time he had assembled around himself a galaxy of Muslim luminaries like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Raja Saheb of Mehmoodabad, Raja Ghazanfer Ali Khan, Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, Khan Abdul Quyyum Khan, Abul Hasan Ispahani, Abdullah Haroon, H.S. Suhrawardy, I.I. Chundrigar, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and many others.

In short, no leader in human history including the Quaid-e-Azam could claim hundred percent success in ensuring perfect adherence of his successors to his mission and principles. No one could guarantee that they would not deviate from the ideology expounded by him. Similarly, no leader can provide for all contigencies of the future after his death.

Q. 11. With regard to the course of events in Pakistan, didn't the apprehensions as expressed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hasrat Mohani prove entirely true?

I find it difficult to respond to this question as "the apprehensions" of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hasrat Mohani have been neither elaborated nor clearly pin-pointed.

However, the views of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with regard to the Muslim League, Pakistan Movement and the State of Pakistan are too well known and hardly need any elaboration. The Maulana was a staunch nationalist Muslim and was deadly against the division of the Sub-Continent. It is something different that despite his best efforts, Maulana Azad could not win the confidence of the majority of the Indian Muslims so as to bring them round his own ideology. But, not withstanding holding a different perception of Indian politics Maulana Azad was admittedly a great scholar. In fact, the partition of the Indian Sub-continent was the outcome of the struggle of

freedom loving Muslims.

On the question of partition of India, Maulana Azad had the courage and force of conviction to take even the Congress leaders to task in the following quotation from his celebrated but controversial book, *"India Wins Freedom"* :

> One question naturally arises here. If partition evoked such feelings of anger and sorrow in the hearts of all Indians, why did the Indian people accept it? Why was there not greater opposition to it? Why was there such a hurry in taking a decision which almost everybody regarded as wrong? If the right solution of the Indian problem could not be found by 15th August 1947, why take a wrong decision and sorrow over it? I had again and again said that it was better to wait till a correct solution was found. I had done my best but my friends and colleagues unfortunatley did not support me. The only explanation I can find for their strange blindness to facts is that anger or despair had clouded their vision. Perhaps also the fixaton of a date - 15 August - acted like a charm and hypnotised them into accepting whatever Lord Mountbatten said.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani's stature was certainly different from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was widely respected for his integrity of character and scholastic erudition, for a courage and conviction and for the simplicity of his life style. The Congressites respected him as much as the Muslim Leaguers. A born poet and a linguist, the Maulana possessed all the qualities of leadership.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was a great freedom fighter. It was by his sterling qualities of virtue that he won the hearts of people. Beyond any doubt, the Maulana was a great inspiring force. He was looked upon as a model for his compatriots. He also advocated demand for Pakistan.He did visit Karachi once after the creation of Pakistan but went back to India soon on realising that the Muslims left behind in India needed him more in the post-partition environment.

Q. 12. As a senior member of bureaucracy, please state as to when the collusion took place between the civil and military bureaucracy.

The civil servants are rigorously desciplined to execute the policies of the Government However, some civil servants did deviate from the norm and got involved in politics, e.g. Malik Ghulam Muhammad, a member of the Indian Railway Accounts Service, became the Governor-General of Pakistan in 1951, and General Iskander Mirza a member of the Indian Political Service was

nominated the Governor-General of Pakistan and later on assumed the Presidency of Pakistan, and also Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, a member of the Indian Military Accounts Service was appointed the Prime Minister of Pakistan in accordance with the Constitution of Pakistan in 1956. Similarly, in utter violation of the Constitution and the oath of their office General Muhammad Ayub Khan, General Muhammad Yahya Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq had imposed Martial Law in 1958, 1969 and 1977 respectively.

But our present C-in-C, General Mirza Aslam Beg, has demonstrated a completely different approach, fulfilling with honesty and courage his constitutional obligations. Despite obstacles and problems, he has proved his professional commitment. Before his recent assignment as the Chief of Army Staff he had concentrated on the training of the officers of the Staff College, Quetta as its commandant. Similarly, he successfully discharged his duties in other fields of military activities.

Beyond any doubt, unlike his predecessors General Beg has given the right direction to our armed forces and by virtue of his conviction and dedication to duty, he has restored the lost prestige of the armed forces.

It will not be out of place to mention the military exercise known as Zarb-e-Momin a highly innovative and adventurous feat of great merit which is yet another feather in his cap. The war exercise of this nature should have been made long ago. As a result of it, the image of our army has gone up within the country and abroad.

In his address to the officers of the Staff College Quetta on the 14th June, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam had reminded them of their duty to uphold the provisions of the Constitution of Pakistan in the following words:

> One thing more, I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is the true spirit and the heart. But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:
>
> I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the dominion of Pakistan (mark the words constitution and the Government of the dominion of Pakistan) and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me.

> As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like you to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the dominion.

With a few exceptions, most of the senior civil servants discharged their duties with great sincerity, devotion, honesty and uprightness. One may cite a few worthy names such as Mr. Abbas Khalili, Mr. A.T. Naqvi, Mr. Zafarul Ahson, Mr. Abu Nasr, Mr. S.S. Jaffery, Mr. A.G.N. Qazi, Mr. Aziz Ahmed and many other distinguished civil servants, who shine out as luminaries in the galaxy of distinguished civilians.

Our present President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has also been a civil servant. Whether it was WAPDA, PICIC, State Bank of Pakistan, Federal Ministry of Finance or any other department, he performed his duties with the best of his ability and earned the admiration of all those who mattered. It's for his talents in pursuing his goal with great patience and perseverance that he is now holding the highest office in this country. I wish and pray for his success as the President of Pakistan.

Q. 13. On one side, there is the ideology of the Muslim League and League-like parties; on the other side, there is the political ideology of late Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, of his wife and daughter. These ideologies are radically different from each other. In your view, which of these two represent the true exposition of the Quaid-e-Azam's concept of state?

In my view, there is no conflict between the ideology of the Muslim League of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and and that of the late lamented Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto and Ms. Benazir Bhutto. The objectives of both the parties are to promote the general welfare of the people by narrowing the everwidening gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Q. 14. What is your opinion about ethnic groups such as 'Jeye Sindh', 'Jeye Mohajir', 'Jeye Pakhtoon', 'Jeye Punjabi'? Are these movements not the harbingers of the disintegration of Pakistan? Is it true that these movements were deliberately cultivated by the unscruplous rulers?

Those who raise the slogans of 'Jeye Sindh', 'Jeye Mohajir', 'Jeye Pakhtoon', 'Jeye Punjabi' are deliberately trying to undermine the ideology of Pakistan. A nation torn asunder by ethnic strifes can hardly survive. I agree

with the view that these movements during the Martial regime, had gained momentum as the ruling Junta had utterly failed to put them down with an iron hand.

Pakistan is after all, bound together by the common bonds of national ideology. Our young Prime Minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto, has always accorded highest priority to the urgent need for the restoration of Pakistani nationalism. The currently prevailing centrifugal and fissiparous tedencies caused by the emergence of linguistic nationalism in Pakistan, will, I hope, ultimately subside and rejoin the mainstream of national politics.

Q. 15. For sometime people have been talking about Karachi as a free port. Rumours are also afloat that after the transfer of Hongkong to China, Karachi will be a substitute.

I have no knowledge of any such plan, especially the Hongkong plan. However, if the federal and provincial governments consider the proposal in the larger interest of the nation as useful, it is for them to take a decision for turning Karachi into a free port. A free port does bring economic prosperity in its wake but at the same time it gives birth to manifold moral and social evils

Q.16. Our educational institutions (universities and colleges), particularly in Sind, appear to have been ruined. What remedies would you like to suggest in this regard?

Student unrest is not confined to Pakistan alone rather has become a general phenomenon in many parts of the globe. This problem is so vital that it needs a thorough, comprehensive and detailed analysis that is beyond the scope of this book.

In Pakistan, to my mind, no serious effort has ever been made to thrash out the problem in its real perspective. Therefore, it has become extremely critical and acute.

To sum up, it's not the students alone who are to blame for the deplorable state of affairs. The parents, teachers, governments and society as a whole are equally responsible. But the greatest damage has been done by the political parties which have exploited their student wings for their political ends.

Q. 17. India got her independence one day after us. But long ago, she framed her constitution, abolished the Zamindari System, and put her on the path of democracy in such a manner as if democracy was inherent in its very nature. But we who are Muslims and claim for ourselves broad and universal outlook, are yet shackled into iniquitous feudal, tribal and capitalistic systems. We cannot effectively run and administer a small

country like Pakistan.

As a matter of fact, there can't be two opinions on the issue. Much of the credit for the present stability of India goes to its leaders, especially to Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who put her on an even keel. Unfortunately Pakistan could not succeed in solving her problems partly becuase of the crisis of leadership after the Quaid-e-Azam and Quaid-e-Millat and partly also becuase of the conspiracies of her enemies in the region.

Despite these initial weaknesses, one should not miss the different settings in which both India and Pakistan were placed from the very beginning. To Pakistan' share came the backward and underdeveloped regions marred by tribalism, feudalism and social inequities which have impeded social economic and political modernization of Pakistani society. Further, our country had inherited a lot of problems of colossal nature. However, despite manifold problems, our country has made considerable progress in almost every field of life.

As a nation, I admit, that our performance has not been very commendable. It is indeed strange that a country which came into being by ballot, has not so far been able to create conditions congenial for the growth of democracy. Equally frustrating is the phenomenal corruption prevailing in the country. From the course of events, it appears that there exists no justice and there is no rule of law. However, we cannot blame Islam for all of our miseries and weaknesses.

Q. 18. In Pakistan, the commissions are appointed but their reports are not generally made public. Comment.

It is very true that the reports of certain commissions were not made public. The reasons for classifing these documents should be best known to the government. Although some times secrecy of report is a matter of vital importance and as such it cannot be published; yet equally it is important to take people into confidence as concealment does unnecessarily create doubts in the minds of people.

19. What, in your opinion, is the status of Biharis who are still languishing in camps in Bangladesh?

In every respect, the Biharis are bonafide citizens of Pakistan. This issue should have been settled purely on humanitarian grounds, but unfortunately it has been unnecessarily clouded by political considerations.

20. The paths chartered by our youth in the recent past, the wranglings of our political parties, the negative role of the so-called custodians of Islam, the emergence of Mafia-Klashankov culture, the seething corruption in all walks of life and the corrosive malaise are heading us to a catastrophe whose very idea is horrifying.

Yes, it is true that the said evils and problems have unfortunately marred our society. The need of the hour is to eradicate these evils. As a nation if we fail to prove equal to the task, we are doomed.

32

HAMARI MANZIL
(OUR DESTINATION)

INQUISITIVE AS HUMAN MIND is, it is always in search of truth. This search becomes all the more exasperating when real facts are concealed or distorted. The concealment or distortion of facts gives birth to doubts. If the process of twisting facts is continuous, people lose credibility and fiction replaces fact. There is no denying the fact that during the last four decades, certain individuals and groups in this country deliberately tried to falsify history. They did so or are still bent upon doing so because of their vested interests. The objective narration of historical events is no doubt a difficult exercise, but it is not altogether impossible provided one has an urge for truth. It becomes all the more difficult when a historian or a writer looks at things with jaundiced eyes and his account is based on certain ulterior motives. Beyond doubt, it has been the constant effort of certain quarters to weave fiction around facts. That is why the minds of a large number of people, especially of the young generation, are clogged with doubts. Fed on facts and given a right perspective, I am sure that the young men and women in Pakistan will make a much better assessment of the course of events which led to the demand for Pakistan and finally its emergence on the map of the world. At the same time, they will develop a more positive attitude towards their country and nation. Pakistan is now a sacred trust. This trust has got to be preserved at all costs by the young people. Apart from being the future builders, they are her real custodians and defenders of her ideological frontiers.

Fissiparous tendencies exist in most of the countries of the world. These are the outcome of lack of justice and rule of law. If a particular community or region is deprived of its legitimate rights, frustration is inevitable. This frustration provides an opportunity to those who have their axes to grind. It's

an easy task to brand anyone as a traitor. There are people who believe that treason should be dealt with by brute force. But they are sadly mistaken. Love always begets love and hatred always breeds hatred. The best cure of fissiparous tendencies is removal of the causes of frustration. Once the causes are removed, the separatists will die their natural death. On the contrary, the application of force helps them to achieve their goal.

Bad economic conditions, hold of one community over another, monopoly of one community in matters of jobs and opportunities, socio-economic exploitation of a community and denial of justice are some of the factors which cause frustration. In a developing country, where the sources are limited, no miracle can happen. The Twentieth Century is not an age of miracles, it is the age of science and technology. Hard realities should be faced and concrete efforts be made to solve the problems. There is no shadow of doubt that our country is beset with a number of problems and some of them are of formidable nature. But where there is a will, there is a way.

To my mind, landed aristocracy is the greatest hurdle to progress in this country. As the last vestige of the colonial power, it is yet unfortunately surviving to the utter detriment of the masses. Whatever be the ideology or system of Government, the aristocrats manage to get into power. Because of their presence, the country's progress has been very very slow. They have obstructed the way to the emergence of a healthy and effective middle-class society. The sooner this landed class is done away with, the better it will be in the interest of the country. But when their lands are reduced to a minimum ceiling, they should be adequately compensated so that they switch over to other dignified means of living.

With the sole exception of the city of Lahore, the rest of the areas constituting Pakistan are tribal in their way of life. What a pity that the antiquated, pernicious and baneful system is still being practised! However, concerted efforts should be made to exorcise tribalism. This age-old system can be countered through mass education and forces of enlightenment.

As regards the autonomy issue, it should be tackled in accordance with the aspirations of people. There was a time when people of the smaller provinces were clamouring for provincial autonomy. It's now the turn of the Punjab which has been an ardent advocate of strong Centre. Punjab is now asking for more powers. Times and circumstances keep on changing. Politics is no doubt a game of vagaries but the national interests should be kept supreme. The sky will not fall if provincial autonomy is given, provided it is within the frame-work of constitution of Pakistan. A strong Centre with weak provinces is as bad a thing as strong provinces with a weak Centre. The relationship between the

Centre and the provinces should be based on mutual understanding, cooperation, trust and fairplay.

Similarly, if the people of a certain region aspire for a new province, that province should also be carved out in accordance with the wishes of people. The present provinces are but the creation of our British rulers for their administrative convenience. Soon after the partition, India readjusted the boundaries of her provinces. In that process, certain new provinces were created. In Pakistan too, if the boundaries of the provinces are redetermined on realistic ground, it will bring peace and prosperity. With the reduced size of the federating units existing at the moment, the administrative set up will be geared more effectively. As a result of it, the law and order situation will also improve. Further, more provinces means participation of more people in the state affairs. Such an act is very likely to restore the confidence of a large number of people.

Keeping in view the geo-political configuration of the region, the day Pakistan develops a realistic attitude, many of her problems will be solved. As a small and developing nation, Pakistan cannot conquer any other country located in this region. The Twentieth Century is not an age where one nation can keep another nation into servitude for long. In such a context, therefore, the corner-stone of Pakistan's foreign policy should be geared to establish, promote and consolidate cordial relations with all the countries of the world. There should, of course, be much closer ties with the Muslim countries and the states located in the immediate neighbourhood of Pakistan. It is high time that we should revise our policies with India. It does not mean that we should become subservient to India. But we should have warm fraternal ties with our big neighbour. Beyond doubt, America is our trusted ally. We should value our friendship with America but, at the same time, we should never allow ourselves to be a party to the rivalries of the Super Powers.

Within the country, concerted efforts should be made to eliminate illiteracy, disease and poverty. The drug mafia is indeed the most pernicious vice which should be eradicated at all cost. Equally menacing are other forms of evil and corruption such as bribery, nepotism and recommendation called 'Sifarish'. The society where merit is not considered as a yardstick, it is dominated by dwarfs and it ultimately perishes. Along with these evils which are thriving in our nation, there are evils of sectarianism and provincialism. There is a saying that 'united we stand, and divided we fall'. As Muslims, we belong to an 'Ummah'. We should, therefore, never allow our minor differences to disrupt cohesim and harmony of their society. Similarly, hatred in any form should not be allowed to come to the surface. We should try to develop a

national outlook. Our sole effort should be to make Pakistan a place worth living. Standing on the threshold of the 21st century as we are, our endeavour should be to improve our living conditions and to prepare our young generations so as to face the new challenges of life.

A few words about the title of this book. 'Hamari Manzil' has been the name of my abode for the last few decades. My house bore the same name previously at Muhammad Ali Housing Society, Karachi, and now at Defence Society. The publisher of this book, Mr. Husain Nasser, has perchance chosen it for the title of this book.

The word 'Manzil' in the Urdu language has different shades of meaning. Whereas, it stands for a building, abode or house, it also means destination. As a nation, we are unfortunately still drifting. Despite heavy odds, the Muslims of the Sub-continent did create a nation state. It was indeed a Herculean task. But, as a nation, our record of achievement is hardly commendable. On the other hand, the prospects are rather gloomy. I earnestly feel that we are still far from the goal for which this country was carved out. To my mind, that goal lies in the establishment of an egalitarian society founded on justice and rule of law where temporal and spiritual elements are inter vowen together into a happy blending as its moral foundation.

Soon after the birth of Pakistan, money was made the yard-stick of every thing. All other noble things and considerations of life were brushed aside. There is no denying the fact that money has its own importance. But in our society, it has unfortunately come to acquire undue importance. The result is that our pristine, precious and noble values which were the priceless essence of our culture, are throttled and our society has degenerated. There is now no room for the niceties of life. Even love and affection, fellow feelings and human considerations are being measured in terms of money. Therefore, if we have to preserve our cultural heritage which is indeed exceedingly rich, we shall have to strive to build afresh the moral fibres of our society. This necessity is all the more. At present, the necessity of moral restruction is all the more imperative in view of the emergence of the mafia-klashinkov culture during this decade.

To sum up, our real destination (Manzil) lies in the happy blend of our glorious past with a rosy and promising future. Let us channelise all our efforts to achieve it.

As I take leave from my readers, I would like to quote a passage from the Memoirs of a Judge, Sir Gerald Dodson, which expresses succinctly my own thoughts. He wrote:

It is always within the province of a jury, to add to their final decision a recommendation to mercy so that if you, the jury of my readers, may find little in the foregoing worthy of approval and much to forgive, I trust you will have no reasonable doubt of its sincerity when you come to consider your verdict.

EPILOGUE

— I bow down to my creator for giving the best parents, the best service, the best wife, the best children and the best grand-children in the world. I cannot offer adequate thanks.

ON THE EVE OF my departure, my Minister, Kazi Anwarul Haq, invited me to a farewell dinner. All the top officials of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare were present on the the occasion. I was deeply moved and even embarrassed at the very generous manner in which he evaluated my humble services. I quote his words:

> Mr. Hashim Raza has played an important and distinguished role in the International Labour Organisation which is one of the specialised agencies of the United Nations. Besides being Chairman of various Committees of the I.L.O. and vice-Chairman of the Fifth I.L.O. Asian Regional Conference held at Melbourne in 1962, he achieved the highest distinction in this organisation when he was elected President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference in June, 1965, a distinction which has not so far been achieved by any other Pakistani civil servant.
>
> He has led his country's delegations to the annual International Labour Conferences since 1962. It was mainly through his efforts that Pakistan was elected a full member of the Governing Body, for the first time since it became a member of the I.L.O. in all the three Sectors, Government, Employees and Employers. He is also the Chairman of the I.L.O. committee on Standing Orders and the Application of Conventions and Recommendations since 1963.
>
> It was because of his distinguished role in the International Labour Organisation that Pakistan won this office for the second time within seven years, inspite of active and strong opposition from the U.S.A. and India, and thus got the unique distinction of being the only Asian, nay Afro-Asian or Latin American country, to have held the Presidentship of the Conference more than once.

While thanking Kazi Anwarul Haq, who was well known for his integrity and industry and who believed in simple living and high thinking, I said that it had been a real pleasure to work with him as the Head of the Ministry, the

Director-General of Health (Brig. Muhammad Sirajul Haq and his staff), the Family Planning Commissioner (Enver Adil) and his team. I concluded my thanks-giving speech by saying that the Minister had made it a day for me.

I have written my memoirs at the instance of Miss Joan Lancaster, Director of the India Office Library and Records and Messrs. Muhammad Ahmed Zuberi and Zamir Niazi of 'Business Recorder'. It is for the readers of the 'Business Recorder', who have been reading them in the Weekend Editions since November 26, 1982, to decide whether these have been worth publication.

I answered a questionnaire sent by Miss Joan Lancaster in 1976, and described my service in the I.C.S. from 1934 to 1947, as "My Apprenticeship for Service in Pakistan". The book "The District Officer in India - 1930-47" was published by Scholar Press, London, in 1980. It summarises the answers to the questionnaire given by 66 British, 8 Hindus and 4 Muslim members of the I.C.S. The flap cover of the book described its contents in these words:

> The District Officer in India is a close-up human study of the working of the administrative system in India in the last seventeen years of British rule.
>
> It stems from a project initiated through the India Office Library and Records. In 1976, a questionnaire was circulated among ex-members of the Indian Civil Service (from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as from Britain) in which the respondents were asked to give an account of the nature of their service, how they were recruited, what their attitudes and assumptions were about their work, India and the major political matter of self-government, what their work consisted of and the conditions in which it was carried on, how they witnessed the war years, and other matters designed to provide as complete and as representative a picture as possible of the administration in its final stages.
>
> The responses to the questionnaire form the basis for this readable and firsthand account of the District Officer's life in all parts of the Sub-continent and in Burma. The framework is the history, the three main phases being the pre-war period with the Government of India Act 1935, the war, and the rapid changes of the pre-independence period 1946-47 with the very acute problems arising in area near the lines of partition between India and Pakistan. Within this framework, the book deals in detail with the District Officer's life and work, as man, magistrate, tax-collector and representative of the King Emperor, with systematic coverage of all the Provinces and special tracts of India and Burma. It is also a vivid personal report, since the questions were of sufficient length to

reveal the personalities and responses of the contributors on whose memories it is to draw.

This major study will be essential reading for anyone interested in India. A glossary, maps and biographical notes on contributors are included.

Messrs. M.A. Zuberi and Zamir Niazi prevailed upon me to carry my story further and to record my impressions and experiences in the service of Pakistan from 1947 to 1966, which I have done in pursuance of the dictum of Mir Anees:

غبارِ خاطرِ احباب چاہیئے اے دوست
انیسؔ ٹھیس نہ لگ جائے آبگینوں کو

Care for friends be a little,
O Anees! the casks are but brittle.

When I take a retrospective view of my career, I bow down to my Creator for giving me the best parents, the best service, the best wife, the best children and the best grand-children in the world. I cannot offer adequate thanks to the Almighty for conferring on me the best prize of life happiness. I read recently historian Will Durant's views on happiness. He looked for happiness in knowledge and found only disillusionment. He then sought happiness in travel and found weariness; in wealth and found discord and worry. He looked for happiness in his writings and was only fatigued. He concluded that when a man achieves a fair measure of harmony within himself and his family circle, he achieves happiness. Only two things really matter - the affection and understanding of his family. I got both in plenty.

What Lady Violet Bonham Carter wrote about Clementine Churchill, I can repeat about my own wife, Salma: "His wife was the fire at which he warmed his hands and dried his tears, she was his night bulb, she was his security."

After his marriage with Miss Clementine Hozier, Churchill wrote that he lived happily thereafter. This has been my experience too. During the 50 years of our marriage, Churchill wrote, that he had no regrets. I too have no regrets, but I cannot agree with Churchill's observation which I quote: "When I survey the scene of my past life as a whole, I have no doubt that I do not wish to live it over again." I, on the contrary, would wish to live it over again.

In the end, I would like to give a piece of advice to my young readers. Success in life is not the amount of money you make or your power to give orders but in the number of people whom you ultimately influence for the good of themselves and the community.

INDEX

A

Aatash (A poet of Lucknow), 540,541
Abbasi, H.M., 235,247
Abbaside Caliphs, 203
Abbysinia, 546
Abdul Hamid Khan, 236
Abdul Haq, Maulvi, Dr., 123,124
Abdul Mansoor of Rajshahi, 468
Abdul Munim Khan, 532
Abdul Qadir, Sir, 309
Abdul Quyyum Khan, 629
Abdul Rehman Jami, Nuruddin, 199
Abdul Rehman Siddiqi, 466,597
Abdul Wahab Khan, Alhaj, 367,368
Abdulkader Laraqui, Dr., 568
Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Allama, 15,
Abdullah Zaheeruddin Lal Mian, 539
Abdus Salam, Professor, 526,527
Abel, George, 374
Abrar Husain, Major General, 613
Abu Nasr, 632
Abu Saeed Chowdhary, Justice, 456
Abu Saeed Muhammad Anwar Feroz, 306
Adair, A.R., 486
Addisbaba, 546
Adil, Enver, 114,55.
Afghanistan, 268,292,357,533,565
Africa, 391
Aftab Ali, 566
Aga Badruddin Ahmed, 232,234
Aga Ghulam Nabi Pathan, 221
Aga Hashr Kashmiri, 287,288,299
Aga Khan, Prince Karim, 356,391
Aga Khan, Prince Sadruddin, 601,602
Aga Khan, Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, III,38,105,107,137,142, 144,162,174,175,343,344,391, 418
Aga Shahi, 236,237
Aga Shorish Kashmiri, 446
Agartala Conspiracy, 504

Agha Hilaly, 598
Agra, 311,322,389,390,446,448
Ahmed E.H. Jaffer, 134,248,271,293
Ahmed, Sayud, 266
Ahmednagar,19,20,22-25,423
Ahmedpur Sharqia, 307
Air, Black Bush, 165
Airport
- Bholari, 366
- Chaklala, 500
- Karachi, 205,211,287,50
- Mauripur, 143
- Nicosia, 139,
- Rome, 188

Airways, Orient, 120
Ajmer, 347
Akbar, Kazi, 225
Akbar, Mughal Emperor, 23,58,389
Akbar, Saeed, 160
Akbarabadi, Akhtar Ansari, 343
Akbarabadi, Nazir, 98
Akbarabadi, Rana, 137,284
Akbarabadi, Saba, 138,284
Akbarabadi, Seemab, 138,284
Akhtar Hussain, Syed, 393,498
Akhtar Imam, 188,204
Alavi, Hakim Nasir Ahmed, 388
Alavi, Hatim A., 38,67,116
Alexander Hamilton, Captain, 323,325
Aley Raza, Syed, 137,138,189,266,284
Algeria, 560
Ali Adil Shah, 23
Ali Asghar, 191
Ali Sabri, Sardar, 247
Ali Shabbar, Professor, 266
Aligarh Movement, 413,414
Aligarh's Football team, 370
Aligarh, 29,154,344,372,394,420
All Pakistan Displaced Persons Conference 406,407
All-India Muslim League Working Committee, 369
All-India Muslim League,5,15,33,47, 61,64,65,69,70,72,75,91,106,113, 154,197,394,418,487,504,621, 625,629
All-India Radio (1936), 522
All-Party National Convention (December 1928), 424
Allahabad Session December 1930, 425
Allahabad, 219,625
Allahabadi, Akbar, 260,261,467,497
Allama Arshad, 298
Allama Manzoor Ahmed, 298
Allama Mashriqi, 527
Allama Shibli, 414,415
Allen Campbell Johnson, 445
Allsop, Justice, 1
Altaf Husain, (Editor of Daily Dawn), 219,234,247,248,250,251,252, 253,255,258,259,266,268,555
Alvari, Tabish, 319
Alvi, Dr. Elahi, 135
Amar Nath Saher Dehlavi, 266
Ambedkar, Bhim Rao, Dr. 25,26
Amena Majeed Malik, Begum, 285
American Congress, 509
Amesur, Dr. Rochiram, 67
Amin, Noorul, 153
Amir Daud Khan, 291
Amir Muhammad Bahawal Khan, 292
Amir Shah Muhammad, 292
Amir-e-Khusro, 123
Amirul Islam Sharqı, 458
Amjad Ali, 559
Amrohvi, Nasim, 138
Amrohvi, Rais, 137,138,161,163,247, 274,507,511
Amsterdam, 178,179,180
Andres Aguilar Mawdsley, 560
Andriantsitohaina, 574,578
Anees, Mir, 189,289,329,369
Angelo, Michael, 183,184,186
Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1985, 595
Anjuman-e-Himayatul-Islam, 292,330
Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, 457,465

Anne Marie Schimmel, Professor, 392
Ansari, Dr., 97
Antony, Mark, 160
Arora, General, 276
Arshad Husain, Mian, 238
Asghar Gondavi, 266,299
Ashok Mehta, 496
Aslam Azhar, 262
Assam, 62,164,471,487,488
Associated Press of India, 517
Associated Press of Pakistan, (APP), 258,517,518,598
Association, All-Pakistan Women, (APWA), 156,157,406,537
Ataur Rehman Khan, 470
Athens, 140
Atia Hasan, Mrs., 338
Attenborough, Richard, 79
Attlee, C.R. (Prime Minister of U.K.), 61,375,419,420
Auchinleck, Field Marshal, 442
Auckland, 377
August 14, 1947, (Independence day of Pakistan), 431,501,627
August 15th, 1947, (Independence day of India), 444,630
Auilar, 568
Aurengzab, Mughal Emperor, 144,322, 413
Australia, 90,552,554,556,565,589,
Austria, 180
Awami League, 604
Ayub Khan, Muhammad, Field-Marshal, 209,212,238,253,268,270,272,276, 277,279,294,386,388,396,397,401, 403,406,409,435,436,439,481,484, 485,486,487,489,491,493,500,501, 502,503,506,507,509,510,511,512, 514,515,526,527,532,537,604, 606,609,614,616,617,619,631
Azad, Mukhtar, 125
Azad, Usman, 126,127
Azam Khan, Muhammad, General, 212, 395,396,397,398,402,404,466, 469,470,471,478,479,480,481,483, 484,485,486,487,489,491,493,604
Aziz Ahmed, 265,268,270,632

B

Babar, Haji Naziruddin, 66,165,167
Badruddin Tayabji, 97
Baghdad, 188,203,204,291
Bahadur Shah Zafar, Mughal Emperor, 413
Bahawalnagar, 291
Bahawalpur, 206,291,292,294,297,298, 299,303,305,306,307,309,311,312, 317,318,319,362,534,541
Bailey, Crant, 215
Bakergunj, 225
Baksh, Pir Ilahi, 50
Baluchistan, 135,293,294,315,325
Bamboo Dance, 557
Bandranaike, 216
Bangladesh, 273,276,515,605,634
Bank of India, Imperial, 11,27
Bank, Habib, 402
Bank, State, Pakistan, 125,126, 236,247,632
Barelvi, Shah Niaz, 311
Barkat Ali, Malik, 73
Barnwell, Hatch, 264
Baroda, 370
Barrages
- Ghulam Mhammad, 367
- Guddu, 43
- Jinnah, 42
- Kotri, 42,367,367,368,391
- Lloyd, 35,41,42,368
- Mudie, 367
- Sukkur, 40,42,368
- Taunsa, 43,316

Bashir Ahmed Bakhtiar, 582
Bastar State, 1

Basti Mulook Shah, 317
Batapur, 612
Battle of Independence in 1857, 413
Battle of Miani, 346
Bazlur Rahman, Muhammad, Dr., 4
Beaconsfield, Lord, 171
Beaverbrooke, Lord, 6
Beechar, Naraindas, 125
Beirut, 246
Belgium, 419
Bempfylde Fuller, Sir, - I.C.S., 487
Ben Bardlee, 239
Benaras, 30
Bengal, 21,130,219,225,255,259,272, 417,456,457,488,494,605,625,626
Berlin, 290
Bernard Shaw, George, 4,332,504,595
Bertrand Glancy, Sir, 34,35
Bhansali, M.D., 27
Bhitai, Shah Abdul Latif, 65,305,310, 323,326,327,328,329,333,340, 347
Bhitshah, 323,347
Bholo Pehlwan, 131
Bhopal, 356,421
Bhutto, Benazir, 209,211,216,277,278, 279,280,632
Bhutto, Nusrat, 210,211,278,632
Bhutto, Sardar Nabi Buksh,50,
Bhutto, Sir Shah Nawaz, 38,52,53
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 632 52,206,209, 210,211,216,275,277,278,280,293, 406,411,482,513,514,614,615
Bhuttos, 52,216
Bihar, 164,225,289,348,634
Bijrani, Sardar Noor Muhammad Khan, 229
Bilyamini, Aziz Ahmed, 619
Birmingham, 587
Biweekly - Magazines
- Al-Imam, 298
- Bebak, 298
- Jamhoor, 298

Bokhari, Ahmed Shah (Lal Shah) Professor, 13,181,182,254,257, 285,286,287,288,289
Bokhari, Zulfikar Ali, 138,238,260, 262,282,283,284,290
Bolitho, Hector, 256
Bombay, 77,87,88,94,115,142,146,148, 150,224,236,241,248,255,290, 300,313,336,369, 484,531,608
Bonarjee, N.B., 11
Books,
- Materia Medica Pura by Samuel Hahnemann, 541,542
- The Indian Chaos, 8

Boswell, 4
Brabourne, Lord, 13,21
Bradford, 594
Brahmins and Non Brahmins, 23
British Character of the Administration, 10
British Commonwealth, 622
British India, 371
British Raj and Ram Raj, 505
British-Bania Alliance, 428,429
Brohi, Allahbaksh Karimbaksh, (A.K. Brohi), 241,242,268,333, 340,341,342,343,332,350,
Brown, Eva, 185
Buddha, 282
Buffon, 285
Bugti, Nawab Akhar Khan, 293
Bundu Khan, Ustad, 262
Burger, Warren E., 239
Burki, Wajid Ali, General, (Former Minister of Health), 534,545,561, 604
Burma, 245,349,565,567
Burnes, James, Dr., 37
Butcher, Dr. 30

C

C.P., (Central Province of India), 1,7,20

Cabinet Mission in 1946, 621
Cairo, 188
Calcutta, 21,28,162,241,225,226,252, 254,256,259,457,458,461,496,516, 552,597,606
California, 497
Callahán, Jack, Newyork Times, 435
Campbel Heppzmann, 419
Canada, 79,160,217,218,242,245, 264,280,589
Canal Water Dispute, 622
Canal
- B.R.B., 610,612
- Jamarou, 232
- Nara, 58
- Prinzengeacht, 179
- Suez, 7

Canberra, 252,554,555,556
Candau, M.G., Dr., 534,535
Cargill, P.M., Mr.& Mrs.44
Carnegie, Andrew, 181
Carter, Violet Bonham, 166
Casino
- Avilion, 175
- Monte Carlo, 140

Cawthorne, General, 555
Central Majlis-e-Shoora, 405
Ceylon, 188, 376,532,565,566
Chablani, Professor, 38
Chagla, Ahmed B., 262
Chajn, Leon, 547
Chaklala, 387,388
Chamb-Jurain Sector of Kashmir, 608
Chandbibi, 23
Chandigarh, 496
Chandio, Ghaibi Khan, Sir, Nawab, 337
Chandra Chatterjee, Bankim, 64
Chandragona, 485
Chapman, J.A. Professor, 191
Charan Singh, 395
Charles Napier, Sir, 36-38
Charles Stewart Parnell, 596,597
Chateau ... Bell, (One of the residence of the late Aga Khan III), 602
China, 15,42,161,438,465,523,565, 566,633
Chittagong, 157,215,223,455,477,480. 485,605
Cholistan, 291,300,303,305,534
Chou-en-Lai, 154
Chowdhari, Sir Zafarullah Khan, 286, 434
Chowdhary Khaliquezzaman, 69,76, 370,629
Chowdhary Muhammad Ali, 358,373, 386,631
Chowdhary Rehmat Ali, 426,427,428, 430
Chowdhary, Fazlul Quadir, 269,
Chowinda, 613
Chughtai, Abdur Rehman, 285
Chundrigar, Ismail Ibrahim, 208,356, 369,629
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 53,596
Churchill, Sir Winston, 29,53,142,144, 145,160,166,173,207,280,360, 371,419,421,556,596,619
Civil & Military Gazette, 96,135
Civil and Military bureaucracy, 630
Civil Disobedience Movement
- of 1930, 424
- of 1932, 20

Clemenceau, George, 142,144,546
Cleveland, Grover, 521
Clifton & Clifton Bridge, 117,347
Clow, Sir Andrew, 62
Club
- Ahmednagar, 27
- Dacca, 492
- Gymkhana, Lahore, 610
- Hyderabad Press , 363
- Karachi Gymkhana,
- Karachi Race, 127
- Orient, 148
- Oxford Lotus, 15
- Poona, 20,21

- Roshan Ara, 250
- Sind, 7
Coen, Creagh, 206
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 163
College,
- Agricultural, Tando Jam, 391
- Cambridge, Emanuel, 2
- Cambridge, Kings, 254
- Christ Church, 167
- Dacca Medical, 369
- Dow Medical, Karachi, 598
- Fatima Jinnah Medical, 453
- Hyderabad, Sachal, 330
- Imperial Defence, 167,484,487
- Jesus, Oxford, 12,16,18,167,600
- Lahore, Aitchison, 292
- Liaquat Medical, Jamshoro, 243, 598,599
- Lucknow, Canning, 2,155,300
- Lucknow, Isabella Thoburn, 155
- M.A.O.,Aligarh, 106,418
- Oxford, Lincoln, 5
- Poona, Agricultural, 20
- Sadiq Egerton, 299
- Urdu, 130
- Wadham,17
- Welshmen's, 12
Comilla and Faridpur Districts, 531
Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, 585,586,589
Compensation Books, 399,400
Confucius, 282,333
Congo, 561
Conrad, C.I., 68
Constantine, Sir George, 269,277
Constituion of 1954., 505
Constituion of 1956, 475
Constitutent Assembly of Pakistan, August 11, 1948, 624
Constituent Assembly dissolved 24th October, 1954, 505
Constitution of 8th June 1962 of General Muhammad Ayub Khan, 507,623
Constitution of 23rd March, of Chowdhary Muhammad Ali, 1956, 506
Constitution of Pakistan 1956, 630,637
Constitution of Z.A. Bhutto, 1973,
Cornelius, A.R., Justice, 270,277,512
Coup in October, 1954, 505
Court of Mofassil (Local) Magistrate, 26
Cunningham, Sir George, 289
Curzon, Lord, (Viceroy of India), 318, 360,469,487,488
Cyclone 9th May - Khulna - Barisal - Noakhali - Chittagong - Camilla - Faridpur, 481
Cyprus, 139,140,566
Cyril, Radcliffe, Sir, 81,215,219,371, 373,443,
Cyrus the Great, 282
Czecho-Slovakia, 420,560

D

Dacca, 81,83,121,212,265,283,295, 387,402,403,418,457,465,466, 469,470,472,476,478,479,480, 485,486,488,489,491,492,493, 507,512,522,539,600,605,606, 607,608,616,625
Dadu, 227,321,323,337,348
Dam, Burgone, 173
Dame, Notre, 172
Darjeeling, 30,146,147
Darul-Uloom Nadwa, 292
Darya Shah, 368
Data Ganjbakhsh, 310,448
Daughter of the East, 210,277,279
Daulatana, Mumtaz Muhammad Khan, 314
Davidson, Biggs, J.A., 315
Davies, R.G., 44
Davis Cup, 553

Dayal, Lala Devi, 298
Dean Swift, 595
Deccan, 21,23
Dehejia V.T., 20
Dehlavi, Khawaja Naseeruddin Chiragh, 310
Dehlavi, Saail, 266
Dehlavi, Shahab, 319
Dehlavi, Tabish, 284
Dehra Dun, 419,421
Dehradun and Mussorie, 495
Delhavi, Syed Muhammad, 137
Delhi Darbar of December 1911 (King George V), 488
Delhi, & New Delhi, 1,33,61,73,75, 82,83,84,91,92,99,117,123,126, 130,149,157,161,217,241,248, 250,256,262,289,290,293,299, 310,311,345,373,374,375,389, 394,405,413,417,419,423,425, 443,444,595
Denmark 561
Deoband, 292
Dera Ghazi Khan, 291,305,306,311, 313,314,315,316
Dera Ismail Khan, 156,305
Dera Nawab Sahib, 295,300,317,318
Desmond Young, 66,258
Dewhurst, R.P., 12,13,122
Dhan Mandi - Dacca, 471
Dharam Vira, 408
Dinshaw Petit, Ruttan Bai, 146-149
Dinshaw Petit, Sir, 146
Dinshaw, Hoshang, N.E., 67
Disraeli Benjamin, 171,215
Divide-and-Rule in India, 621
Dodson, Gerald Sir, Judge, 639
Don Bradman, 552,556
Doongersee, Seth Manoobhai, 67
Douglas F.D., Principal Information Officer, 494
Douglas Fell, 292,293
Douglas, Dr., (President of Irish Republic), 596
Douglas, Freddy, 257
Dow, Sir Hugh, 65,66,224
Doxiadis, 388
Dring, Col., 206,300
Drug Mafia, 638
Dutt, R.C., 14

E

East India Company, 7,440,621
Edinburgh - Scotland, 449,450
Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 529
Edward Blunt, Sir, 20
Edward Nelson, Sir, 505
Edward VIII, King, 29, 342
Egypt, 5,107,168,172,199,426,446, 465,497
Ehsan Danish, 446
Eisenhower, (President of U.S.A.), 402,403
Elfan Rees, 600
Elizabeth I, Queen, 12,16
Emmanuel, Victor, 185
Emperor of Story-Tellers, 493
Employees Social Insurance Ordinance, 1962, 549
England, 8,11,29,115,141,148,161, 166,168,216,219,239,295,371, 420,427,439, 470,484,597
English like English-men, 13
Estella Holt, 349,352
Evacuee Trust Properties, 402
Evan Jenkins, Sir, 373,374

F

Faiz, Ahmed Faiz, Begum Faiz & Muniza Faiz, 138,285,446,547
Faizabad (U.P.), 28
Fakhri Begum, 211

Fall of Dacca 1971, 605
Faqir Jaisal, 44
Farangi-Mahal, 465
Faridpur, 272,478
Faruque, King, 107,168
Faruqui, N.A., 236,617
Faruqui, Umar, 126,247
Fatmi, Hasan Askari, Professor, 620
Fazle Akbar, Justice, 408,409
Fazlul Haq, A.K., 466,481
Fazlul Qauder Chowdary, A.K.M., 476,601,604,605
Fazlullah, Kazi, 52,66,230
Fazlur Rehman, 253,482,505
Feroz Nana, Justice, 68,130
Ferozepur, 373,374
Fida Hasan, S., 139,588,617
Fifth Asian Regional Conference, 252
First Round Table Conference, 259
First World War,171,240,545
Firth, Professor, 13,285
Foch, Marshal, 172
Fort
- Agra, 389
- Delhi, 389
- Derawar, 300,317
- Monro, 291,302
France, 172,178,420,554
Frank P. Graham Dr., 435
Freddy Young, 368
Frederic S.P. Lely, Sir, 22
Frederick Pickle, Sir, 289
Frere Gardens, 135
Frere, Sir Bartle, 57

G

Gabriel, Archangel, 556
Gadap, 386
Gaekwad Baiting, 14
Galsgow, 585
Gandhi, Indira, Mrs., 278,280,488, 628,629
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, (The Indian Mahatma), 20,25,61,74,79, 82,83,97,108,142,144,146,154, 158,161,213,343,344,370,469, 471,412,469,471
Ganges and Brahamputra, Rivers, 477
Gardezi, Syed Ahmed Nawaz Shah, 298
Gauhar, Altaf, 126
Gazdar, Muhammad Hashim, 38,66, 73,276,505
General Election of 1988, 623
Geneva,17,18,107,173,174,175,529, 535,544,546,552,557,565,566, 580,582,585,600,618
George Lloyd, Sir, 40,42,142,144
George VI, King, 168,342
German & Germany, 73,166,171,177, 215,282,290,427,520
Ghaibdero Sir Nawab Ghaibi Khan, 51,315
Ghalib, Mirza, 16,99,100,119,168,197, 241,265,267,285,288,361
Ghauri, Sultan Shahabuddin, 322
Ghazali, 333
Ghazi Shah, 143
Ghaznavi, Rafiq, 262
Ghousul Azam, 203,204,
Ghulam Ishaq Khan, 279,632
Ghulam Murtaza Shah Syed, 229
Gibraltar, 347
Gibson, R.E., 362
Gilgit, 432
Gladstone, (Prime Minister of England), 596
Goebells, Joseph, Dr. 282,290,520
Goethe, 333
Gokaldas Mewaldas, Rai Sahib, 50,67
Gokaran Nath Misra, 1
Gokhle, Gopal Krishna, 97,418,488
Golcunda, 23
Gopi Nath, 266
Gorgani, Mirza Muhammad Ashraf,

311
Governor General of Pakistan in 1951, 630
Gracey, General, 359,360
Greece, 566
Greek, 124,140
Griffiths, Sir Percival, 49
Ground, Ascot Racing, 165
Gujrat, 164
Gulberg, 317
Gulshan-e-Iqbal, 204
Gunner Jarring, V., 435
Gunter, Ray, 17,600,601
Gurdaspur, 81,213,215,373,374,443
Gurinovich, 571
Gurmani, Nawab Mushtaq, 302,309
Guru Nanak, 250
Gwyn, Richard, 280,281

H

Habib Ansari, 465
Habibur Rehman, 559
Hafiz Abdul Hafeez, 467
Hafiz Abdul Majid, 561
Hafiz Jullundhari, 138,207,262,263, 266,284,288,446
Hafiz Mubarak Ali Shah, 343
Hafiz, Syed Abdul, 258
Hafiz-e-Shirazi, 457
Hafizul-Mulk, 292
Hafizur Rehman, 489,490,491
Hafizur Rehman, 489,490,491
Hague, 182
Hahnemann, Samuel, (Founder of Homeopathy), 541,542
Hailey, Sir Malcolm, 85
Hairat Shah Warsi, 299
Haji Gul Muhammad Wali Muhammad Khero, 229
Hakim Abdul Hameed, 540
Hakim Ajmal Khan, 97,540
Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, 449, 540
Hakim Munney Aga, 540
Hala Haveli, 326
Halford, D.R.C., 46
Hall, R.M., 225
Hamid Husain, Brig, 376
Hamidullah Khan, Nawab, 356
Hamlani, Sikander Khan, 229
Hammarskjoeld, Dag, 268,287
Hamood-ur-Rehman, Justice, 213,276
Harding, Lord, 440
Hardoi, 1
Hardy, J.H., Professor, 6
Hari Singh, 443
Harold Lamb, 268
Harold Laski, Professor, 16,519
Harold Wilson, Dr. Sir, (Prime Minister of United Kingdom), 600,610
Haroon, Shaukat, Dr., 251
Haroon, Sir Abdullah, & Begum, 66, 73,88,116,242,629
Haroon, Yousuf, 68
Hasan, S.M., 485
Hashmi, Said Ahmed, Colonel, 297,301
Hasrat Mohani, 257,266
Hawker Hunters of the Indian Air Force, 611
Hayat Khan, Sardar Shaukat, 629
Haythorne, 568
Hazrat Abbas, (SAWW)196,197
Hazrat Ali Akbar,(SAWW), 196
Hazrat Ali Asghar,(SAWW), 196
Hazrat Ali,(SAWW), 15,198,199, 200,201,202,326
Hazrat Fatimah, (SAWW), 199
Hazrat Muslim,(SAWW), 202
Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, 306
Hazrat Shahbaz Qalander, 325
Heaven Born, 11
Heer, 305
Heldam, Cecil, 170
Henderson, C.C., 58
Henry Dewnant, (Founder of Red

Cross)', 544
Henry F. Knight, Sir, 22
Herati, Sheikh Abdul Ansar, 347
Herculean Task, 639
Hidayatullah, Sir Sheikh Ghulam Husain, 38,53,66,67,70,73,76,88, 144,224,336,347
High Caste Hindus, 24
Hills
- Chittagong, 477
- Rowland M.P., 115,116
- Shakarprian, 388,390
- Margalla, 390

Hingorani, Munshi Hiralal, 40
Hiranand, Rai Bahadur, 38
Hirati, Sheikh Abdul Ansar, 536
Hitler, Adolf, 49,141,171,185,290,520
Holland, 107,178,180,181
Holland, Sir Henry, 58
Holt E.H., 26
Hong Kong, 347,556,557,633
Hornig, F., Dr., 526
Horton, 560
Hoshiarpuri, Hafiz, 138,284
Hospital
- Ganga Ram, 453
- Graham, 45
- Jinnah Central, 103

Hotel
- Atlanta, 140,182
- Carlton, 241
- Central, 36
- Montana, 170,177
- Ritz, London, 106,107
- Shahbagh, 492
- Washington, 182

Hugo, Victor, 172
Humayun, Mughal Emperor, 322
Hussain Muhammad Ershad, (President of Bangladesh), 476
Hussain, Syed, 97
Hussain, Zahid, 123,125
Hyderabad, (Deccan), 291
Hyderabad, (Sind), 227,228,229, 230,243,236,274,283,294,321, 326,336,337,343,345,346,347, 348,350,358,361,362, 364,365, 366,368,391,392,411,432,433, 437,541,603

I

I.L.O. (International Labour Organisation), 17,18, 159,175,380,381,529,547, 544,545,546,547,551,554,557, 558,559,560,561,562,566,568, 569,570,571,572,573,574,575, 576,578,579,580,581,582,583, 585,600,602,603,605,606
Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, 629
Ikramullah, Muhammad, 107,108, 143,619
Ikramullah, Shaista, Begum, 619
Imam Husain, 111
Imam Hussain Chowdhary, Justice, 482
India Wins Freedom, 630
India, 8,12,13,32,35,36,42,48,57,59, 61,65-68,71,72,74,75,76,78,81, 85,90,90,107,119,130,157,158, 160,164,370,372,373,374,388, 390,394,395,406,407,413,417, 423,425,444,532,552,555,565, 566,569,595,596,597,609,615, 619,621,622,626,630,633,638
Indian Army, 595
Indian Civil Service in 1864, 1,7,8
Indian Imperial Police, 1
Indian National Congress, 370,412, 413,418
Indonesia, 565
Infidel-The-Great, 627
Interim Constitution of 1972, 513
International Atomic Energy Organisation, 529

International bank for Reconstruction and Development, (World Bank), 529
International Labour Conference, 17,18
Iqbal Safipuri, 137,466
Iran, 565
Iraq, 139,565
Ireland, 74,547,596
Irwin, Lord, 20
Ishaq, Khan Sahib Muhammad, 109, 110
Iskander Mirza, General, 139,367, 371,450,506,630
Islamabad,(Got its name on 24 Feb. 1960),389,384,386,388,390,391, 436,509,531,554,583,584
Ismet Inounu, 154
Ispahani, Abul Hasan, 629
Israel, 566
Italy, 158,605

J

Jabbulpuri, Zareef, 138
Jacob, Sir John, 57
Jacqueline Kennedy & the Jinnah Cap, 500
Jafferson, Thomas, 154
Jaffery, S.S., 632
Jakarta, 552
Jalali, Nasir, 137
Jalalvi, Qamar, 124,137,138,394
Jalil Asghar, Begum, 537
Jamal Mian Farangimahli, 482
Jammu and Kashmir, 400,432,502
Jamnanagar, 14
Japan, 565,566
Jarison, Jean Francis, 547
Jatoi, Ghulam Mustafa, 45
Jatoi, Rais Khan Bahadur Haji Ghulam Rasul, 45
Jauhar, Maulana Muhammad Ali, 4,5, 8,14,154,424,493
Jehangir, King, 448
Jeye Sindh, Jeye Mohajir, Jeye ' Pakhtoon, Jeye Punjabi, 632
Jhang, 527,
Jinnah, Fatimah, 94,143,144,145
Jinnah,Muhammad Ali - Quaid-e-Azam, 4,8,10,15,33,35,38,39,42, 48,52,61,62,69,85,88,98,106, 108,114,116,368,369,371,372, 373,384,385,387,392,393,394, 395,412,413,414,418,418,421, 422,423,425,427,434,472,475 488,501,503,505,523,527,543, 597,605,621,622,624,625,626, 627,628,629,631,632,634
Jinnah-Mountbatten Controversy, 370 371
John Lynch, 547
John Simon, Sir, Simon Commission 425
John Weir, Sir, 542
Johnson, Dr. 165
Johnson, Lyndon, 526
Jones, H.M., 12
Jordan, 565
Justice and Rule of Law, 636

K

Kabir, Humayun, 78,79
Kalabagh, 42
Kalat, 292,293,396
Kalhoro, Ghulam Shah, 346
Kalhoro, Yar Muhammad, 322
Kamal Shoaib, 608
Kamlabai, Miss, 40
Kandhkote, 229
Karachi Football Association, 130
Karachi, 89,90,94,95,115,117,118, 122,123,124,125,128,130,133, 135,136,142,151,182,204,205, 207,225,242,244,246,248,249, 251,255,256,258,259,262,265,

267,271,274,280,283,290,295,
286,331,337,341,347,384,385,
387, 391,393,401,446,454,457,
517,518,531,534,535,541,554,
555,583,607,617,619,630,633
Karaka, D.F., 15,200,216
Karbala-e-Moalla, 37,187188,189,
190,191,195,196,197,199,204,
326,327
Kashmir Cease-fire on Ist January,
1949, 441
Kashmir/Azad Kashmir, 81,82,164,
213,215,219,235,255,256,271,
309,370,392,400,433,434,435,
436,437,438,441,442,433,501,
502,522,531,585,614,615,627
Kasuli, 531
Katherine, 596
Kayani, Muhammad Rustam, Justice,
46,47,313,315,449,450,451,
452,454,455
Kazi Abdul Majid Abid, 343
Kazi Akbar, 343
Kazi Anwarul Haque, 484,489,490,
493,535,604
Kazi, A.G.N., 221,236
Kazi, I.I., Allama & Mrs. Elsa Kazi,
331,332,333,334,335,336,340,
392
Kazim Raza, Syed, 1,119,143,181
Kazmain, 202
Kemal, Mustafa, 154
Kensington, South, 169
Kewel Singh, 608,609
Khair Muhammad Panhwar, 537
Khairi Brothers, 421,422,423
Khairi, Abdul Jabbar, Dr., 417
Khairi, Abdul Sattar, Professor, 417
Khairpur, 168,302,321,323,332,367
Khalid Sheikh, Lt. Gen., 404,405
Khalil-ur-Rehman, Mir, 244,245,
246,247
Khalili, Abbas, 632
Khaliqdina Hall, 393
Khalique Ibrahim Khalique, 265
Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim Babu
Halim, 31
Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh, 65,72,224
Khan Bahadur Ghulam Hussain, 58
Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mian Wasif, 31
Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhammad
Wassan, 58
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Baksh, 51
Khan Inayatullah Khan, 427
Khan Muhammad Aslam Khan
Khattak, 427
Khan of Kalat, 36,293
Khanpur, 298
Kharas, F.G., 221
Kharas, J.G., 237
Khatas and Khatonis, 402
Khawaja Fariduddin Ganjshakar, 310
Khawaja Ghulam Fareed, 303,305,
306,307,308,
Khawaja Hasan Nizami, 117,306
Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti, 124,306,
310
Khawaja Nazimuddin Aulia, 310,370
Khawaja Nazimuddin, 86,128,129,
130,131,208,273,274,277,466,
476,476,481,504,628,629
Khawaja Sarwar Husain, 377,378
Khawaja Shahabuddin, 127,260
Khawaja Wasiuddin, Brig., 485
Khilafat Committee, 272
Khilafat Movement, 242,336
Khizer Hayat Khan, Malik, 76
Khuhro, Khan Bahadur Muhammad
Ayub, 38,50,52,66,67,73,117,
220,221,229,367
Khulna, 518
Khursheeduz Zaman, Justice, 258,
394,408
Khushwant Singh, 595
Kierkegaard, Soren, 190
King Faisal, 187

Kipling, Rudyard, 8,20,240
Kirpalani, Acharya, 80,95,336,348
Kitchner, Lord, 28
Kohat, 454
Koofa, 201,204
Korangi, Township/Scheme, 402,403
Korean War, 555
Kot Mithan, 306,308
Kotri, 326,364,366
Kuala Lumpur, 552
Kuwait, 167,565

L

Labour Legislation, 567
Lahore, 243,258,276,283,300,311,313, 317,400,440,446,501,517,518, 522,540,541,637
Lahori, Majeed, 138,247,266,312
Lake
- Geneva, 174
- Kalri, 366
- Mancher, 348
- Naini, 174

Lakshmi, 31
Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Hazrat, 310,323
Lala Lajpat Rai, (Author of plan "MY Scheme"), 424
Lambrick, H.T., 368
Lancelot Graham, Sir, 45,46
Laos, 566
Lappierre and Collins, (Author of Freedom at Midnight), 441
Lari, Zafrul Ahsan, 317
Larkana, 211,212,220,227,237,315, 321,337,367,528
Latifabad, 347
Lauri, 345
League of Nation, 546,562
Lebanon, 244,565
Leghari, Ata Muhammad Khan, 314
Leghari, Sir Jamal Khan 315
Leiah, 316
LeMesurier, A.P., 31
Leon Chajn, 603,604
Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada - Quaid-e-Millat, 11,73,82,85,86,89,98, 102,123,142,143,144,153,154, 155,156,160,206,207,208,217, 218,252,262,275,277,313,342 369,373,475,610,618,628,629, 634,
Liberal party of India, 15
Liberia, 560
Library
- Bahawalpur, 320
- Sadiq Reading, 292

Libya, 174,546,598
Lilaram, Sheikd Abdul Majid, 52,66, 73,336,
Lindsey, Benjamin, Justice, 12
Linlithgow, Lord, 21,48,49,51
Lippmann, Walter, 217,218,239
Lloyd, George, Sir,171,368,546
Lodhi, T.A.T., 582
Lok Sabha, 395
London, 5,6,10,15,38,88,107,115, 139,157,165,166,171,173,204, 258,181,293,294,302,318,331, 585,594,592,594,596,597,598
Lotus Eater, 15
Louis, XIV, 171
Lovet Fraster, 5
Lucknavi, Arzoo, 138,266,283
Lucknavi, Behzad, 137,138
Lucknow and Lucknow Pact in 1916, 418
Lucknow, 19,29,30,36,88,99,120,123, 128,197,198,241,258,311,350,384, 418,427,465,495
Lyallpur, 608,609
Lynch, John, 559

M

Mac-Lachlan, 220
Madariaga, Sanchez, 575,578
Madarsah-e-Aliyah, 466,467

Madina, 202
Madras, 96,236,311,484
Mafia-Klashankov Culture, 635,639
Magazines
- Al-Wai, 266
- Al-Zubair, 299
- Nakhlistan-e-Adan, 299
- Payam-e-Nau, 398
- Raud-e-Sutlej, 298
- Urdu-e-Moalla,, 5

Mahal
- Farrukh, 318
- Gulzar, 318
- Kohistan, 229
- Nishat, 318
- Nur, 317,318
- Taj, 99,107,322,389,390,448

Maharaja Gulab Singh, 440
Maharaja Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad, 418
Maharaja of Benaras, 541,543
Maharaja of Faridkot, 433
Maharaja of Kashmir, 433,445
Maharaja of Patiala, 433
Maharja of Kapurthala, 433
Mahatma Gautam Buddha, 197
Mahboob Morshed, Syed, Justice, 465,482
Mahirul Qadri, 138,466
Mahiwal, 336
Mahmud Hussain, Dr. 466
Majeed Malik, Col., 238,257,258, 269,290
Makhdoom Bahauddin Zakaria Multani, 310
Makhdoom Inayat, 345
Makhdoom Jahanian Jahan Gasht, 310
Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim 323
Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman
Makhdoom Ghulam Muhammad Qureshi, 228,230
Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula, 344
Makhdoom Nooh, 344
Makhdoom Syed Jalal Bokhari, 310
Makli, 243
Makran, 321
Malawi, 463,568,574,578
Malaysia, 565
Malbourne, 252
Malcolm Haily, Sir, 6
Maldon, General, 138
Malech (Untouchable), 412
Malegaon, 31
Malihabadi, Josh, 137,193,266,284, 288,289,299,466
Malik Abdul Latif Khan, 566,567
Malik Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh (Governor of West-Pakistan), 532
Malik Ghulam Muhammad Khan, 173, 245,268,271,,272,274,277,367, 504,505,506,628,630
Malik, A.M. Dr., 557,605,606
Malta, 347,563,568,574,578
Mamoun-ul-Rashed, 203
Manik Mian, 247,266
Manila, 556,557,606
Manzil
- Mubarak, 343
- Sadat, 318

Manzoor Qadir, 507
Mao-Tse-Tung, 154
Maqbul Husain Qureshi, Colonel, 320
Mardan Ali Shah, Pir, (Pir Pagaro), 344
Marker, J.K.A., 547,582
Market
- Boulton, 117
- Hashim Raza, 118
- Iqbal, 118
- Koofa, 205,

Martial Law 8th October 1958, 369, 435,452,507
Martial Law of 1977, 623
Martial Law, Lahore, 1953, 395
Marwand, 324

Mary Anderson, 484
Masjid
- Badshahi, 448
- Moti, 299,301,389
Masood Raza, 466
Masud Hasan Rizvi, Syed, Professor, 4
Masud, Muhammad, 131,236,313,314
Matri, Fakhre, 133,247,248,249,250
Maulana
- Abdul Haleem Sharar, 501
- Abdul Hamid Badayuni, 119, 125
- Abdul Hye Abbasi, 125
- Abul Kalam Azad, 23,79,441, 623,629,630
- Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi Fazil, 311,418
- Akram Khan, 266
- Altaf Husain Hali, (Author of epic poem Mussadas-e-Hali), 260,305,414,542
- Anis-ul-Hasnain, 144
- Azizur Rehman, 311
- Bhashani, 469,470,471
- Ehtishamul Haq Thanvi, 119, 137,245,262
- Ghulam Rasul Meher, 285
- Hasrat Mohani, 4,5,6,109, 111,165,337,423,424,629,630
- Ibne Hasan Jarchavi, 137
- Muhammad Husain Azad, 288,305,416
- Muhammad Ismail Zabih, 247,388
- Nasir Jalali, 345
- Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, 137
- Suleman Nadvi, 137
Maulvi
- Abdul Haleem Sharar, 417
- Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq, 48, 73,225,226,259,269
- Ahmed Baksh, 307
- Ghulam Mohiyuddin Khan Kasuri, 537
- Tamizuddin Khan, 269,271, 272,276,506
Mauripur, 62,83
Max Fisch, Professor, 392
Mazhar, Lt., 142
McDonald, Ramsay, 32
McMahon, William,252,554,555, 556,559
Mecca, 345
Medina, 326
Mehdi Hasan, Syed, 1,2
Meher, Ghulam Rasul, 401
Melbourne, 552,553,554,555
Memon, Ahmed, 109
Menon, Krishna, 217,252,555,596
Menon, V.K.Nandan, Professor, 2,3
Menon, V.P., 294,442,443,444
Menzies, Robert, Sir, 252,555,556
Meshed, 37
Mexico, 287,575,576
Mianwali, 305
Michael H. Hart, 282
Middle East, 214
Mien Kamf, 520
Mills Adamjee Jute, 484,488
Minhaj, Siraj, 310
Minto, Lord, Viceroy of India, 106,418
Mir Osman Ali Khan,(Last ruler of Deccan Hyderabad), 291
Mir Taqi Mir, 99
Mir Zahid Husain, 311
Miran Muhammad Shah, Syed, 38,65
Mirpor Bathoro, 345
Mirpurkhas, 243,337,347
Mirza Aslam Beg, General, 210,631
Mirza Jani, 325
Mirza Qaleech Beg, 252
Mirza Ruswa, 220
Mirza Yaas Yagana, 288
Mizanur Rehman, 458,461
Moazzam Ali, 247
Mohatta, Rao Bahadur Shiv Ratan, 67,

96
Mohenjadero, 367
Moizuddin Ahmed, 484,485
Monani, M.G., 11,236
Montgomery, Field Marshal, 280
Monthly
- Al-Wai, 525
- Hilal, 525
- Mah-e-Nau, 525
- Nai-Zindagi, 525
Moonje, Dr., 73
Moore, Arthur, 254
Moradabad, 114,311
Moradabadi, Jigar, 138,266,299
Moradabadi, Raghib, 137,284
Moradabadi, Raz, 262
Morley, Lord, 4,504
Morocco, 568
Morris James, Sir, (High Commissioner of U.K.,), 608
Morse, David A., 578,581,582,
Moscow, 174,293
Mosley, Leonard, 80,113,373,374
Mosque
- Abu Hanifa, 203
- Al-Kazmiah, 203
- Al-Quadria, 203
- Artillery Maidan, 119
- Badhshahi, 448
- Derawar, 299,301
- Memon, 118
- Shahjehan, 322
Mossoorie, 349
Mountbatten, Edwina, 444
Mountbatten, Lord, (Last Viceroy and Governor General of India), 62, 78,83,113,211,212,214,215, 255,293,294,372,373,374,375 432,434,439,441,442,443
Mubarak Ali Fateh Ali, 138
Mudie, Sir Francis, 57,61,83,113,124,215,225,251, 343,344,367,373
Mufti Mahmood, 406
Muhammad Ahmed, Dr., 392
Muhammad Ahsan, Admiral (Governor of East Pakistan), 606
Muhammad Ali Bogra, 208,236,242, 244,245,246,247,262,263,264, 268,270,271,504,505,606
Muhammad Azfar, 469,476
Muhammad Bachal, Justice, 269
Muhammad Bin Qasim, 313,321, 346,412
Muhammad Hasan Askari, Professor, 266
Muhammad Ibrahim, Justice, 507
Muhammad Khaleel, 608
Muhammad Mahmood Alam, Group Captain, 611
Muhammad Munir, Justice, 270,277
Muhammad Musa, General, 609
Muhammad Raza, Syed Justice, 1,427
Muhammad Shafi, 405
Muhammad Shah, Syed Miran, 224,225
Muhammad Shoaib, (Former Finance Minister), 608
Muhammad Sulaiman Jaffery, 499
Muhammad Taqi, Syed, 247
Muhammad Tufail of Nuqoosh, 446
Muhammad Yusuf Khair Muhammad Chandio, 228
Muhammad Zafrullah Sir, 371
Muhammad, Holy Prophet, (peace be upon him), 282,283,333
Muhammad, Iqbal, Allama, Dr., 87,91, 154,155,371,372,425,426,427, 428,430,447,449,501,625
Muhammad, Sheikh Din, Justice, 219, 226
Muhammadi, R.A., 236
Muhammedan Educational Conference of December 30-31, 1906, 487
Mujibur Rehman, 213,605
Mukerji, Radha Kamal, Dr., 4
Mukerji, Radha Kamud, Dr., 4

Mukti Bahini, 604
Multan, 291,305,313,322,534
Mumtaz Ali Khan, Sardar, 242
Mumtaz Mahal, Queen,448
Munim Khan 604,606
Munro, Alexander, 120
Muree, 317,484
Muslim League, 32,61,64,66,69,70, 72,73,224,225,226,228,229,230, 231,232,235,248,254,298,337, 370,372
Mussolini, Benito, (Italian Dictator), 144,185,546
Mussoorie, 30
Musudul Hasan, Syed, 29
Muzaffar Ali Khan, Nawab, 343
Muzaffar Ali Kizilbash, Sir, 346
Muzaffarabad, 235
Muzaffargar, 316,315,291,305,309, 313,314
Mymensingh, 456,478,480

N

Nadir Ali Shah, 344
Nagpur, 2,97
Naidu, Sirojni, 158,190
Naimuddin, M, 547
Naini Tal, 422
Nairun and Sehwan, 321
Najaf-e-Ashraf, 187,188,197,198, 200,204,187
Najib Khan, Col., 599
Najibullah, Sardar, 162
Nanital, 135
Napoleon, Bonaport, 5,141,167,171, 172,177,178,239,240
Naqvi, A.T., 632
Narayanganj, 479
Narcot Warren, Sir, 11
Nash, Walter, Sir, 356,376,377, 380,559,602,603
Nashtar, Sardar Abdur Rab, 153
Nasreen Zehra & Wasay Moini, (Daughter and Son-in-law of Hashim Raza), 495,608
Nasri, Ansar, 262
Nasser, Husain, 639
Nathan, Maurice, 553,554
National Hijra Council, 341,342
National Institute of Public Administration, (NIPA), 62
National Manpower Council, 551
Naushero Feroz, 330
Navalarai, Lalchand, 50
Nawab Askari of Dacca, 466
Nawab Bahawal Khan II,III,V, 292,317,318
Nawab Lahori, 55
Nawab Mubarak Khan, 292
Nawab of Bhopal, Prince Hamidullah Khan, 370,371,372,373,444
Nawab of Rampur, 241
Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca, 418,487
Nawab Syed Muhammad, (Father of Syed Husain and Author of Nawabi Darbar), 497
Nawabganj, 478
Nawabshah, 227,232,313,321,330
Nawaz Khan, Muhammad, Sir, 173
Nazir Ahmed, 236,237,321,483
Nazrul Islam, 457,459,464
Nehru, Pundit Jawaharlal, 15,23,61, 79,154,161,162,163,164,166, 208,215,216,294,373,374,388, 390,391,432,433,434,435,436, 437,438,439,441,494,496,622, 634
Nehru, Pundit Motilal, 161,424, 425,494,497
Nelson, Sir Edward, 271
Nepal, 349
Nerankot, 346
Netherlands, 158,180,605
New York, 151,218,180,286,338,497
New Zealand, 376,377,381,559,565

Newspapers
- Aftab, 311
- Akhbar-e-Alam, 311
- Akhbar-e-Hind, 311
- Anjam, 126,127,247,517
- Ashaful Akhbar, 311
- Awadh Akhbar, 311,417
- Azad, 247,517
- Civil & Military Gazette, 517
- Comment, 235,247
- Comrade, 5,14,424,492
- Daily Gazette, 67,242
- Daily Millat, 133
- Dastur, 299
- Dawn, 62,126,129,138,197,211, 219,234,241,247,250,252,255, 371,387,405,483,511,555,562, 589,605,
- Evening News, 247
- Evening Star, 197
- Evening Times, 132
- Hamdard, 5
- Hayat, 66,165,242
- Hindustan Times, 83
- Hurriyat, 124,248
- Imroze, 230
- Independent, 494
- Indus Times, 599
- Jam-e-Jamshed, 311
- Jang, 126,244,245,247,312,401, 411,511,517
- Khair Khawah-e-Alam, 311
- Koh-e-Noor, 311
- Leader, 62,248,250
- LeMonde, 435
- Maghribi Pakistan, 299
- Manshoor, 247
- Mazaharul Ajaib, 311
- Millat, 247,248,249,250
- Morning News, 62,247,411, 457,458,466,469,485,489,492, 493,517,
- Musalman, 245,246,247
- Muslim Voice, 67,68,242
- Nawa-e-Waqt, 297,517
- Nayyar-e-Azam, 311
- Nizam, 242
- Pakistan Observer, 466,469
- Pakistan Times, 262,500,518
- Pioneer, 66
- Rahbar, 299
- Sadiqul-Akhbar, 298
- Sangbad, 492,493
- Sayadat, 299
- Sind Herald, 67
- Sind Observer, 67,69,125,136,
- 242,247
- Star, 247
- Statesman of Calcutta, 477
- Times of India, 5
- Times of London, 556
- Times, 364,366,
- Young India, 242
- Zamindar, 517

Newton, Issac, 282,333
Niazi, General, 276
Nice - South France, 449
Nicosia, 140,182
Nigeria, 598
Night of the Generals, 506
Nimitz, Admiral, 286,434
Nishtar, Sardar Abdur Rab, 251
Nizam of Hyderabad, 433,439
Nizami, Hameed, 257
Nizami, Saghar, 138
Noel F. Hall, Dr., 268
Non Governmental International Organisations, 564
Noor Jehan, Empress , 446,447
Noorani, Maulana Shah Ahmed, 513
Noorul Amin, 476,482
Northcliff, Lord, 239
Nur Muhammad, 322
Nusrat Jang, 292
Nusrat S.A. Justice, 280
Nusserwanji Mehta, Jamshed, 67,87,

95,131,135,425

O

O'Shea, W.H. Captain, 596,597
Ocean
- Atlantic, 107
- Indian, 88
- Pacific, 107
Okara, 385
Olympic Games, 553
Omayyad, 203
Ootacamand, Madras, 30
Orissa, 164,294
Oscar Wilde, 28,595
Osman Ali Khan, Mir, 198
Oudh Chief Court, 1
Oudh, 1
Outram, General, 38
Owais, S.M., 122
Owen Dixon, Sir, 435
Oxford, Indian Institute, 122

P

P.I.D.C. (Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation), 368, 518
P.R.O.D.A. 159
Pact, Liaquat-Nehru, 159,164,217
Pak Settlers in United Kingdom, 585
Pakistan Movement, 38,61,66,221, 274,280,298,316,337,388,405, 449,627
Pakistan Muslim League, 344
Pakistan Penal Code, 227
Pakistan People's Party, 279,406, 410,513
Pakistan Resolution, 61,69,70,74, 243,430,622
Palace
- Jaipur, 30
- Bahawalpur, 301
- Buckingham, 51,168
- Butler, 197
- Mohatta, 96,97
- Peace, 180,181
- Sadiqgarh, 297,300
- Versailles, 546
Palais Des Nations, 547,563,582
Paris, 140,149,170,171,173,197,178, 177,285,346,435,541
Park
- Hyde, 165,168,282,284
- Jehangir, 206,207
- National, 178
- Nishtar, 252
- Regent, 168
Parodi, 568
Parpia, Y.R., 236
Pasha, U.A., Dr., 540
Patel, B.R., 67
Patel, Jal. R., Dr., 216
Patel, Sardar Vallabhai, 82
Paymaster, Justice B.B., 43
Pearce, Roger, 51
Peking, 268,287
Persia, 325
Peshawar, 283,289,440,500,522,534
Peter Pan, 161
Philadelphia, 603
Philip Rack, 594
Philip, C.H., 78
Philippines, 243,362,565,566,557, 605,606
Philips, Major, 28
Philpott, Air Vice-Marshal, 484
Philpott, P.T. A.V.M. 487
Phiroze Shah Mehta, Sir, 87
PICIC, 632
Pir Ahsanuddin, 314
Pir Baksh Khan, 537
Pir Gul Hasan Shah, 345,346
Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, 313
Pir Mahfooz, 356
Pir Pagaro, 66,230,243,343,344

Pirzada Abdus Sattar, 230
Pirzada, Shah Nawaz, 44,45
Poona, 13,248,343,344
Potohar, 386
Powell Speaks Fluent Urdu, 594
Powell, Baden, Lord, 4
Powell, Enoch, 594,595
Prants in Marathi,
Press Club of Dacca, 455
Prince Hassan of Jordan, 619
Prince Jalaluddin Akbar, 322
Prince Murad, 23
Prince of Wales, 29
Princes, Elizabeth, 168
Punjab Muslim Student Federation, 412
Punniah, K., 67,68,96

Q

Qadir, Ghulam 266
Qasim Hussain, Syed, 499
Qasmi, Ahmed Nadeem, 299
Qasre-Naz, 107
Qayoom Kazi, Muhammad Akbar Abdul, 228
Qazi Ghulam Mustfa, 365
Qazi Motahir Husain, 458
Qazi, A.G.N., 632
Qazis of Ahmednagar, 24
Queen
- Elizabeth II, 294,608
- Juliana, 183
- Marie Antionette, 171
- Victoria, 171

Quetta, 125,534,541,631
Quit India Movement, 23,61,65,72, 224,289
Quratul Ain Haider, 266
Qurban Ali, Khan, 358
Qureshi, Munawar Jamil, 319

R

Rabindera Nath Tagore, 426,457,
Radcliffe and Radcliffe Award, 622
Radcliffe Award and Mountbatten, 373
Rafiq Khawar, 266
Rahimtoola, Habib Ibrahim, 168,439
Rahimyar Khan, 291,309,312
Rais Ahmed Jafferi, Syed, 266
Raja Abu Jafar, 196
Raja Amir Ahmed Khan, 197,198
Raja Dahar, 313,321
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, 250,268, 393,629
Raja Muhammad Mehdi, 196
Raja of Jahangirabad, 3
Raja of Mehmudabad, 471,501
Raja of Mehmudabad, Amir Ahmed Khan, 3,457
Raja of Pirpur, 64
Raja of Saravack, 51
Raja Saheb of Mehmoodabad, 629
Rajanpur, 316
Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs and Jagirdars, 621
Rajasthan, 303
Rajgopal Acharya, 435
Rajput, A.B., 266
Rajputana, 347
Ramabhadran, T, 11,16
Rampur, 241
Rana Abdul Hamid, 604
Rana, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, 155, 160,217,537,605
Rangoon, 413
Ranjit Pundit, 496
Ranjit Singh, 440
Raphael, Arnold, 186,276
Rashid Minhas, 613
Rashid Turabi, Allama, 137
Rashidi, Pir Ali Muhammad Shah Hamid, 38,69,73,228,231,237, 242,243,244,247,259,361,
Ratanchand, 4
Ravi and Indus, 440

Ravish Siddiqui, 299
Rawalpindi, 207,210,228,255,275, 277,294,295,384,387,491,498, 511,518,519,526,534,552,554, 557,583,608,617,618
Reading, Lord, 311
Red Fort, 299
Rees, Elfan, 17, 18
Rehman, Fazlul, 86,271
Rehman, S.A., 449
Rembrandt, 179,180
Rens, J., 554
Richard Burns, Sir, 12
Richardson, General, 66,343,344,368
Rifat, Ali Ahmed, 298
Rivalries of the super Powers, 638
River
- Godavri, 30
- Indus, 265,306,321,335,367
- Jamna, 448
- Ravi, 448
- Rhine, 178
- Seine, 173,178
- Thames, 167

Rizvi, Syed Muslim, 260
Road
- Abdullah Haroon, 251
- Aurangzeb, 423
- Bleak House, 251
- Bunder, 117,233
- Club, 142
- Dadu, 364,365
- Gizri, 117
- Grand Trunk, 613
- Khuhro, 142
- Kutchery, 263
- M.A. Jinnah, 144,152,283,
- McLeod, 127
- Mount Pleasant, 148,150
- Murree, 386
- Radice, 197
- Seafield, 259
- Victoria, 207,251

Robert Low Baccon, Mrs. 268
Robertson, M., 183
Roger Bacon, 333
Rohri, 228,229,313
Rome, 21,140,180,183,186
Rommel, Field Marshal, 258
Roosevelt, 264
Roosevelt, Eleanor, Mrs., 158
Rosita Forbes, 30
Ross Masood, Sir, 371
Round Table Conference session 1930 & 1933, 427
Rowan Boland, Sir, 598,599
Royal Historical Society, 2
Ruet-e-Hilal Committee, 119
Rughumal, 59,60
Russell Anderson, J., Dr., 401

S

Saadi, Muslehuddin, 246
Sabri, Ghulam Farid, 138
Sachal Sarmast, 65,305,310.323.329, 330
Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi, IV, V,Sir,Nawab, 291,292,295,301, 307,310,311,317-320
Sadiqabad, 299,309,312
Sadiqgarh, 310,318
Saeed, Yusuf, 256
Sahibzada Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq, 426
Saidu Sharif, 526,527
Saints of Sind, 368
Sajjad Ahmed Jan, Justice, 516,518,519
Sakrand, 232
Salahuddin, 329
Salden, J., 67
Salik, Abdul Majid, 283,285,287, 290,446
Salimuzzaman Siddiqui, Dr., 227
Salma Raza, 29,178,557
Sam Manekshaw, Colonel, 442

Samuel Butler, 529
Samuel Fitze, Sir, 30
Samuel, Lord, 170
San Francisco, 175,528
Sanghar, 321
Sanjorpore, 299
Sardar Abdul Rab Nashtar, 629
Sardar Bahadur Muhammad Baksh, 330
Sareshta, Professor; 4
Sarfaraz, Muhammad, 261
Sargodha, 611
Sarwat, 619
Sassi, 305
Sauda, Mirza Rafi, 99
Saudi Arabia, 565,598
Savarkar, 73
Scheduled Caste Hindus, 25
School
- Karachi, Grammer, 45
- Government High,Hardoi, 2
- Nur Muhammad High, 48
- Sadiq Public, 292,319
Scotland, 113,115
Scott Walter, 166
Scott, C.P., 239
Sea
- Arabian, 39
- Mediterranean, 139,140
Second World War, 160,165,185,264, 483,595,608,613,621
Seddon C.N., 12,14,20
Sehala, 210,277
Sehwan, 229,321,323,324,324,325
Seoomal, Rupchand, 229
Sergeant Major, 15
Seto Rao, 14,15
Seventeen Finest Days, 608
Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, Allama, 144
Shadi Lal, Sir, 219
Shafaqat Hussain Shah Atta Hussain Shah Musavi, 229,231,
Shafi, Muhammad, Sir, 427
Shafi, Sir Muhammad, 425
Shah Alam II, Mughal Emperor, 292
Shah Jalal, 311
Shah Karim Bulri, 344
Shah Nawaz, Begum 537
Shah Suleman, Sir, 219
Shah, A.S.B., Col., 268
Shah, Gul Muhammad, 231
Shah, Pir Ghulam Rasul, 231
Shah, Pir Qurban Ali, 231
Shah, Pir Saleh, 231
Shah, Syed Ali Asghar, 230
Shah, Syed Ghulam Hyder, 230
Shah, Syed Khair, 231
Shah, Syed Mehar Ali, 230
Shah, Syed Mubarak Ali, 230
Shah, Syed Muhammad Hasan, 230
Shah, Syed Noor Muhammad, 231
Shah, Syed Pir Haji Muhammad Zaman, 230
Shahabuddin, Justice, 336,406,409,507
Shahbunder, 228,321,323
Shaheed Minar, 475,477
Shahjehan, Mughal Emperor, 39,322, 446,448
Shahmir Khan, 43
Shakespeare, William, 139,170,600
Shamim Hussain Kadri, Jusctice, 449
Shamsuddin Muhammad, Major, 320
Shanti Niketan, (A school of music), 457
Shanul Haq Haqqi, 266
Sharif-al-Mujahid, 413
Sharja, 139
Sharma, M.S.M., 96
Shaukat Ali Syed, Professor, 543
Shaukat Thanvi, 138,288,466,533
Sheerani, Akhtar, 266,299
Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, 231,242, 336
Sheikh Mohiuddin Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, 203,204
Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, 488,504
Sheikh W.A., 238

Sheikh, A.G., 126
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 183
Sheppard Jones, 268
Shibli, 260
Shikarpur, 322,347
Shikwa and Jawab-e-Shikwa (Author, Muhammad Iqbal), 414
Shirazi, J.H., 547
Shiva Ram V. Dr., 2,3
Shoaib Qureshi, 241,242,260,263,371
Shorbazar, Mulla, 108
Sialkot, 215,396,613
Siddiqui, M.R., 266
Siddiqui, Muhammad Hanif, 233
Siddiqui, Zamir, 247
Sidhdhanta, N.K., Professor, 4
Sidney, Sir, 237
Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir, 48,73,309
Sikkim, 349
Simla, 88
Simon, Lord, 6
Simpson, Mrs., 29
Sind Awami Mahaz, 228,229,230
Sind Legislative Assembly 226,232, 233
Sind, 135,294,313,315,321,322,323, 336,337,340,347,349,352,367, 412,425,633
Sind, League, 229,230,
Sindhu Desh Movement, 337
Singapore, 347,552
Sipahimalani, Jethi, 224
Sir Louis Stuart, Chief Justice, 1
Sir Sikander Hayt, 370
Sita, 31
Slade, E.S., 135
Smart W.W., 27
Smyth, J.W., 34,35
Socrates, 333
Soekarno, (President of Indonesia), 552
Sofia Kamal, Begum, 537
Sohni, 305,336
Soleman, S.M.,554
Solomon, 333
Somalia, 58
Somerset Maugham, 484,600
Soomro, Ahmed Mian, 221
Sorley, H.T., Dr., 326
South Vietnam, 566
Spain, 336,367,427
Sri Lanka, 216
Srinagar, 157,434,442,443
Stanley Baldwin, 29
Star of India (Calcutta), 428
Stephens, Ian, (Editor of Statesman of Delhi & Calcutta), 254,255, 256,268,433
Stockholm, 419
Street, Elphinstone, 144
Strong centre with weak provinces, strong provinces with weak centre, 637
Suez, 166
Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, 285
Sufi, M.H., 236
Suhrawardy, Husain Shaheed, 69,76, 204,205,208,204,205,208, 269,387,497,604
Sukkur, 227,280,321,397,411,502
Suleri, Z.A., 247,258,259
Sultan Muhammad, Ch., 409
Sultan Shah, 324
Surur Barabankvi, 289
Swami Narain Temple, 95
Swat, 294,526
Sweden, 604
Switzerland, 29,150,174,177,178, 242,420
Sydney, 552,553,556
Syed Abdul Karim, 326
Syed Ahmed Khan, Sir, 260,261, 412,413,414,418, 467,501,541,542,543,605,621
Syed Ahmed, 494
Syed Ghulam Miran Shah, 311
Syed Hasan Ahmed Shah, 343
Syed Hasan Mahmood, Makhdoom--zada, 297

Syed Hussain, 494,495,496,497,
Syed Ibrahim, 324
Syed Imtiaz Ali Taj, 285
Syed Masud Hasan Shahab, 298,299
Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, 336
Syed Nazir Ali Shah, Brigadier, 298
Syed Rais Ahmed Jaffery, 446
Syed Saeed Hashmi, Colonel, 320
Syed Tayyab Husain, 238
Syed Usman, 323
Syed Wajid Ali Shah, 566,582
Syed Wazir Hasan, Justice, 1
Syed, G.M. 47,66,69,73,224,225, 229,231,337,343
Syed, Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah, 231
Sylhet, 471,538,585
Symon, Alexander, 444
Syria, 65

T

T.V. Raghavachariar, Sir, 15,16
Tabassum, Rashid, 130
Tabriz, Iran, 323
Taimuri, Musarrat, 266
Taiwan, 565,566
Taj Muhammad Khanzada, 537
Talati, 27
Talpur, Mir Ali Ahmed Khan, 231,338, 339,340,
Talpur, Mir Ali Murad Khan, 57,302
Talpur, Mir Ali Nawaz Khan, 230
Talpur, Mir Allah Dad Khan, 337
Talpur, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, 66, 88,231,337
Talpur, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, 66, 230,242,337,346,356,357,371
Talpur, Mir Haji Ali Ahmed Khan Mir Haji Nabi Bakhsh Khan, 229
Talpur, Mir Imam Bux, 231
Talpur, Mir Karam Ali Khan, 325
Talpur, Mir Rasul Baksh, 338,411
Talpur, Mir Sher Muhammad Khan, 57
Talpur, Nawab Mir Allahdad, 57
Tando Allahyar, 348
Tando Jam, 392
Tando Muhammad Khan, 107,337, 356,371,
Tanvir Fatimah, (Daughter of Hashim Raza), 45,608
Tareen, Hayat, 298
Taunsa Sharif, 311
Tayyabji, Justice, 88,130
Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir, 15
Thailand, 441,566
Thal, 317
Tharparkar, 227,321,366,534
Thatta, 227,229,230,321,322, 323,348,365
The Great Souls, 423
The Khairi Brothers, 419,420
The Lahore Resolution of 23rd March, 1940, 430
The Scope of Happiness (Auto-biography of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit), 494,495
The Spirit of the Time, 421
Theatre, Sheldonian, 12
Thomas, G. Swayne, Lt. Col., 90
Thomas, G.H., 190
Thomas, Sir Roger, 58
Thomas, Swayne, Col., 143
Thompson, Rev., 12
Tower, Eiffel, 170,172
Tragedy of Pakistan in 1971, 470
Trivedi, Sir Chunnilal, 113
Truslore, 14
Tufail Hoshiarpuri, 446
Tughlaq, Sultan Muhammad, 322
Tunisia, 158
Turkey, 140,426,565
Twain, Mark, 285
Twilight of Indian Maharajas, 30
Two-Nations Theory, 622,628

U

U.P. Legislative Assembly 1
U.P., 7,20,29,31,62,122,129,155,174, 250,289,311,316,343,344,348,
U.S.S.R., 140,162,392,435,533,546, 554,561,621
Umarkot, 322
Umarkot, Fort, 58
Ummah, (Muslim Community), 638
Ummeed, Fazli, 138
United Kingdom, 12,17,35,124,125, 165,167,171,226,250,256,315, 346,359,370,374,375486,543, 553,554,585,586,587,588,589, 590,591,593,594,598,599,608
United Nations, 13,81,114,151,155, 158,159,175,181,285,287,392, 434,435,469,502,528,558,565 614
United Press of Pakistan, 258
United States of America, 16,160,170, 171,174,180,217,218,239,242, 245,264,268,392473,500,505, 509,510,521,541,543,553,565, 566,570,579,580,589,601,624, 638,
Unity, Faith and Discipline, 475
Univeristy
- Aligarh Muslim, 5,106,292,344 370,391,392,418,419,422,501, 541,542
- Bombay, 48
- Cambridge, 86,131,344,390,527
- Columbia, 286
- Dacca, 472,476
- Harvard, 391
- Jamshoro, 367
- Karachi, 392
- London, 285
- Lucknow, 3,6,155,427
- Oxford, 86,390
- Patna, 3
- Quaid-e-Azam, 255
- Sind, 331,392
- Sydney, 595
Urdu-Bengali Controversy, 472,473, 474,475
Uzma Naz, 319

V

Vagrancy Act, 585
Vallabh Bhai Patel, Sardar, 293,294, 435,441623
Vasillii Leonidovich Borisov, 547
Venezuela, 560
Venkatachar, C.S., 79
Vijayalakshmi Pundit, 494,495, 496,497
Viqar Azeem, Professor, 266
Vishnu Dave, 25,26

W

W.R. Ovais Jones, 135
Wadhwani, Dr. Hemandas R. 67
Wadia, Dina, 142,144,146,148,150,151
Wadia, Neville, 149
Wainright, Doreen, 78
Wajid Ali Shah, Syed, 547
Wali Khan, 406
Wali Muhammad, Dr., 4
Wali of Swat, 526
Waliullah Ahad, 298,365
Waliullah, Shah, Delhi, 412,413,418
Walton Camp, 401
Wanchoo, N.N., 7
WAPDA, (Water and Power Development Authority), 632
Waqf Alal-Aulad, 409
War of 1965, 610
War of Independence in 1857, 7,621
Waris Ali Shah, Haji, 311
Washington, 245,495
Washington, George, 154
Watan Act, 27
Wavell, Lord, (Viceroy of India) 78,

419
Wazir Hasan, Sir, 197,427
Wazirabad, 613
Weaver, George, 565
Weekly - Magazines
- Bombay Chronicle, 497
- Ilham, 298
- Iqdam, 401,405
- Kainat, 298
- Mahshar, 417
- Mohazzab, 417
- Nawa-e-Muhajireen, 398
- Naya Zamana, 388
- Nusrat, 401
- Oudh Punch of Lucknow, 497
- Paigham, 298
- Parwaz, 298
- Rafiq, 298
- Sadiqul Akhbar, 312
- Sahafat, 299
- Sayadat, 299
- Sunehra Des, 298
- Young Pakistan, 493,617
- Zam Zam, 298

Wellesley, Authur, 8
Wellesley, Henry, 8
Wellington, Lord, 8,42,240,368, 376,377,381
Wells, H.G., 5
White House, 16,521
Whitehall, 17,19
Who's Who, 16,56
William Bentinch, Lord, 25
William Vincent, Sir, 9
Wilson (President of USA), 545
Wilson D., 27
Wilson, F.W., 8
Wilson, Harold, Sir, 17
Wilson, Woodrow, 174
Wordsworth, William, 280
World Health Organisation, 528, 529,530,534,535,540,544
World Parliament of Labour, 17, 545,547
Wullstein, Professor, 486

Y

Yahya Khan, A.N., 512
Yahya Khan, Muhammad, General, 209,213,277,509,513,515
Yahya Merchant, 152
Yahya's Inglorious exit, 509
Yamin Khan, Nawab, 343
Yaqub Dadashi, 266
Yawar Abbas, Dr. 138,284
Yazid, 195
Yeats., W.B., 595
Yemen, 563,565,574,578

Z

Zafar Hasan, 262
Zafar Niazi, 247
Zafar, Bahadur Shah, 98
Zafarul Ahson, 632
Zafarullah Khan, Sir, 113,114
Zaheer, Baqar, 197
Zaheeruddin Abdullah Lal Mian, 604
Zahur Hussain Chowdhary, 492
Zaidi, Matloob, 319
Zambia, 563,568,574,578
Zaradushtra, 333
Zarb-e-Momin, 631
Zauq, Sheikh Ibrahim, 98,288
Zeal-Pak Factory, 376
Ziauddin, Dr., 344
Ziaul Haq, Muhammad, General, 209, 210,277,278,279,514,623,631
Ziaul Hasan Moosavi, 257
Zinkin, Maurice, 78
Zira, 373,374
Zorastar, 282France, 177
Zuberi, M.A., Mr.& Mrs. 138,197, 247,258,259
Zurich, 177



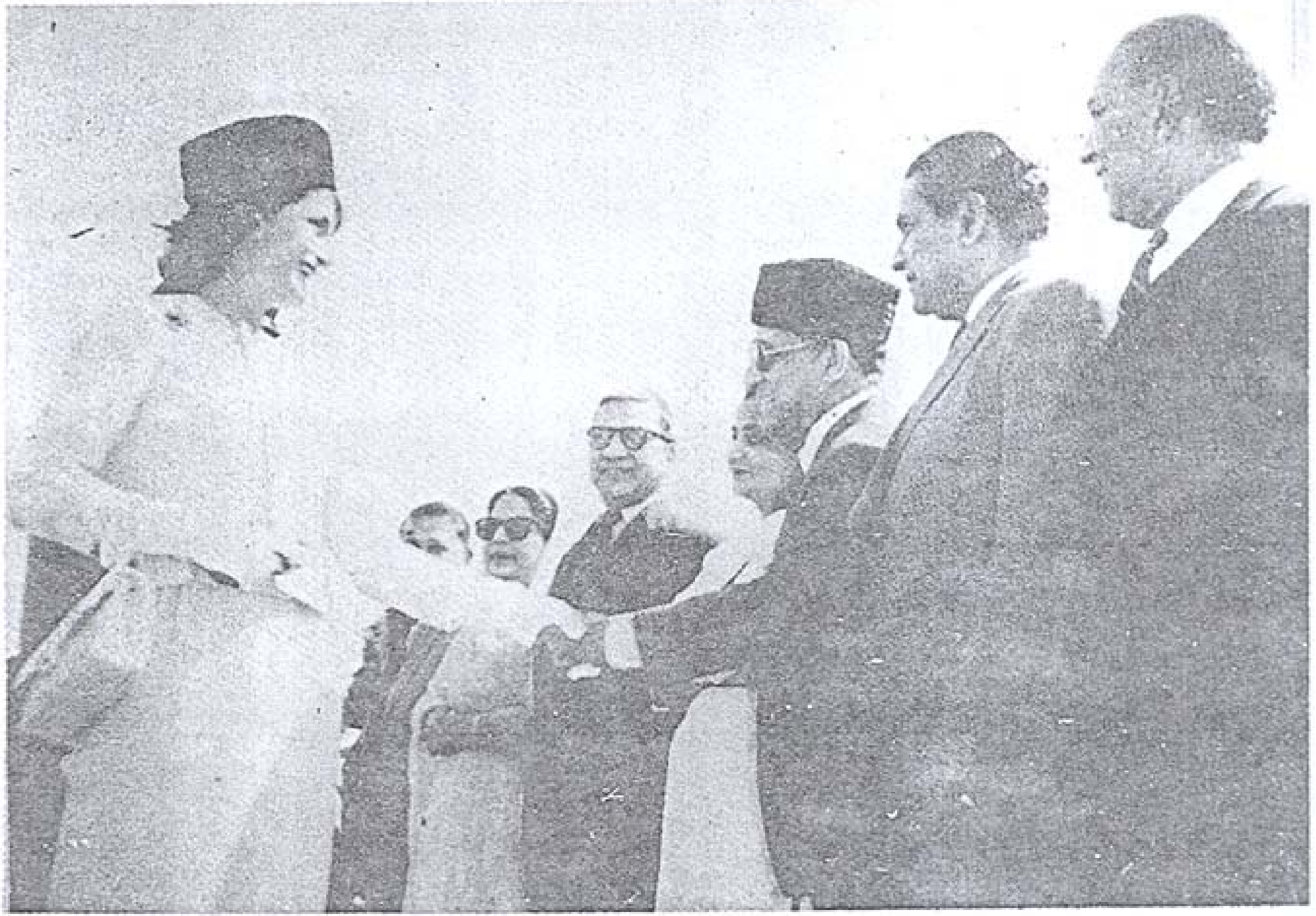
The Author — 1990

Speaking on "Problems of Publicity" at the G.H.Q. Lecture Hall.
Among those who listened was the President of Pakistan, F.M. Ayub Khan.



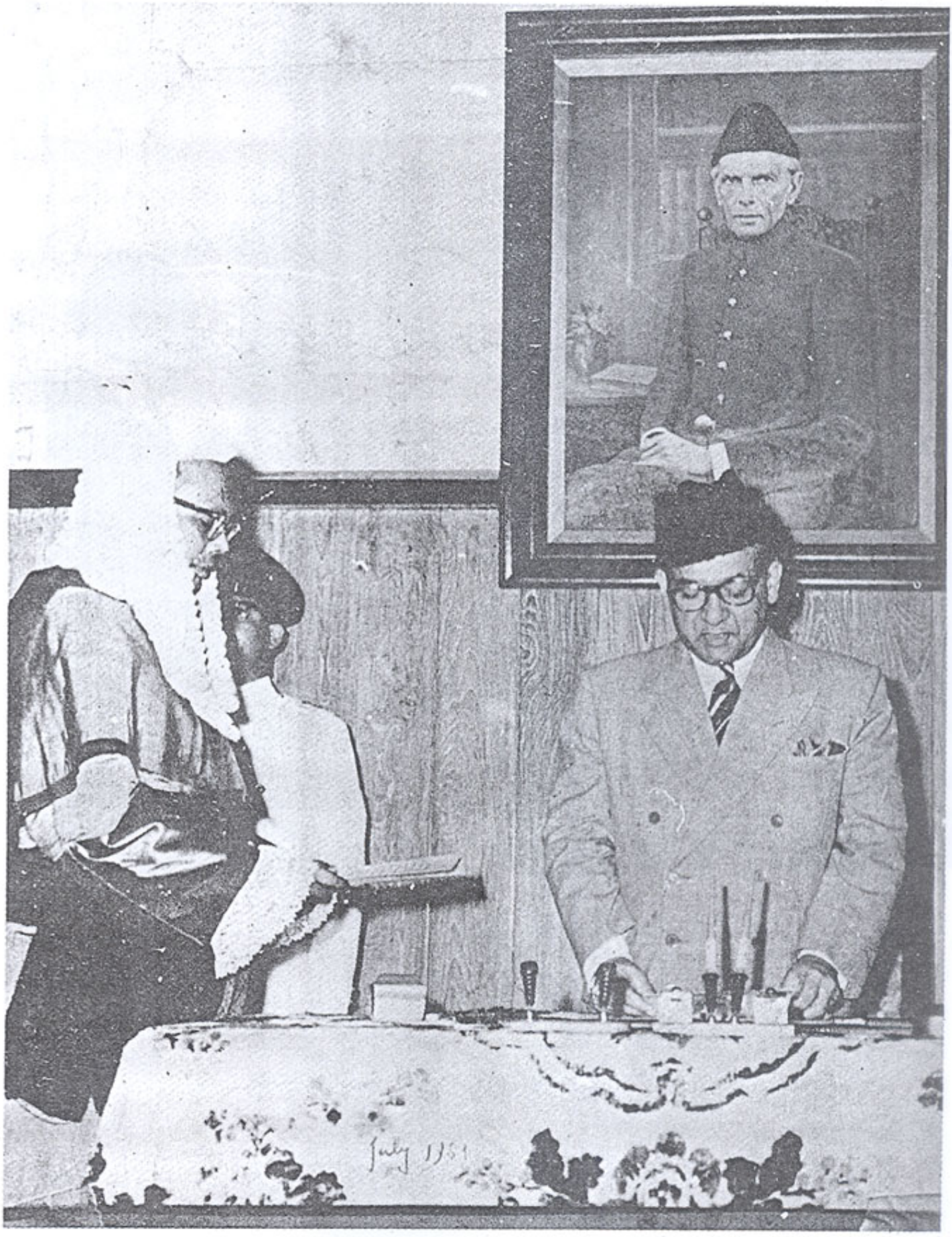


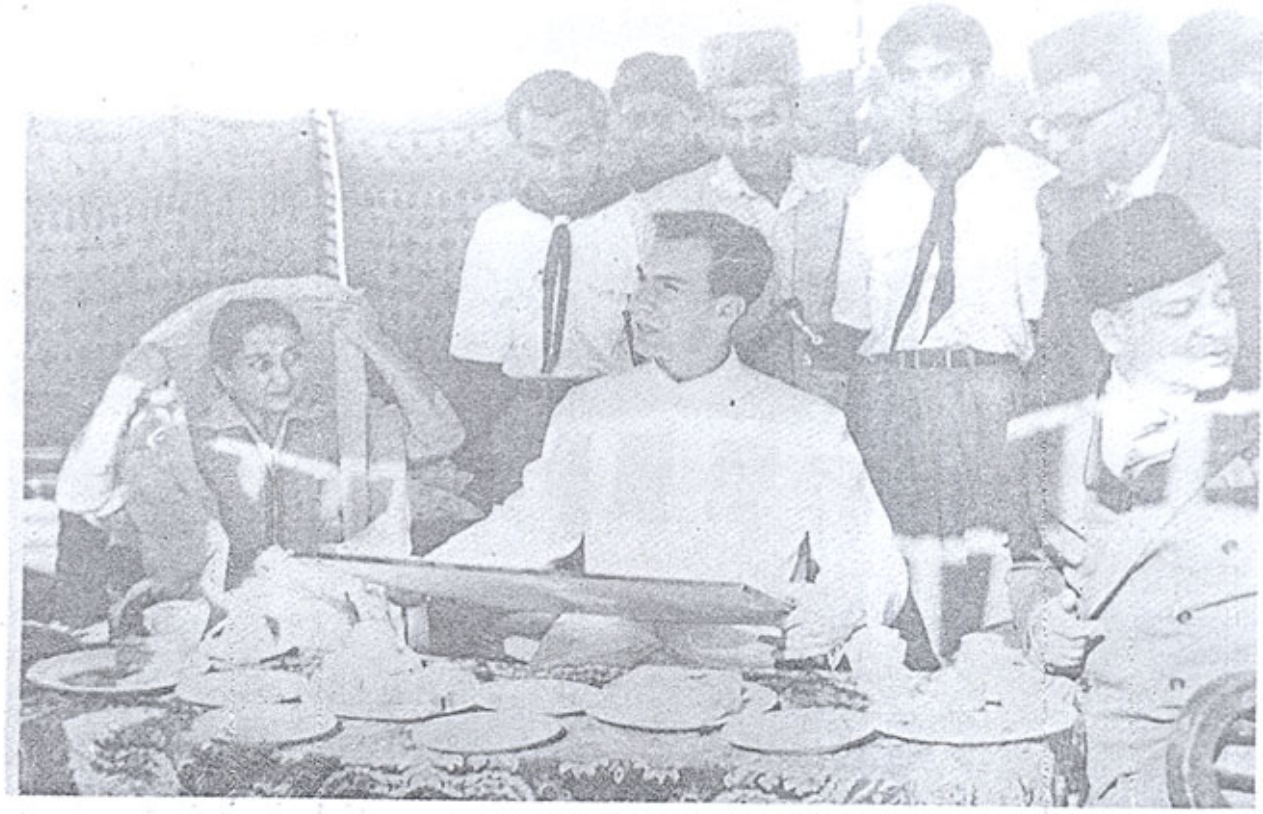
Syed Hashim Raza presiding over the 49th Seccion of
the I.L.O. Conference, Geneva - June 1965.



Syed Hashim Raza with Mrs. Jacquiline Kennedy at
Chaklala Airport, 24th March, 1962.

Syed Hashim Raza being sworn in as Governor of East Pakistan by Justice Imam Husain choudhury, Dacca Ist July, 1961.

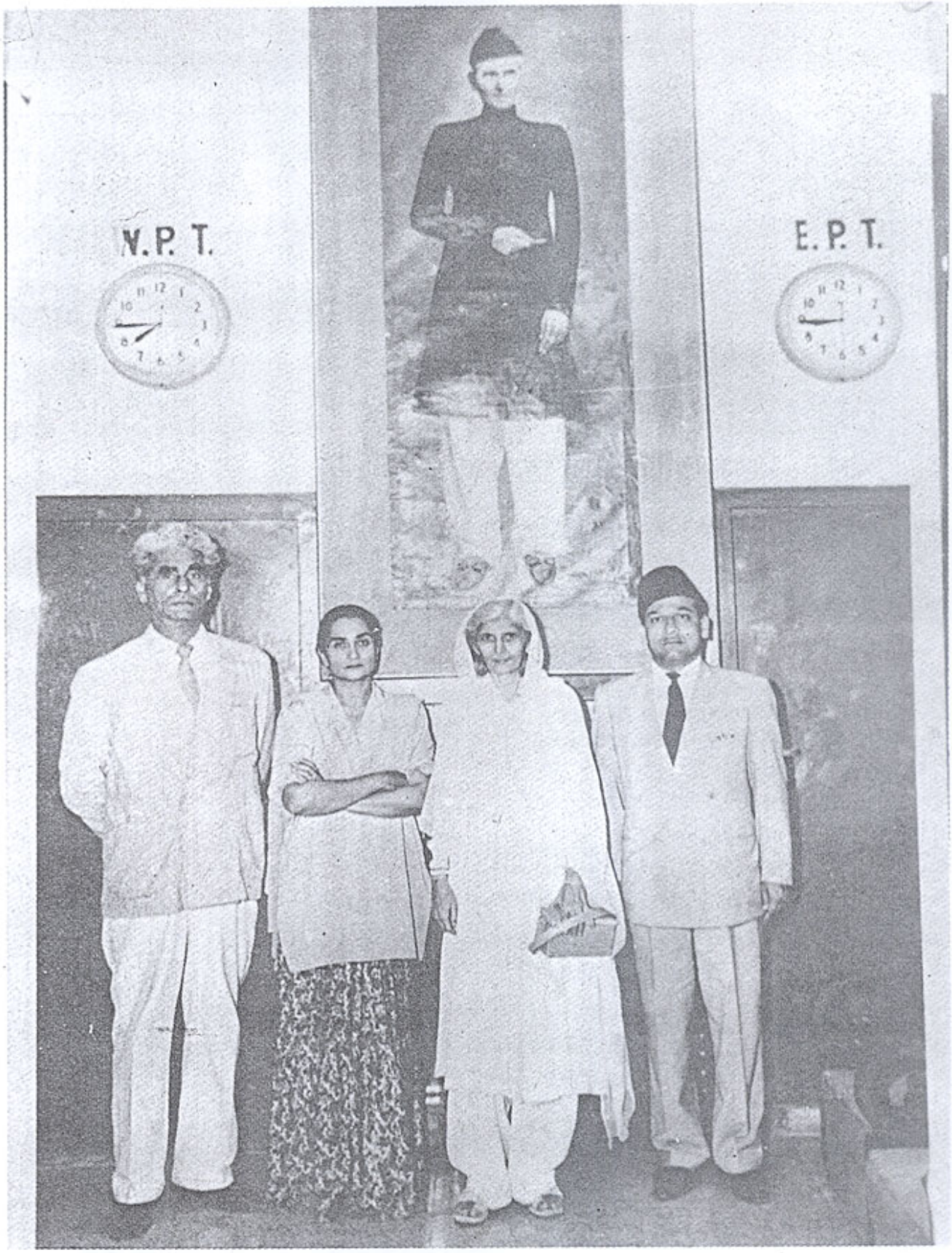




With Prince Karim Aga Khan — Hyderabad 1957.
Left to right: Mrs. Salma Hashim Raza, Prince Karim Aga Khan,
Syed Hashim Raza,Commissioner, Hyderabad Division



Receiving Sir Walter Nash,
Prime Minister of New Zealand
at Hyderabad Airport, 1958.



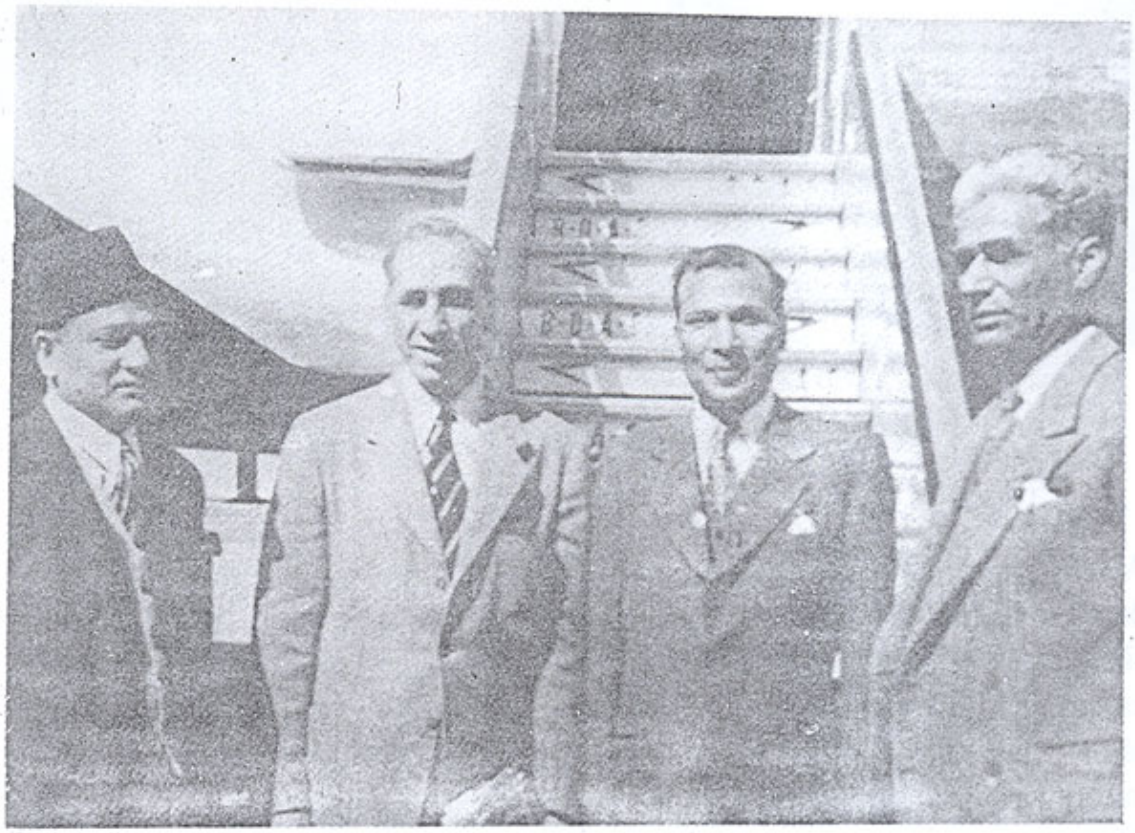
Karachi Station of Radio Pakistan — 11th September, 1955
when Mohtarema Fatima Jinnah came to broadcast on Quaid-e-Azam's Death Anniversary.
Left to right: Zulfiqar Ali Bukhari, Director General, Radio Pakistan, Mrs. Salma Hashim Raza, Mohtarema Miss Fatima Jinnah, Syed Hashim Raza of the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.



At the Cantonment Railway Station receiving Khawaja Nazimuddin, then Governor-General of Pakistan, from an up-country tour. On Syed Hashim Raza's left is Mr. M.W. Abbasi, ICS, then Joint Secretary incharge Ministry of the Interior. Next to him is Syed Ali Jawad of the Ministry of Information, Government of Pakistan. In the background is Mr. Salahuddin Ahmed, Divisional Superintendent, N.W.R.



With U.N. Secretary General, M. Dag Hammerskjoeld when the Secretary General stopped at Karachi Airport en-route to Peking — January 2, 1955.



Hashim Raza with S.A. Bokhari, Asstt. Secretary-General, U.N. Khawaja Ashraf and Z.A. Bokhari at Karachi Airport, January 2, 1955.



Syed Hashim Raza, Administrator, Karachi, greeting the
first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan
on his return from the United States of America Canada.



From left to right: Pirzada Abdul Sattar Hafiz Kardar (Captain),
Khawaja Nazimuddin, Fazal Mahmud, Hashim Raza.
In the background: A. Hamid Ghani and Syed Miran Muhammad Shah.



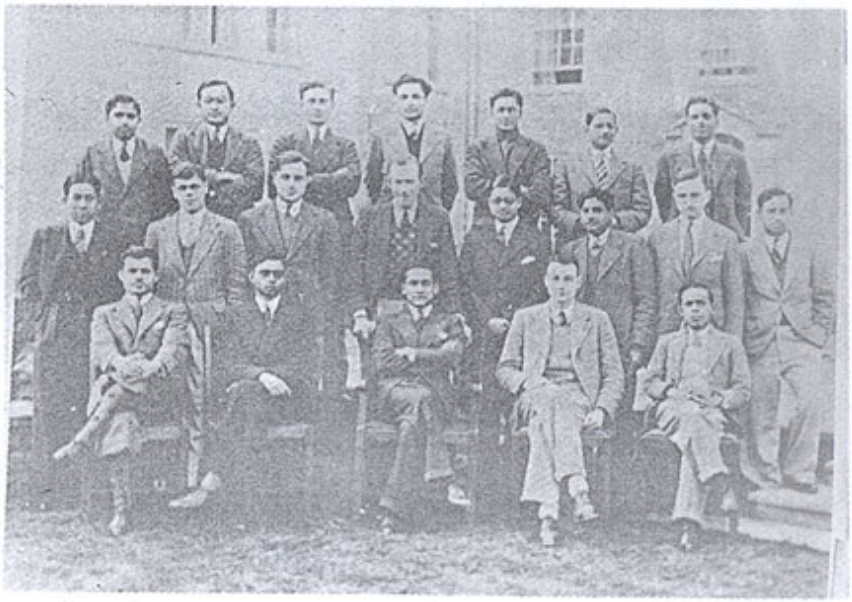
From left to right : Lt. Mazhar of P.N., ADC to the Governor-General,
Sir Sita Ram, High Commissioner of India, Aga Mustafa Raza, Chief of
Protocol, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Syed Hashim Raza,
Khan Sahib Muhammad Ishaq, Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi.



Muslim Society, Oxford, 1933 - Chief Guest Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Ex-I.C.S. Translator of Holy Quran. Syed Hashim Raza President of the Society is third from left.



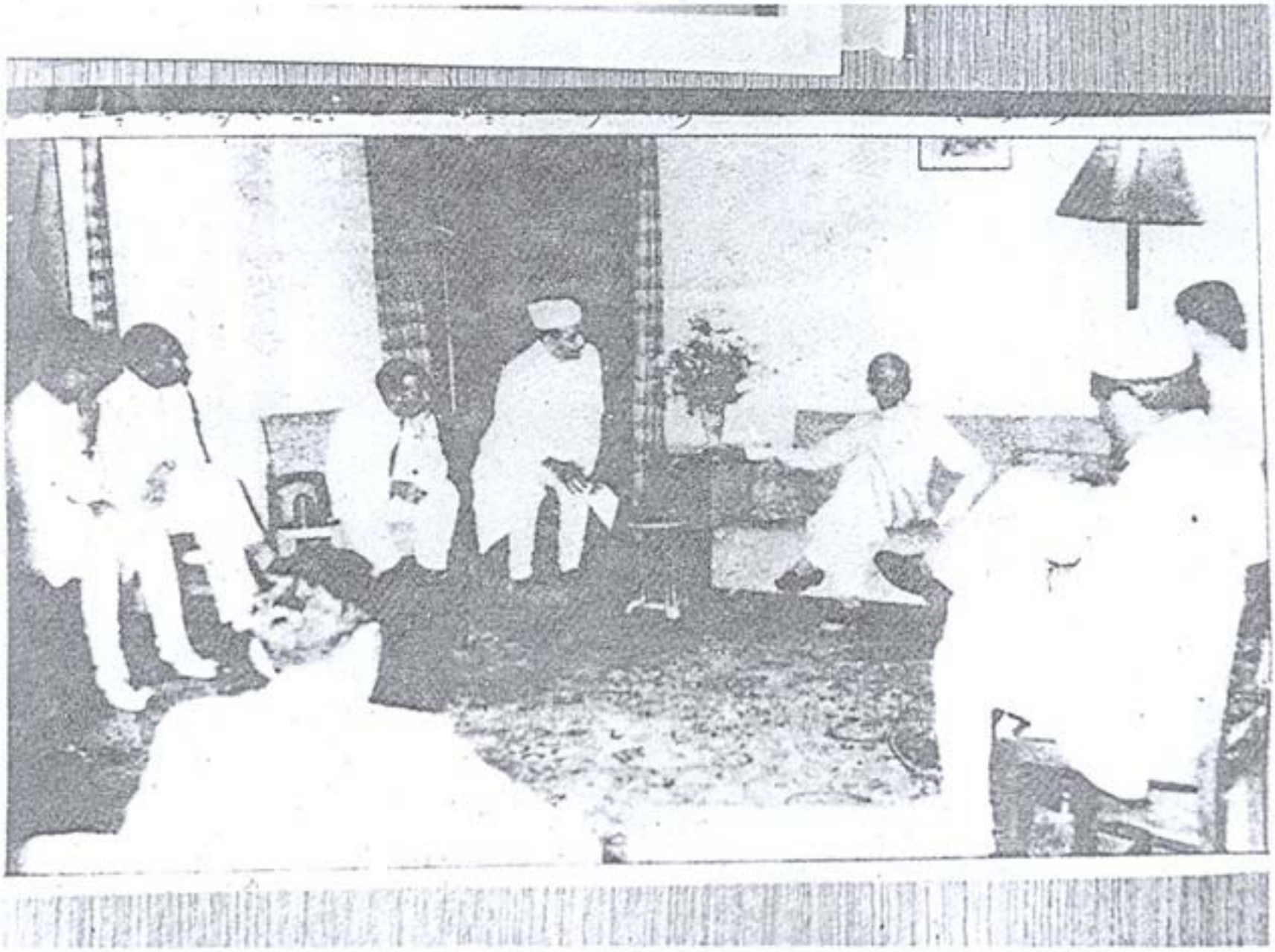
Oxford Majlis, 1933 - Syed Hashim Raza, Secretary of the Majlis is second from right.

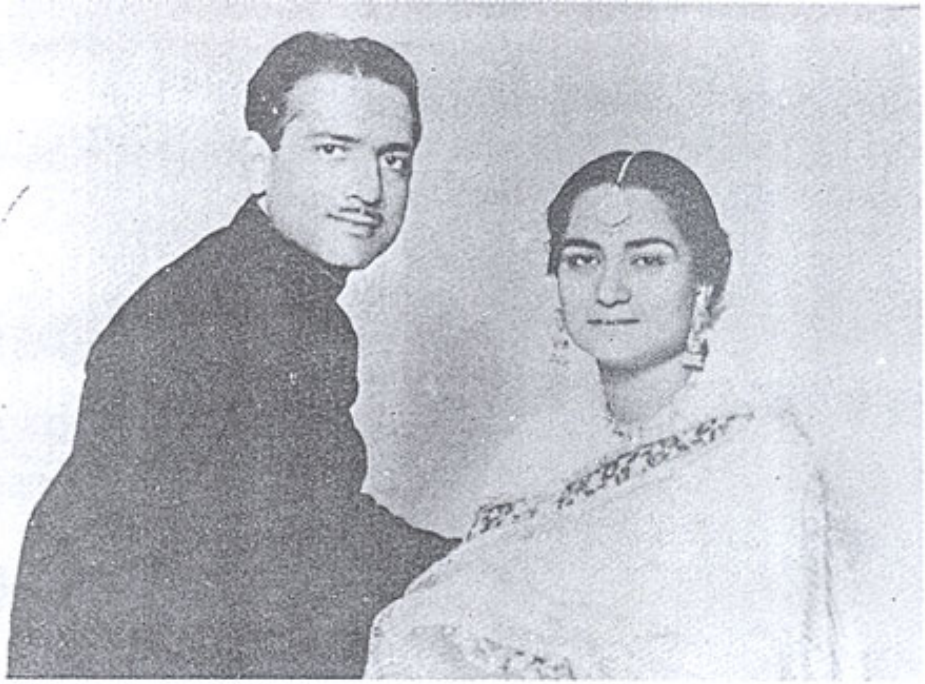


I.C.S. Society, oxford - June 1934

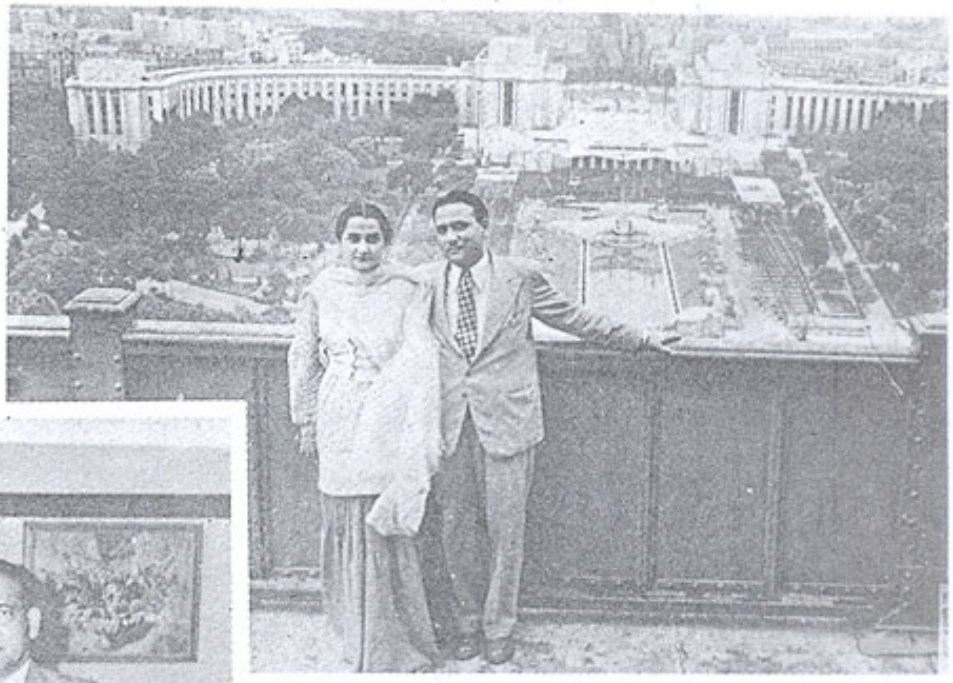
First row sitting in the centre S. Hashim Raza, President of the I.C.S. Society, Oxford.
Back row standing in the middle, B.K. Nehru, ex-Governor of Assam, Kashmir & Gujrat.
Second row standing first from right Mr. Justice Ramabhadran of Allahabad High Court.
Standing third from left Douglas Fell, Chief Minister of Kalat State.
Sitting first from left Moizuddin Ahmed, ex-Secretary, Interior, Government of Pakistan.

Governor General's House — September 1947. Quaid-e-Azam receiving a deputation of Editors of Karachi. On his right is M.S.M. Sharma, then Editor, Daily Gazette, Karachi. Next to Sharma is Syed Hashim Raza, then Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi.





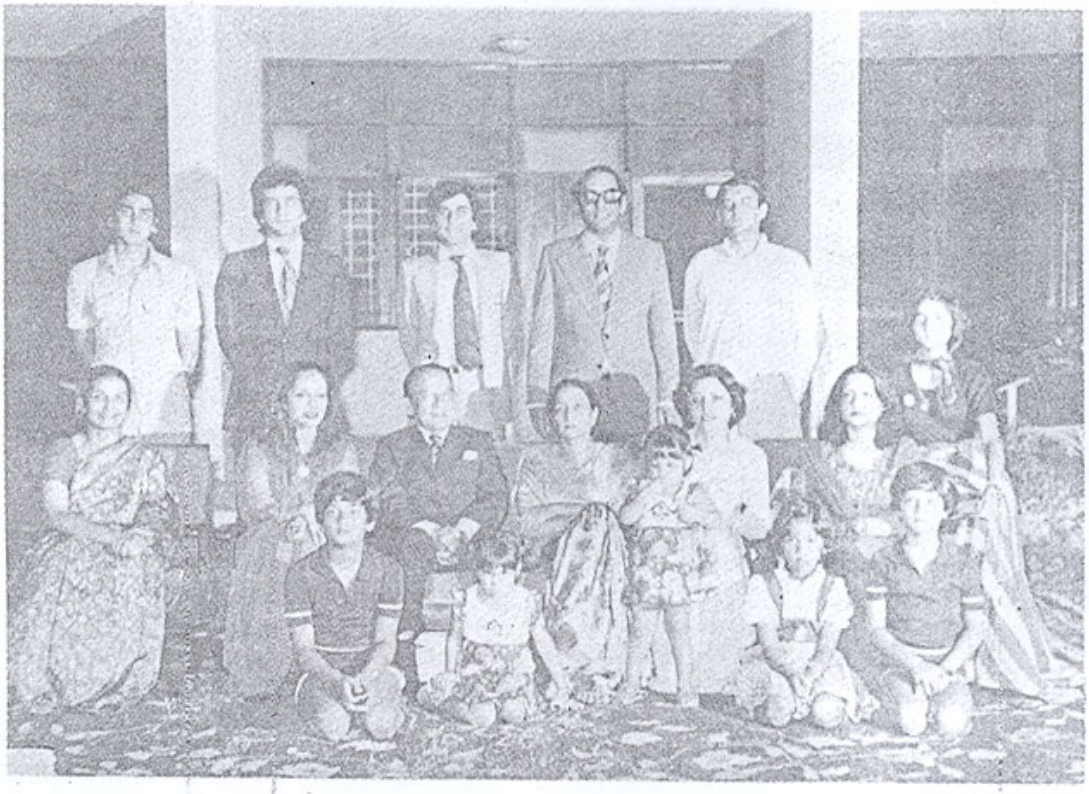
Syed Hashim Raza and
Salma Hashim Raza — 1938.



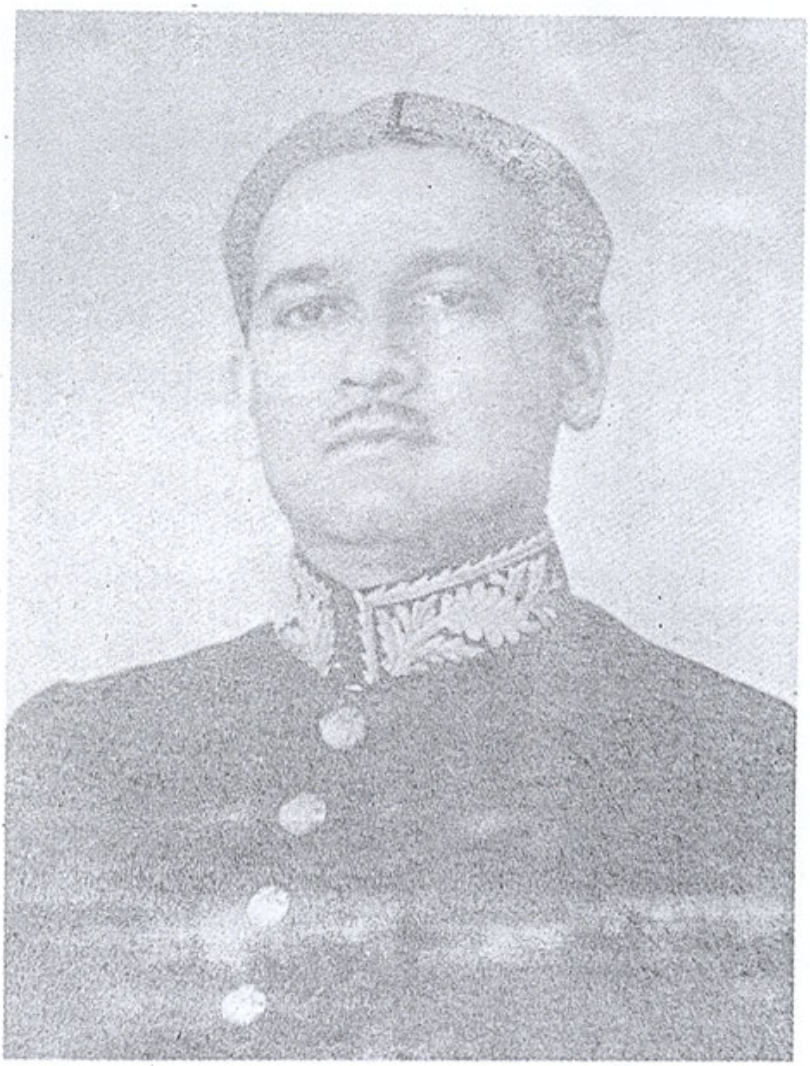
Syed Hashim Raza and Salma Hashim Raza at the
Eiffel Tower, Paris — 1951.



Syed Hashim Raza and Salma Hashim Raza, Governor-
House, Dacca-1962.



Syed Hashim Raza and Salma Hashim Raza with their Daughters, Nasreen and Tanvir and Sons Salim and Ali their Sons-in-law Wasay and Kemal and Daughters-in-law Paro and Neelo and their grand childrens.



Syed Hashim Raza, as Secretary to Governor of Sind — 1946-47.



Wedding of Syed Hashim Raza
and Syeda Salma Masudul Hasan
Lucknow 25th December, 1936.



Family Group

First row — Left to right: Syed Masud Raza, Syed Abbas Raza, Syed Aley Raza, Syed Kazim Raza, Syed Hashim Raza.
Middle row — Left to right: Begum Aley Raza, Syeda Aqeela Raza, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Syed Muhammad Raza, Begum Kazim Raza.
Last row — Left to right: Syeda Rana Raza, Syed Hasan Raza, Syed Qamar Raza, Syed Sajjad Raza.

Father of Hashim Raza Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Muhammad Raza, Judge Chief Court of Oudh and Member Council of State for India.

